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A New Variation of the United Front

SOME days ago there appeared in the Soviet press a disclosure of the decision taken by a group of German bankers, with Mendelssohn at their head, on the question of this group attaching itself to the so-called "International Association of Russian Creditors."

Since that disclosure the question of the intentions of the International Association of Creditors has figured largely in the bourgeois press. In particular it is being discussed with ardour by the German bourgeois press, which is joyful because the German holders of Tsarist loans have been accepted in the International Association and thus can count on "general support in the general task."

THE International Association of Creditors of Russia has been organised a comparatively long time. At the head are two national organisations—one French, the other British. Both these organisations represent groups highly inimical to the Soviet Union, groups which are interested only in the question of getting back the money which they once lent to the Tsarist Government. At the head of the International Association are men who personify the worst and most reactionary sections of capitalism, frankly and cynically interested only in the profitable liquidation of their old relationships with Tsarist Russia. It is these same men who were at the back of

the interventions, if not directly as participants, as inspirers. It was these leaders of the International Association who were the authors—or stood at the back of the authors—of the so-called London Memorandum, which was presented to the U.S.S.R. at the Genoa Conference, and which represented a programme of colonial demands, to be extorted by the Entente countries from Soviet Russia, exhausted as she was by wars, interventions and blockades, and by the unprecedented famine.

THE great majority of the members of the International Association of Creditors were also members of the various delegations at the Hague Conference of 1922, which represented a continuation of the attempt, which had been begun at Genoa, to force the U.S.S.R. to its knees.

During the two years which followed the failure of the Genoa-Hague attempts to transform the U.S.S.R. into a colony of Western-European capital, the leaders of the International Association reduced their pretensions somewhat, or rather, they ceased openly and cynically to display them to the world. Such "moderation" was explained by the circumstance that the time coincided with the advance of the democratic-pacifist era, which, as we know, died before reaching full bloom. This era was signalled by the recognition of Soviet Russia by the Great Powers of Western Europe, Britain and France, and by the opening of negotiations between them and the U.S.S.R. for the regulation of the old debt claims on the basis of fresh credits.

ONE would have thought that the old usurers of the International Association could only welcome both the Anglo-Soviet and the Franco-Soviet negotiations, negotiations which promised them the recovery of a certain proportion of their old claims, and which opened before them the prospect of fresh orders from the U.S.S.R., and with them fresh profits. One would have thought that the International Association was bound in all ways to assist towards the success of these negotiations and to give real support to ensure their favourable consummation. In reality this was not so. The international

Shylocks were struggling only for their pound of flesh, which they were prepared to tear from the body of the Soviet Republic. They were not concerned with whatever might be the prospects of future work from the U.S.S.R. They did not wish to listen to talk about any form of credits. Like parrots they reiterated the phrase they had by heart: "Give us back our money."

Not only did they render no assistance to the Anglo-Soviet and Franco-Soviet negotiations, but they strove by all means to hinder the success of those negotiations. It was the British group of creditors which published its Memorandum against the MacDonald Government, which had ventured to propose a treaty with the U.S.S.R., a treaty based on the principle of a reciprocal dependence between the payment of a certain proportion of the old debts and the obtaining of fresh credits. In the British group of creditors the MacDonald Government found its bitterest enemies, who passed to an open attack on it as soon as the treaty with the U.S.S.R. was signed.

Exactly the same thing happened in France also. The French group of creditors broke off the Franco-Soviet negotiations—it was they who were at the head of the campaign directed against the former U.S.S.R. Ambassador in Paris, Rakovsky.

And now the German group of Tsarist bondholders has also entered this organisation.

WHAT is the political significance of this step taken by the group of German bankers?

In the first place, it is necessary to have quite clearly in mind the fact that the German bankers' entry into the International Association of Creditors is a step which cuts completely across the terms of the Rapallo Treaty. In the second clause of that treaty the German Government, in its own name and in that of its citizens, renounced all claims on the U.S.S.R. which were based on the obligations of the Tsarist Government (in this context the renunciation of other claims based on other titles was not mentioned). This renunciation is limited to a definite period, namely, the renunciation is abrogated in the event of the U.S.S.R. paying the old Tsarist debts of any third country. Then the German claims come

into force again, and the renunciation is recalled.

As is well known, the U.S.S.R. has so far paid no Tsarist debts whatever, and is not planning to do so. Thus it is quite obvious that the moment foreseen in clause two of the Rapallo Treaty has not yet arrived, and consequently the renunciation of claims contained in that clause has still to be regarded as in application.

THE German bourgeois press has already expended a by no means small quantity of ink on attempting to prove what is altogether impossible to prove. Thus, on the one hand the German bourgeois newspapers declare that no violation of the Rapallo Treaty is involved, because the treaty itself provides against the moment when the German claims shall be renewed. The artificiality of such arguments is obvious. The attempt to represent the step taken by the German bankers as a preparatory measure against the moment when it will be permissible to put forward their demands does not bear criticism. The International Association is occupying itself with far from academic questions, such as preparation for the putting forward of future demands. It is putting forward those claims already, it is bringing influence to bear on the corresponding governments, it publishes its memoranda and so on.

The German bourgeois press does not cease to declare that the action of the group of German bankers is a purely personal step, and that it connotes merely an attempt to defend their own interests with their own strength. The German Government took up a similar position in the official communiqué which was published by the Wolff agency. This communiqué also declares the step of the German bankers to be a personal step, which the German Government had no possibility of preventing. The Wolff communiqué definitely established the "neutral" position which the German Government has taken up on this question. There is not a word in the communiqué condemning the step taken by the German bankers, or any indication that this step is in contradiction to the Rapallo Treaty and to the obligations which the German Government took on itself in that treaty.

Meantime one may be permitted to have grave doubts as to how far the action of the group of German bankers is a private step in reality. Thus the "Rote Fahne" recalls, and not without justification, that at the Bankers' Congress in Cologne, which took place in September, the Minister for Economic Affairs, Curtius, welcomed the permanent commission for the defence of the interests of holders of foreign bonds, which had been set up in the previous year. This commission has as its task the obtaining of the recognition of the rights of the "distressed" holders of foreign bonds, in close co-operation with the emission banks and the German Government. The "Rote Fahne" emphasises that Curtius then quite definitely indicated the close co-operation which exists between the German Government and the banking organisations which have now joined the International Association of Creditors.

THERE is no doubt whatever that the decision of the German bankers to join the International Association of Creditors does not represent a personal affair of Messrs. Mendelssohn and Bleireder, but an act of which the political consequences have been estimated by the German Government, an act the political significance of which was not concealed either from its immediate authors, or from those who gave them permission to take the step. The circumstance that the conference of the International Association of Creditors is to take place in London, and that attempts are being made on the part of its directors to draw the American groups into participation in the Association gives the new campaign a quite definite political colouring. Needless to say, it is a question of a new variant of the united front against the U.S.S.R., a front on which action will necessarily begin with a united demand for the payment of the Tsarist loans.

At the Council of the League of Nations held in June last year Chamberlain outlined the successive stages of a united anti-Soviet front. According to his plan, the first of those stages was a united *moral* front against the Comintern (which in Chamberlain's language had to connote, and, of course, essentially did connote, a simultaneous united front against the U.S.S.R.). The second stage was a united

financial front. This front was to consist, in the first place, of simultaneous demands that the U.S.S.R. should pay both the pre-war and the war loans, and, in the second place, the realisation of a financial-credit blockade.

So far as the moral front is concerned it has not done much injury either to the Comintern or to the Soviet State, as we know. Morals are one of the weak points of the bourgeoisie and with "moral slogans" it rarely succeeds in fooling any large sections of the population. The united front in the financial and credit spheres is another matter. Here attempts may be made to do something. The resurrection of the corpse of the International Association of Creditors, putting forward claims killed and cremated by history and revolution, is a preliminary attempt to consolidate the disintegrated forces of the finance and credit front.

AT the beginning of this article we said that the German bourgeois press is unable to conceal its joy at the fact that henceforth the German bankers will be accepted in good society.

Both the German bankers and the bourgeois press, which represents their interests, are naively convinced that the International Association will assist the German bankers in the defence of their interests, and that the German bankers will assist the International Association.

A blissful belief!

So far as the present moment is concerned the harm done by Germany by the action of the German bankers is quite obvious. It can only be overlooked by those who wish to overlook it. The conduct of the German bankers on the one hand and the German Government on the other has produced a quite definite impression in the Soviet Union. That impression consists in the idea that the German bourgeoisie is beginning to incline towards the idea of a united anti-Soviet front. Needless to say, this impression cannot pass unnoticed in the general problem of German-Soviet relationships. The directors of the International Association are planning to draw in American groups which hitherto have stood outside their organisation. This attitude of the American financial groups is quite understandable if their comparatively small interest in the

Tsarist debts be taken into consideration. On the other hand, the treaty only just concluded between the Soviet Amtorg and the great General Electric Company provides a clear example of the businesslike fashion in which the American groups approach a resolution of the problems of American-Soviet relationships. This treaty (despite the insinuations spread by part of the bourgeois press) represents a renunciation of the former claims on the Soviet Government. The General Electric Company quite soundly took into consideration the fact that the advantages which they will reap from the new business relationships with the Soviet Union will greatly exceed the amount of the old claims, on the satisfaction of which they could not count in any case. The step which the General Electric Company has taken is not a simple individual step of a certain firm, but reflects the attitude of a number of business circles in America, who need to enlarge the market for export, both of their capital and of their goods. At the present time French capital also is in need of a similar extension of markets, for since the financial reforms it has swiftly accumulated enormous reserves, which are too large to be invested internally. Under such conditions the realisation of the plans of the International Association of Creditors for a financial and credit blockade of the U.S.S.R. will inevitably come up against serious difficulties. It goes without saying that credits to the U.S.S.R. (and in particular the credit of 300,000 marks obtained in Germany last year) cannot be regarded from the aspect of capitalist benevolence to the Soviet State. Such "benevolence" brings no little profit to the creditor groups of firms. As is well known, the renunciation of profits is far from being always a free action or one dependent exclusively on the desire or absence of desire of this or that capitalist group.

THE organisation of a united finance and credit blockade against the U.S.S.R. is a highly complicated task. None the less, it would be a serious error not only to depreciate the difficulties lying in the way of its realisation, but also to under-estimate the danger menacing the U.S.S.R. as the result of its being put into force.

The *danse macabre* planned in London by

the International Association of Creditors should receive the close attention of the working class of all countries. It is necessary unremittingly to follow the activities both of the international and of the national bankers, so as to unmask their designs against the U.S.S.R. in good time.

It is just as essential to unmask to the working class the role of the social-democrats who are in power in Germany. The affiliation of the German bankers to the federation of the International Association of Creditors, who are speculating in Tsarist debts, serves as a fresh confirmation of the fact that, since the entry of the social-democrats into the Government, the tendency to a western orientation in the official policy of Germany has been considerably intensified, and relations with the U.S.S.R. have become more strained. An adequate testimony to this is provided by the "Vorwaerts" malevolent attitude on the bankers' issue. The central organ of German social-democracy is already estimating in advance the success of the bankers and the triumph of the capitalist blockade against the

U.S.S.R., and is availing itself of this as an argument against the position that "the seizure of power is equivalent to the victory of the revolution." And the "left" social-democrats are in their own fashion assisting "Vorwaerts." Quite justly suspecting that the British and French bankers have acted not without the agreement of their governments, the "Leipziger Volks-Zeitung" is resorting to a "left" manœuvre, warning the innocent German Government against being drawn by the bankers into a political adventure. As if it were not clear that the German bankers were no less close to the German Government than the French and British bankers are to their Governments!

The German social-democrats are proving to be fiery champions of not only the "western orientation," but of an openly aggressive anti-Soviet bloc. The workers must put up an equally energetic resistance, not only to the plans of the bankers but also to the anti-Soviet policy of the social-democratic leaders who are working with them.

TEN DAYS THAT SHOOK THE WORLD

by

JOHN REED

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Mass Demonstrations

B. V.

THE resolution on the report of the Executive Committee of the Communist International at the Sixth Congress of the Comintern obliged all Communist Parties to develop to the utmost the work of organising mass revolutionary demonstrations, giving particular attention to the carrying through of these demonstrations during great political campaigns of an international character.

This resolution applies chiefly to the European Communist Parties, which of recent times have not adequately succeeded in carrying out a single great international political campaign, and which in a number of cases have shown themselves unequal to the situation when attempting to call the proletarian masses on to the street in connection with internal questions of the political life of their country.

During the miners' lock-out of 1926 the attempts of the E.C.C.I. to arouse an extensive movement of sympathy and support did not yield the desired results. Only the proletariat of the U.S.S.R. fulfilled its international task. As a result, while the basic causes of the defeat are the betrayal of the trade union leaders and the weakness of the British Communist Party, that defeat was also contributed to by the fact that the international proletariat did not come to their help with material and political assistance in time. The same has to be said of the campaign in aid of the Chinese revolution. In the U.S.S.R., that campaign was carried out with great success, it embraced the widest sections of the proletariat, and met with the great sympathy of the peasant masses. In the capitalist countries the campaign for assistance to the Chinese revolution was a poor one. But the failure of the "Red Day" in Czecho-Slovakia and of the demonstration at Ivry (France) particularly called for the attention of the Comintern.

THE FAILURE IN CZECHO-SLOVAKIA

In Czecho-Slovakia, in connection with the interdiction of the Spartakiade by the Govern-

ment, the C.P. decided to carry out simultaneous powerful demonstrations of protest throughout the country. The Government banned these demonstrations. The C.P. of Czecho-Slovakia called upon the Czech proletariat to demonstrate despite the Government ban. In order to prevent the demonstrations the Czech Government not only published prohibitive orders, but also mobilised large forces of police and military. As a result, in Prague not even the members of the party demonstrated, and the result of the demonstrations was not an energetic protest against the Government's reactionary measures but the discrediting of the C.P. and a great moral and political consolidation of the reactionary forces. The Czecho-Slovakian and foreign reactionary and social-democratic press shrieked that the Czecho-Slovakian C.P. had demonstrated its practical impotence, that there was nothing more revolutionary than its phraseology in the Czecho-Slovakian C.P., and that, in a word, the Czecho-Slovakian Communist devil is not as frightful as it paints itself.

THE FRENCH FAILURE

There was a somewhat similar result to the Ivry demonstration. This demonstration was organised on the proposal of the Central Committee of the French Communist Party for the anniversary of the imperialist war, and was intended to demonstrate the unswerving will of the French proletariat not to allow a repetition of slaughter. Naturally the Government banned the demonstration. The central organ of the French C.P., "Humanité," declared in the name of the Party that the demonstration must take place at all costs, despite all the measures taken by the Government. This declaration was repeated several times by the Party in the most categorical manner. None the less, at the very last moment the Party announced that the demonstration would be replaced by three great meetings. In the end there were several small clashes with the police at Ivry, and more

than a thousand persons were arrested in ones and twos. The demonstration was a failure, and once more the reactionary and social-democratic press were jubilant. The following excerpt from the leading organ of the French reformists, "Le Peuple," is significant. On August 15th "Le Peuple" says: "We look through 'Humanité.'" On Friday, 3rd August: 'We shall demonstrate against war'; and in great capitals, 'The C.P. and Young Communist League will not yield to the demands of the Government.' Saturday 4th: 'This evening in the Paris circus, tomorrow at Ivry!' And in heavy type. 'The demonstration will take place at all costs.' Sunday 5th: 'To Ivry at all costs.' . . . 'Workers, the demonstration of August 5th will play an extraordinarily important role. Not one of you must desert his militant post on this day!' And right next to this thunderous sentence is the soothing phrase: 'The Party and the Y.C.L. have decided that the demonstration which has to take place at Ivry to-day is to be organised in the form of three great meetings, which will be held in the hall of Merni, in the Conference Hall and in the public baths.' Baths! A pleasant prospect! A pleasing picture! A soothing symbol! M. Vaillant-Couturier himself adds the soothing programme: 'In connection with Ivry we are not raising the issue of revolution or revolt, it is a question of a demonstration of cold blood and revolutionary order. . . . We wish to avoid our Party taking a further step towards illegality. . . . We, a legal Party, desire only to gather under conditions of order.' We shall see, we shall see," the "Peuple's" leading article continues. "On the one hand they talk of a militant post, on the other of a legal demonstration. Whom are they fooling, and who is doing the fooling? If we have understood M. Vaillant-Couturier aright, the Party wishes to remain a legal one. The Party entreats the bourgeois Government to let the cup of illegality pass from it. . . . It is good that Vaillant-Couturier is a law-abiding person. He washes his hands of all the illegalities which might be committed under the Government ban by the lads paying membership contributions or in sympathy."

POSSIBILITIES OF DEMONSTRATING

Failures of mass revolutionary action undertaken by the European C.P.'s recently raise the question of the extent to which those Parties will be equal to developing a series of mass actions of increasing pressure on the ruling classes in the struggle against war, in fulfilment of the decisions of the Comintern Sixth Congress. On their part the ruling class will undoubtedly exploit all the forces and resources for direct suppression, and will have the help of the social-democrat and trade union reformists to smash the class revolutionary demonstrations organised by the C.P.'s. That means that while it is already difficult to organise and carry through such demonstrations, in the future it will be still more difficult. Meantime the whole situation at the moment imperatively demands the strengthening of the mass revolutionary movements of the masses. Otherwise the whole struggle with the dangers of imperialist war will be mere idle talk, and in essence will lead to the previous empty social-democratic babblings anent the criminality of the bourgeoisie and so on.

At the moment when these lines are being written, information arrived of a fresh failure of the French Communist Party. This time the failure has been in the Youth Day organised by the French Young Communist League. The French Y.C.L. decided to organise a demonstration in Saint Denis. The Government flooded Saint Denis with military and police forces, and the demonstration was smashed. It is true that in certain of the suburbs of outlying Paris there were youth demonstrations, but they were not held everywhere, they were of a partial nature, and Paris proved to be quite free of the Communist infection. Obviously the lessons of Ivry have passed without practical results for the French C.P.

Can the French C.P. be regarded as an exception by comparison with the other European C.P.'s in their inability to organise mass revolutionary demonstrations? Obviously not. Can one accept the argument that the mobilisation of large forces of military and police was sufficient justification for abandoning the demonstrations and other mass revo-

lutionary activities? Again obviously not. Consequently the European C.P.'s must make the maximum exertions in order to overcome their present weakness in regard to mass revolutionary activities, and that as swiftly and radically as possible.

PRACTICAL PROPOSALS

What practical proposals can be put forward? In the first place, the C.P.'s must cease to be afraid of action which may appear to break through the frame of bourgeois legality. The ruling classes are driving the C.P.'s underground. The C.P.'s must struggle for the retention of their legal position. On the contrary, that action will the quicker lead to positive results the more swiftly and strongly the C.P.'s oppose bourgeois reactionary measures.

For example, the Czecho-Slovakian C.P. has recently been unable to explain its political line and the tasks of the Party in the pages of its journals. The Governmental censor strikes out all that has even indirect reference to the discrediting of the Czech authorities. The Party newspapers are published with great white blank spaces, and the censor even strikes out the title of the article, evidently so that it should not be possible to guess even what the forbidden articles are about. It is obvious that if the Czech C.P. took the line of passive submission to the censor it would simply be necessary to stop the publication of the Communist press until the organisation of a Soviet Republic in Czecho-Slovakia, which in its turn will remit the present Czech censorship to a museum for antiquities. Nor could the Czecho-Slovakian C.P. count on much more from the "democratic" parliament of its country. The sole practical answer to the activities of the censor is that together with a general intensified struggle for a workers' and peasants' government the Czecho-Slovakian C.P. must obviously develop the most intensive work on the publication of uncensored literature, with the aid of which it will be possible to fill out the gaps in the legal press. And that would be a real struggle for the legality of the Communist press. A secret press would stultify the censorship of the Government, demonstrating their complete im-

potence and ignorance, and simultaneously demonstrating the helplessness of the Government in the face of the will of the revolutionary proletariat.

If this example be applied to the sphere of mass activities, to the sphere of revolutionary demonstrations, the question has to be raised in an analogical fashion. A bourgeois Czecho-Slovakian Government bans a demonstration, the C.P. must organise it without the permission of the Government, demonstrating the impotence of the Government to restrain the revolutionary demonstrations of the proletariat.

That this is possible is demonstrated by the fact of the mass revolutionary demonstrations organised, and still being organised, by the C.P.'s of certain countries—China, Poland and elsewhere. The question consists in knowing how to organise demonstrations, in the necessity of learning how to organise them. There is a large international experience to be drawn upon in this question.

PREPARATORY MEASURES

It is absolutely necessary that the preparation of the demonstration should be done from below, in the factories. Needless to say, the directing organs of the Party must carry on general agitation, must with the aid of the press, and through meetings, etc., call the workers to the support of the revolutionary proposals of the Party. But together with the general press and oral agitation there must necessarily be carried out corresponding preparatory work in the factories, and it is on this work in the factories that the attention and finest forces of the Party must be concentrated.

How is this work to be carried on? Quietly, and as far as possible imperceptibly. The work must be carried on with the aid of the factory newspapers, and in particular with the aid of the personal agitation of the members of the factory nuclei and the sympathisers working in the factories. The basic task of this work is the grouping of the maximum number of the workers in the factories under the slogans of the Party for a demonstrative movement, organising them in such a way that the demonstration takes place directly from the factory during the dinner hour or at the

close of the working day. In order to prepare the working masses and the party organisations for joint mass activities, the Party must at first begin with the organisation of small demonstrations, adapting them to the conflicts in the enterprises (strikes, etc.). While preparing strikes and other forms of bringing the workers to defence of their immediate demands, the Parties must include among the measures for this struggle demonstrations of workers in the factories. The slogans must include not only a simple specification of the demands for which the workers are struggling. They must also include appeals to the workers of other enterprises to support those demands, appeals to the unemployed not to break the struggle by strike-breaking, appeals to all workers supporting the bourgeoisie, and appeals of a like kind. In order to give these appeals the greater force, as soon as a conflict develops with the employers in any given enterprise the Party must set itself the task of calling on the workers to resist the bourgeoisie, or proposing that they should immediately select delegates to send to other works and to the unemployed with requests for support; and also of establishing fraternal relations with the military. These very revolutionary demonstrations of which we have spoken above have also to be organised in such a manner as to make it possible for the workers of other enterprises, the unemployed, and so on to ally themselves. Consequently in arranging a demonstration it is extremely important to give a correct indication of the hour and the place, and also to give early notice to the workers who can ally themselves with the demonstration and prepare and organise the alliance of several detachments.

OBSTACLES TO BE MET

Needless to say, obstacles will be put in the way of such demonstrations also. But that will only testify to the necessity that together with the widest general agitation the concrete forms of such demonstrations have to be prepared as far as possible with a careful estimation of all possible obstacles and difficulties. It is especially important to make a correct estimate of the attitude of the masses, the extent to which the slogans put forward by

the Party satisfy them and so on. In order to circumvent opposition it is also important that such demonstrations should be organised as lightning demonstrations, but frequently also with such alternations of time and space as to make interference difficult. Although the forces of the bourgeoisie have swift methods of transport at their disposal these methods do not work with the speed of thought, and fifteen to thirty minutes is adequate time in which to carry through a short demonstration before the gates of a factory and in the workers' quarters close to the enterprise. When the demonstration takes on enormous dimensions it will not be so easy to oppose it.

METHODS OF ORGANISATION

In preparing a large general demonstration the Party must necessarily, firstly, carefully select their slogans. For instance, it is quite obvious that it is definitely impossible to arouse the great masses of workers with a slogan of struggle over the prohibition of the Spartakiade. Secondly, through its factory groups it must diligently check the extent to which the slogans put forward are really able to attract the masses. The general slogans must necessarily be supplemented by slogans particularly comprehensible to the most backward sections of the proletariat. Thirdly, as a rule the place and time of the demonstration must not be published. The place and time must be fixed at conferences of the organisers of the demonstration, and in doing so they must fix them so that (a) the workers of the largest enterprises can participate in the demonstration at the end of their work or during the dinner hour, and (b) in order to unite the various columns of the demonstration several variants of route should be planned. In addition, the following measures have to be given previous consideration: a special liaison service must incessantly keep the leaders of the demonstration informed of the movements of the various columns of demonstrators and of the movements of opposition forces, so that timely alterations in the routes can be effected. (c) In order to ensure the demonstration the greatest possible success it is of extreme importance that there should be previous knowledge of the plans of opposing forces, their

strength and so on. (d) In order to carry out all these measures it is necessary to have a good, strong leadership, basing itself on defence corps to maintain order, the members of which are selected by the factories and trade unions. Non-party workers, especially young workers, must be drawn into this work in the most extensive fashion.

Certain C.P.'s organise demonstrations at a time when the workers are at home indoors. This is unsound. It is more difficult to get the workers on to the street out of their homes. Besides, it is impossible to check the extent to which those are drawn into the movement whom it is of particular importance to attract—the workers of the large enterprises in the basic industries.

ANTI-WAR ACTION

The Sixth Congress of the Comintern decided that one of the methods of struggle with the dangers of imperialist war was the immediate beginning of preparations for carrying out a "Red Day" simultaneously in all countries in the form of simultaneous mass revolutionary demonstrations. The date and the

concrete forms of this international "Red Day" will be indicated by the E.C.C.I. These preparations must begin with the organisation and carrying out of individual partial revolutionary demonstrations, and in doing this the C.P.'s must always (1) associate these attacks with the tasks of the struggle against the war danger; (2) endeavour to extend each partial demonstration to cover a number of enterprises, an entire town, district and so on; (3) concentrate attention on the organisation of revolutionary mass demonstrations of the workers of the largest enterprises in the most important spheres of industry (especially those which play a part in the preparation of imperialist wars).

By steeling and tempering separate divisions of the proletariat such partial demonstrations will conduce to the growth and strengthening of the C.P., and at a definite moment will create an adequate or organisational basis in order that against the whole capitalist world may be organised one international "Red Day" as the first powerful blow in the approaching struggles for the rule of the working class.



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The Meaning of Events at Lodz

By F. Brand

THE strike of the Polish textile workers has not ended in victory. After three weeks of heroic struggle the textile workers were betrayed by the Polish Socialist Party leaders of the trade union, who, behind the backs of the workers, came to an agreement with the factory-owners for a completely inadequate rise in wages, and did not even demand that the strikers should be taken back. The owners are now dealing with the workers, throwing the most active among them into the street. The secret police carry out mass arrests, seeking for those who were in the front ranks during the strike.

A familiar, a typical picture, and that not only for Poland.

But in the Polish incidents there are special, unusual features, which give them a transcendental importance.

POLAND'S POSITION

Poland is a country of Fascism, where those, albeit restricted, "democratic liberties" which the workers of France, Germany and Britain use in their struggle do not exist. Poland is a land of White Terror, of savage police suppression of the workers, and the complete illegality of the Communist Party.

Poland is the weakest link in the chain of European stabilisation. Owing to the backwardness of Polish industry, owing to the enormous load of expenditure on State, and particularly on the military, apparatus in Poland, stabilisation is conditional exclusively upon a high rate of exploitation of the workers. That unprecedented exploitation is the corner-stone of Polish stabilisation.

Finally, Poland is the country which more intensively and extensively than any other is preparing for war against the U.S.S.R.; in

that war it is assigned the role of the capitalist advance-guard.

Consequently in Poland "class peace," the complete strangulation of the class struggle, the unprotesting submission of the working class to capital and to its State is the basic condition of the success of stabilisation and the war plans of capital.

The three weeks' strike of 150,000 textile workers in Lodz and the entire district, the general sympathetic strike which embraced all the workers, including the waiters in the cafés and the domestic servants in a number of towns, demonstrate that there can be no "class peace" in Poland, that the Fascist terror is impotent against the class solidarity of the workers, that in the event of Pilsudsky's attacking the Soviet Union his rear will not be safe.

THE COMMUNIST POSITION

The events at Lodz show that the Communist Party, which is actually able to link itself with the real proletarian masses, which bases itself on tempered revolutionary workers, cannot be shattered, cannot be isolated from the masses. The events at Lodz have shown that the Polish Communists stand at the head of enormous masses, that they were the real inspirers, the initiators and leaders of the movement. More than that, the Lodz strike has shown an attempt, which though not crowned with success, was in any case a thought-out, firmly carried out, serious and highly promising attempt to realise the independent organisational leadership of the strike struggle on the part of the C.P. and the revolutionary wing of the trade unions, despite their compromising heads, in conditions of complete illegality, and in face of the compromisers having in practice the support of the entire machinery of the Fascist camp.

The experience of the Polish comrades during the Lodz strike must be studied by the whole of the Comintern.

WAGES IN POLAND

Statistics have been given concerning the wages of the Polish textile workers, which are only half those of the German textile workers. We supplement this with certain general information on the condition of the Polish proletariat, taken mainly from the recently published official materials of the "Investigating Commission" set up a year ago by the Polish Government, *i.e.*, from a source which it is impossible to suspect of injustice to the capitalists. These statistics confirm the position that stabilisation in Poland is built up on an exploitation of the workers which is unexampled in Europe.

According to the Governmental Investigating Commission the real wages of the miners in coal mines at the end of 1926 were 26 per cent. lower than those of pre-war, and constituted only 40 per cent. of the real wages of miners in the Ruhr Valley. The Government Commission's report reads (Volume V., page 153):

"The comparison of the growth of the workers' productivity of labour with the increase in wages and increase in prices of coal reveals a clear lack of correspondence in the development of these levels to the detriment of wages. The wage is inadequate to satisfy the indispensable needs of the majority of the workers occupied.

In 1928 the miner's productivity of labour exceeded that of pre-war days by 10 per cent. Wages were 20 per cent. behind those of pre-war days. Thus the cost of wages in producing a ton of coal fell by 27.3 per cent. by comparison with 1914, while the price of coal rose by 6 per cent. The rate of exploitation rose rapidly, and the miners suffer from terrible impoverishment.

The Investigating Commission stated that in the sugar industry of central Poland 88 per cent. of the workers receive a wage which is more than 25 per cent. below subsistence level.

The report speaks of the "critical" position of the workers.

Of the super-phosphate industry the Investigating Commission stated that in a number of factories not a single worker receives more than 33 per cent. of the recognised subsistence level.

THE TEXTILE INDUSTRY

We turn to the textile industry. It is chiefly concentrated in Lodz, in point of size the second largest town in Poland (600,000 inhabitants), where there are about 1,000, large and small, factories, and in a number of factory towns around Lodz (Pabianitza, Egerz, Ozorkov, Piotrkov, Kalisz and others). The two other centres, Bialostock in the east and Bielsk in the south, are of secondary importance. Of the 850,000 workers occupied in Polish industry in works employing more than twenty hands in June, 1928, 167,000 or 19 per cent. were textile workers. They form a large section of the Polish working class.

During the last two years the textile industry has in general been in a very favourable position; the cotton section exceeded the pre-war level of output, working up 79,000 tons of cotton in 1927 as against an average of 70,000 tons in the three years previous to the war, and against the 65,000 tons of 1922, which year was the record year of the inflation period. The woollens section is producing 50 to 60 per cent. of the pre-war figure, but one that is higher than that of the preceding years.

GENERAL INDUSTRIAL PROSPERITY

The number of workers in the entire industry has increased from 148,000 in June, 1925, to 167,000 in June, 1928, despite the rationalisation which has been carried out during this period. The prosperity of the manufacturers is evident by the fact that the factories are being enlarged and new equipment being introduced. The import of textile machinery has grown from 4,400 tons on the average of 1924-26 to 9,000 tons in 1927, and 7,100 tons during the first eight months of the present year.

All this prosperity, however, is based on the exceptional rise in the rate of exploitation of the workers.

The severe economic crisis of the end of 1925 and the beginning of 1926, when the number of textile workers was reduced by half, while the remainder worked a short week, a time when Lodz was literally dying of hunger, was exploited by the manufacturers for the purpose of a resolute attack on the textile workers. The eight-hour day was abrogated, wages were cut down by fixing rates in paper zloties (a zloty is about 6d.) in face of a sharp fall in the currency—"rationalisation" had begun. The Fascist *coup d'état* in May, 1926, set up a firm Government which stood on guard over these conquests of the capitalists. During a period of favourable trade the textile workers were compelled to work under conditions which had been forced on them in the days of the most terrible need and unemployment.

THE WORKING HOURS IN FACTORIES

How many hours does the Polish textile worker work? We find our answer in the investigations made by the Inspector of Labour, Mme. Gallina Krakhelska, the results of which were published in 1927:

"There is no eight-hour day in Lodz. Lodz has repealed it. The twenty-four hours of the labour day are divided into two shifts of twelve hours each.

"To-day a twelve-hour shift is by no means a record. Sixteen-hour shifts without a break are to be met with. A large number of the factories in the Lodz county are working sixteen hours with the same workers."

Among the factories applying the twelve-hour shift, Madame Krakhelska specifies the very largest: Scheibler and Groman, with 7,400 workers; the Posen, with 5,800; Gayer, with 4,000; the Vidzevsk Manufactory, with 11,000 workers and so on.

She points out that "the workers are working twelve hours and more without any additional wages."

EARNINGS OF POLISH WORKERS

And how much does the Polish textile worker earn?

The Government Investigating Commission established on the basis of an investigation of the reports of factories embracing 50,000 workers, that in 1925 the average wage was 1,150 zloties (gold), i.e., 1,978 paper zloties per annum. According to the statistics of the Ministry of Labour the wages in the summer of 1928 constituted 80 per cent. of the nominal of 1925, i.e., 1,582 zloties per annum, or 30 zloties per week. Thirty zloties is about 15s. in value.

According to the statistics of the Ministry of Labour the official rate for a qualified worker in the textile industry does not reach 90 per cent. of the subsistence level. Taking the wage rates, a spinner receives 60 per cent. and a labourer 50 per cent.

But these official statistics gloss over the reality.

In the first place, even during the best months, 20 to 30 per cent. of the workers do not work a full week (in August, 1928, only 40,000 out of 165,000); in the second place, it is the practice everywhere in Lodz to pay below the rate; despite the collective agreement signed by the manufacturers themselves, they pay 10 per cent. lower than the rate and even less. In 1927 a series of local strikes arose out of the sacking of factory delegates who protested against this systematic fraud. The conditions of labour are reminiscent of conditions in British factories in the middle of the nineteenth century. Mme. Krakhelska says:

"There are dining-rooms in the large factories, but they are not used; in Lodz a dinner break is to-day numbered among myths together with the eight-hour day.

"The great majority of the Lodz factories have no ventilation system even in the spinning rooms, even where the cotton waste is separated.

"In the largest of the factories, in rooms where several hundred workers are labour-

ing, one can find washing-basins with taps that have not been in working order for several years.

"Even the most modest demands, such as the erection of separate lavatories and washing-places for women, are regarded as impossible of fulfilment," and so on.

RATIONALISATION

In regard to "rationalisation," the report of the Governmental Commission says :

"The reorganisation of labour has consisted essentially only in a reduction of the number of workers operating the machinery in the spinning and separating rooms, and in an increase in the number of looms attended by one weaver.

"Reorganisation has not been accompanied by increase of wages proportionate to the increase in the intensity of labour. Wages have changed little or not at all."

Madame Krakhelska says :

"By comparison with the minding of two looms stipulated in the agreement, the minding of four looms demands a doubled expenditure of energy. Unfortunately this has not brought with it a rise in wages. On the contrary, a woman working at four looms sometimes does not earn even the rate which was laid down for two looms; the 50 per cent. premium for intensified labour which was first introduced is no longer given.

"Meantime looms without automatic adaptations must come to a standstill every time the thread breaks, and thus the work is continually being interrupted. With bad thread the minding of four looms is so intensive and heavy a labour that the worker is plunged into despair."

But this picture of unrestricted exploitation still does not satisfy the Lodz manufacturers. At a conference in the Ministry of Industry, held in February, 1928, their representative, M. Varchinsky, declared :

"Production is overloaded with unproductive charges, although we have passed

into a period when the problem of economy [Read: the interests of capital.—Ed.] is beginning to dominate over all others. . . . Certain elements of the former period still remain to influence our life. I have in mind the incommensurable inflation of social legislation and labour protection."

GOVERNMENT SUPPORT OF CAPITAL

The Fascist Government is meeting M. Varchinsky's demands halfway. It is issuing one law after another, is creating an entire system of labour legislation, the intention of which is to bind the workers hand and foot, to strangle any manifestation of the class struggle and simultaneously to set up the semblance of State protection of the worker in the form of arbitration courts, courts on labour affairs and so on, to set up a legend of the Fascist State as a super-class, dispassionate arbiter between capital and labour.

It was on the basis of one of the Fascist decrees that the manufacturers in September last published new regulations and tables of fines. These tables included fines for talking during work, for combing one's hair, for being in lavatories longer than three minutes or more than twice a day, and similar "misdemeanours."

The publication of these tables of fines gave rise to the first September strike, which ended with the victory of the workers.

The situation in Lodz had been developing over a long period, and the Lodz organisation of the Polish C.P. had been preparing for months ahead.

RELATIVE STRENGTH OF TRADE UNIONS

The elections to the Sejm in March, 1928, had shown an enormous growth in the influence of the Communists, who in Lodz obtained 50,000 votes as against the 73,000 cast for the list of the united Polish and German compromisers (and against 14,000 Communist votes cast at the elections in 1922). They also showed the bankruptcy of the National Labour Party, once powerful in Lodz, and which controls the so-called "Polish" trade

unions, and also of the Christian-Democracy Party, which controls the "Christian" trade unions. This strengthening of the Communists and a parallel increase of the P.S.P. at the cost of the nationalists, greatly increased the relative importance of the class trade union of textile workers as compared with the national and Christian unions, in face of an absolute drop in the number of members of all three unions.

But from the leaders of this union, who were entirely composed of P.S.P. members and rotten throughout, it was impossible to expect that they would lead the workers into the struggle. No form of "pressure" merely of resolutions and demands could drive them into the proclamation of a strike. "We're not such fools as to work for the Communists," the secretary of the Lodz committee of the textile union once said.

The Lodz organisation, which had behind it the experience of the strike in March, 1927, ended by Governmental arbitration, immediately after the elections took a course for the independent organisation of a strike despite the leaders of the union and for the establishment of an enlarged strike committee, elected by the workers from the factories, as an organ for the revolutionary direction of the struggle.

The strike was proposed to begin in June. However, the unexpected worsening of the economic position of the industry in May and the reduction of the workers which continued throughout June caused the masses to waver. The compromisers exploited the lull to come to an agreement with the manufacturers for a rise of 6 per cent., but made no other demands concerning the length of the day, the rights of factory delegates, supplementary payment for minding a larger number of looms and so on.

Beginning with July the tension of the masses began again to increase, a number of partial conflicts broke out, the organisation developed an enormous explanatory and organisational work. The term of the collective agreement came to an end in September—the decisive moment was approaching.

THE STRIKE BREAKS OUT

Publication by the manufacturers of the table of fines hastened events. The Lodz organisation called upon the workers to strike, and in the very first day 40,000 workers took to the streets. The next day all Lodz was on strike. The trade union joined in the strike—after the event.

The organ of the Lodz industrialists, "Respublika," wrote on 23rd September:

"As is well known, the leaders of the trade union were not the initiators of the entire movement, rather they came in at the death, sanctioning merely the fact which had been consummated without their participation and even against their intentions."

Another newspaper wrote:

"The delegate meeting decided to declare a strike despite the view of the administration of the trade union, and to carry it on until the fines tables had been recalled.

"The chairman of the N.L.P. union stated that more than 40,000 workers left their work without the knowledge or agreement of the administration of the union."

The strike was directed not only against the manufacturers, but also against the Fascist law which had served as a basis for the fines tables. The Fascist Government and the manufacturers took fright at the dimensions of the movement, and its revolutionary character; they wished to play for time, and so the Ministry of Labour temporarily annulled the fines tables on the fourth day of the strike ostensibly owing to certain of their clauses being in contradiction to the law. The reformists hastened to liquidate the strike (22nd September). But they were then unable to stop the movement. The delegates' meeting put forward the demands: 20 per cent. rise in wages, an eight-hour day, the recognition of the inviolability of delegates in the collective agreement, payment for breakdowns, additional payment for minding an increased number of looms and so on.

The manufacturers were hoping that there

would not be a second strike over these demands, that (in the words of the "Respublika") "No legal trade union would risk a call to strike, since the leadership might too easily slip from the hands of the trade unions." Consequently they turned down all the workers' demands. But they were out in their reckoning. The hardened opportunists at the head of the union better estimated the mood of the workers; they realised that if they themselves did not declare a strike it would be declared by the Communists, and consequently they decided to put themselves at the head of the movement. A struggle began in which the whole of the textile workers participated; the struggle lasted three weeks, during which the workers demonstrated a marvellous steadiness and devotion, while the P.S.P. leaders revealed a mastery of subtle deception, hypocrisy and coldly calculated treachery.

LEADERSHIP OF THE STRIKE

In the realm of leadership the revolutionary wing of the trade union took a big step forward in comparison with the previous strike. At that time the directing organ was a committee composed of representatives of the three trade unions, *i.e.*, of bureaucrats; this time a general meeting of factory delegates threw up a strike committee from the rank and file workers, in which committee the revolutionary workers were in a majority.

This strike committee was the initiator of the general strike of solidarity throughout the Lodz district. The P.S.P. regional commission of trade unions could put up no opposition to it. But the Central Commission of Trade Unions in Warsaw was cunning enough not to find any time during the whole of the Lodz struggle to discuss the question of assistance to the textile workers, and, of course, remained deaf to the demands of the workers for a declaration of a general sympathetic strike throughout the country.

The general sympathetic strike which was carried out by the workers in Lodz and district with exceptional success, embracing the most backward sections of the proletariat—this general strike is a new phase of the

struggle against Fascism; it is a fresh, higher stage, reached by the workers' movement in Poland. While last year's strike of textile workers was the first mass economic movement of the workers under the Fascist dictatorship, the present movement has led to the first general strike under Fascism.

This strike heralded the highest point of the movement; it was this very tremendous outburst of the workers which was exploited by the traitors for the organisation of the betrayal. Under the pretence of enlarging the strike committee by including representatives of other spheres of industry, taking part in the general strike, the P.S.P. leaders introduced trade union bureaucrats from other unions into the committee, and thus ensured for themselves the majority of the enlarged committee.

PARALYSIS OF THE STRIKE COMMITTEE

Thus the committee was paralysed and the organisational prerequisites for the betrayal were established. The regional commission of the trade unions now began to liquidate the general strike step by step, under various pretexts releasing more and more categories of workers, printers, provision workers and communal workers from the obligation to strike. Disorder, reciprocal suspicion, and vacillation were deliberately introduced into the army of strikers, and the united front began to break. The socialist Machiavellis prepared the final stab in the back.

We must take stock of all this subtle manoeuvring; it should serve as a lesson and a warning for future struggles.

What was the role of the Communist Party? Everywhere the Communists were at the head of the masses. The Communist deputies Bittner, Rosiak and Sipula spoke at innumerable street meetings, broken up by the police and again assembling. The Communists led the masses to the prison where revolutionary strugglers are confined; they organised street demonstrations; they led the pickets. From the first day of the strike they devoted themselves to unmasking the manoeuvres of the compromisers, they set up mass control over

the trade unions and over the strike committee, they forced the Sherkovskys to expose themselves by summoning the police against the demonstrators.

An enormous step forward was taken in Lodz towards the realisation of an independent organisational leadership of the struggle despite the compromisers. But the task was far from being achieved in its entirety. The heavy weight of dual authority lay on the organisational leadership of the strike. On the one hand was the legal administration of the trade union, availing itself of the press and the technical machinery, and supported by the Government, an administration the entire aim of which was the break-up of the movement; on the other hand was the semi-legal strike committee, directed by the illegal Communist Party, against which was directed the most frenetic persecution during the whole period of the strike.

STRIKE AND GOVERNMENT

But despite all these exceptional difficulties of leadership, for three weeks the P.S.P. were unsuccessful in their efforts to smash the strike. More than that: the Government did not dare to announce a compulsory arbitration decision, as they had done in other cases. The strike committee and the delegate meeting rejected Government arbitration. This decision of the committee was a great step forward. It shows that the strike was directed against the basis of Fascist stabilisation and against the Fascist dictatorship not only for objective reasons, but because the masses consciously came out against the Fascist Government, as against an enemy and associate of the capitalists. The stubbornly propagated legend of the super-class nature of the State was dispersed in the fire of the class struggle. The political nature of the movement is witnessed to also by the decision of the strike committee to appeal for help to the Profintern (R.I.L.U.), despite the decision of the trade union administration. In Fascist Poland such an appeal is regarded by the bourgeoisie and their lackeys as high treason. Appeals against war and in favour of the U.S.S.R.

were made at every meeting, at every demonstration of the strikers.

STRIKE BETRAYED

After three weeks of heroic struggle, of martyrdom to hunger, of police terror, of newspaper slander, the textile workers allowed themselves to be duped. The packed strike committee secretly resolved by a majority of votes to end the strike, without submitting its decision to the factory delegates' meeting for confirmation. The union administration, which for a whole week had been secretly carrying on negotiations with the manufacturers behind the workers' backs, put into circulation the false rumour that the majority of the demands would be satisfied in the collective agreement and called on the workers to return to work. Only on going to the factories did the workers become convinced that they had been shamefully duped and betrayed. The new collective agreement provides for a total rise of 5 per cent. and small supplementary payments for minding a larger number of looms, but does not guarantee the rights of factory delegates and does not even safeguard the return of all the strikers to work. The indignation of the workers knew no bounds; in a number of factories they continued the strike for two or three days, but the great movement was broken.

POLITICAL ASPECT

What is the political result? The P.S.P. does not dare to face the workers, but at every appearance of the Communist delegate and Lodz weaver, Rosiak, in the street crowds of workers gather around him. The authority of our Party has grown; the P.S.P. has once more unmasked itself on a grand scale. Before the revolutionary Lodz workers is the task of still better preparation for the following struggle, of passing from dual authority in strike leadership to undivided revolutionary leadership. Before the whole Party lies the task of raising the movement to the next stage on an all-Polish scale.

Lodz was not victorious. But Lodz has

shown that Polish stabilisation is based on such exploitation, on such elimination of working-class rights, as will inevitably feed and intensify the class struggle, will steadily lead to more powerful and more extensive attacks of the proletariat. Lodz has flung down a challenge to Polish Fascism, Lodz has given an example of heroic struggle, Lodz has provided a pattern of how to organise the struggle of the masses against capital and Fascism despite the compromisers. Lodz has shown that the proletariat has accumulated a treasure of devotion, courage, class solidarity

and hatred for the class enemy. Lodz has shown that the Communist advance-guard is growing in the struggle, and is leading after it tens and hundreds of thousands of proletarians.

And so the Lodz events are a guarantee that the plans of world imperialism, preparing to move its regiments against the U.S.S.R. and to crush the working class under the iron heel of Fascism; that these plans will be shattered.

Lodz has been beaten, but—hurrah for Lodz!



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“The Union is the Workers’ Business Agency for Industrial Efficiency”

—William Green

A Review of the “American Federationist,” Official Organ of the American Federation of Labour

By Joseph Zack

THE above quotation from the January, 1928, issue of the “American Federationist,” New Year’s editorial of Wm. Green, President of the American Federation of Labour, shows more clearly than anything else the policy of the American trade union bureaucracy.

This “new frontier” of labour, as Green calls it, embodied in the above quotation, seeks to realise new “ideals” of labour, which are to convert the capitalists to the idea that labour can become a factor in intensifying its own exploitation, and that the bureaucracy can act as an effective salesman of labour, if only the employers would be pleased to recognise them.

Thus Green solemnly declares :

“It is in the interests of labour to co-operate with the unorganised in the elimination of industrial waste, and in the finding of better production methods.”

In another part of the article he states :

“Greater economies in human labour power will make higher standards for workers; machines displace workers, but they can raise the standards of the workers that remain in employment.”

EFFICIENCY AND IMPROVED CONDITIONS

Green, of course, does not care what becomes of those that do not remain employed and are thrown out of industry by technical progress. But for those who remain efficiency can improve their conditions. Yes, it can, but not under capitalism, as Mr. Green very well knows. We need but mention a few industries such as the automobile, coal, textile, oil, shoe, etc., where machinery has been improving production, but the wages, nevertheless, have fallen and hours increased.

Mr. Green now speaks in his new capacity

of production expert, raising hell with the coal capitalists for their wasteful methods, and offering his services :

“The mine operators have inflicted upon this country a policy of waste and disorganisation. Not only have they expanded mine operations in a most uneconomical manner and authorised most wasteful mining practices, but they added wasteful extravagance in labour policies that bring conflict and additional waste.”

Then, complaining that they have not listened to his loyal advice, and launched a war against the Miners’ Union, he offers to take their difficulties into consideration by stating :

“Whatever difficulties the mine operators [owners] may submit to in refusing wage increases, they have absolutely no cause for their efforts to destroy the Miners’ Union.”

Mr. Green knows well that not only do the coal capitalists flatly refuse wage increases, but they demand a wage reduction. To state this fact, however, would expose Mr. Green’s effusions on the progress that is being made by the policy and “ideals” of class collaboration.

CONVINCING THE CAPITALIST

Mr. Green then proceeds to debate with an open-shop machine-tool manufacturer, who, in a production conference, mentioned everything but left out labour. He states :

“When the management realises that workers really have a share in industry, and that it is a very practical idea to organise industry so that workers may co-operate constructively with the management, industrial relations assume a new potentiality.”

In plain English this means that Green in

his capacity of production expert, points out more effective methods of exploitation of labour, and insists that capitalism "reform" its wasteful methods of dealing with labour, by recognising the good services of Green and Co. He argues the matter in detail, and says :

"The workers have experience of the details of production that can be put to use in effecting economies and developing improved methods. *It is for such co-operative purposes that our trade unions have been offering their services, and the unions are the only agency through which co-operation can come.*"

Thus Mr. Green offers to sell the "moral element" to act as a decoy to lead the mass to the slaughter. He considers that, as the representative of "free trade unions," he can create among the workers illusions strong enough to make them voluntarily assist rationalisation, and to ensure the continued exploitation of the workers as the result of a monopoly granted by the employers to represent labour by company unions led by Green and Co. This is the goal, the "ideal" of Green and Co.

A NEW GOSPEL

Mr. Green keeps on reiterating his new gospel in every issue of the journal, and in the May issue, 1928, he states it thus :

"Collective bargaining and co-operation with management open up to trade unions unlimited opportunities to bring discussion of workers' experiences and ideas into problems and councils where they have never before gotten a hearing. Co-operation opens the way to higher planes of organisation for industry."

Further on he states :

"It requires discipline and study for a wage earner to stand up in industrial conferences among technicians and highly advanced representatives of capital and management, and point out that labour represents an essential function in industry."

Yes, and we know that a part of this service that Mr. Green offers is spying on "radicals," who are a dangerous element in the "orderly" pursuit of capitalist production, and it has not been only once that "reds" have been discharged through this kind of services, not only in unionised enterprises but in unorganised as

well. In fact, many of the Federation's officials are on the pay-roll of the capitalist for this specific purpose.

The "American Federationist," although professedly a labour journal, is filled with writings of capitalist efficiency experts and bourgeois writers. One Otto S. Beyer, efficiency expert, is taken by Green as a Crown witness in the January issue to testify to the correctness of the A.F. of L. policy. Beyer thus comments on the benefit to the capitalists of the new "ideals" of the A.F. of L. He states :

"The union-management co-operative movement in America is not quite ten years old, although it was not until 1923 (after the defeat of the railroad shopmen's strike) that the first intensive experiment in co-operation was started by the union of mechanics employed in the repair and manufacture of rolling stock on the Baltimore-Ohio Railroad. Fully 75,000 workers are now working under this co-operation programme. These workers are pledged to take an active part in saving materials, increasing the output and improving workmanship. Joint union-management conferences are held to give practical effect to this desire to co-operate. The workers are expected to be alert for new ideas for the purpose of improving some process, or making some saving in time or material, and they are also expected to call, through their representatives, the attention of the management to wasteful practices. [Note: This means the workers are expected to spy on each other.] Experience has shown that the co-operative efforts among the workers can be developed to a high degree, and the results have been gratifying. It has been clearly shown, for example, that the workers, individually and collectively, will stimulate one another as well as the management to improve production in the plant and industry."

MR. GREEN COMPLAINS

In the April, 1928, issue, Green continues to complain about the stubbornness of the coal capitalists in refusing his services. He states :

"The strike, which began nearly a year ago, has become practically civil war, and has built up hostility between groups that will handicap the industry for years. Can any industry

escape responsibility for its rehabilitation when it has failed to keep pace with industrial progress?"

In other words, if the capitalists would efficiently rationalise coal production they could continue to pay the present wage scale. To achieve this the union offers its services. Green points out the advantage of rationalisation by showing that effective rationalisation would eliminate 200,000 miners from the payroll. Mr. Green, in his capacity of production expert and labour salesman, adopts a superior attitude towards these stupid antics of the employers who provoke civil strife and waste human energy, when under Mr. Green's plan things could be done so much better.

WHAT WILL RESULT?

For a long, long time the A.F. and L. had as its political policy the selling of the labour vote to one or another of the capitalist politicians of the Republican or Democratic Parties. From this to the policy of attempting actually to sell the labour power of the workers "collectively" (co-operatively, as Green calls it) is not far, but while political class collaboration was relatively easy in the days of free land and a booming industry based on a growing home market, the collective selling of labour power in the interests of capital in the days of no free land and of intense competition on the world market is not quite so easy, as Mr. Green has already had ample opportunity to find out.

A small number of skilled workers will undoubtedly benefit from the A.F. of L. policy, and during prosperity booms class collaboration illusions may be revived amongst large sections of workers by Green and Co. The fact, however, remains that American capitalists as a whole (at least for the present) do not take Green and Co.'s ideals seriously. For the last two years Mr. Green has been careering about the country, speaking at conferences and banquets of bankers, directors and managers, offering, like a loyal poodle dog, his "production efficiency unionism," and yet we have to-day the most ruthless war going on against the unions in the United States. There was never in American history such an epidemic of injunctions abolishing by arbi-

trary court decisions the traditional and established rights of the workers to strike, picket or organise. There was never such police terror against the most elementary attempts of the workers to struggle against wage-cuts and longer hours or for improved conditions.

In the January issue Green is forced to admit this by saying:

"Mine operators are seeking to accomplish through equity procedure [injunctions] results they are unable to accomplish by economic action or by law."

In the May issue Green states:

"The number and flagrancy of injunctions are a revelation to the public."

In plain English this means that the capitalists are violating their own laws, which formally permit organisation, picketing and strikes, that they do not rely solely on the economic power they possess, which in itself is enormous, but avail themselves ruthlessly of the armed forces of the State, and violate their own laws through their judicial flunkeys.

If Mr. Green had real and growing mass support in the important industries, his servile arguments would be more convincing to the capitalists, but in proportion that the A.F. of L. membership drops (there has been a loss of 2,000,000 since the world war), in that proportion capitalism turns a deaf ear, no matter how big and intense the solicitations and crocodile tears of Mr. Green and Co. may be. The capitalists have too much experience to be fooled by such "ideals" as Green's, knowing only too well that the antagonism between profit, short hours and high wages cannot be overcome by the smooth "ideals" of Green and Co. They rely more on their own dictatorship in industry than on Green's ability to cajole the workers permanently.

MR. GREEN'S POLICY NOT ACCEPTED

The capitalists of the United States do not accept Green's production experts on labour, as they do not want any kind of unionism which permits the workers collectively to gather and discuss even their most elementary needs. Green and Co.'s service to capitalism at this time does not consist in capital accepting Green's production efficiency brand of "company unionism," but in demoralising and

disorganising the two million workers still within the ranks of the A.F. of L.

It is a tragedy that at a time when capitalism in the United States is delivering its hardest blows against organised labour the only programme of action besides their whining class collaboration pleas to capitalists that the leadership of the A.F. of L. can offer is contained in the following proposal (January New Year editorial, 1928) seriously advanced in the "American Federationist" by Green himself :

"In many cities the local Chamber of Commerce greets newcomers with placards of welcome at the railroad station and in other conspicuous public places. The newcomer is invited to become one of them, and is told the way to clubs, rooms and offices. There is much in this technique the unions should adopt. The central labour union, like the Chamber of Commerce, is an agency that helps to build up the community. Why, then, should not the central labour union greet incoming wage-earners at the station, invite them to the union offices and provide them with information and services that convince them of the benefits of union membership."

There is a saying in America that best expresses the meaning of Green's proposal—"Catch the sucker while he is Green." Green and Co.'s high initiation fee sharks have the solution for organising the unorganised and building up the labour movement.

CORRUPTION AND "HIGH CHARACTER"

At a time when the State power is being used most ruthlessly against the workers the only counter-action politically that Green proposed (in the presidential elections) to the workers is contained (May issue, 1928) in the following :

"If a worthy president is to be elected in November, good candidates must be selected in the primaries. Recent revelations have disclosed to us the degradations to which political institutions may be reduced when corrupt politicians control. We have had an amazing and shocking succession of revelations which have in the immediate past disclosed connections which well might serve to show the treasonable conduct of men in places of public confidence."

Thus we have here an admission of the most thorough-going corruption in governmental offices, and the two capitalist parties "Democratic" and "Republican," that control them. As already shown, Green and Co. admit that the State power is being used unscrupulously against the workers through injunctions, etc. Yet the only thing that Green and Co. can propose as a solution is that the workers influence the selection of men of high character through the capitalist party machinery. He states it thus :

"The coming primaries are the strategic opportunity for assuring a president and a Congress of high order. If one party nominates a man of high character it is a challenge which the other party must match. Wage-earners should be active in promoting the nomination of candidates of high character."

It is indeed extremely difficult to understand what Mr. Green means by high character, considering that the A.F. of L. leadership is itself corrupt to the core. One only needs to look at the facts given in Foster's book, "Misleaders of Labour," which they never dared to challenge as to accuracy and facts, to see that the A.F. of L. machinery is as corrupt as, if not more so than, the capitalist parties. This is but natural, considering that the capitalist politicians on the whole represent the class interests of the bourgeoisie, while the American trade union bureaucracy systematically betrays the interests of the class it claims to represent, and expels and persecutes those workers that really dare to champion the interest of the working class.

Indeed, this treacherous policy of Green and Co. is not only a "New Frontier" of labour, but it is the last possible frontier as far as this brand of leadership is concerned. For the workers their leadership is not only absolutely worthless but a grave menace. Since the class struggle will not stop at the convenience of Green and Co., it will go on in spite of them. This has been the case already for the last two years, when every struggle of the workers, organised and unorganised, that had any leadership at all, was led by the Communists and the Left-Wing.

This is the character of American trade unionism as reflected through its official organ

by Green, Woll, Hutchinson, McMahan, Sigman and Hillman. In these days even the A.F. of L., child of imperialist capital, is being put out in the cold. If European social democracy, that casts envious eyes upon this new "ideal" type of unionism, can succeed in

marking this as socialism and successfully palm it off to the European workers, then indeed their services ought to be even more greatly appreciated than at present by Poincaré, Hindenburg and Baldwin.



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Intensification of the Class Struggle and the "Right"

WHEN in October the Bolsheviks seized power they acted on two assumptions: first, that they would be able to keep in power, would be able to commence and to finish the building of socialism in a backward country, basing themselves on the alliance of the proletariat and the peasantry under the leadership of the proletariat; secondly, that the proletarian revolution in Russia would not be an isolated phenomenon: by breaking through the imperialist front at its weakest point it would serve as a beginning and a motive force to the world proletarian revolution.

Needless to say, the social-democrats of all countries prophesied the contrary. At first they said that the Bolshevik Government could not last two months, that within the very near future this "forge of world revolution" would be extinguished, and only fumes

would be left. In accordance with this view they zealously damped down the developing revolutionary conflagration in their own countries. And when, owing to their treachery, a partial stabilisation of capitalism was effected in Western Europe, with a sigh of relief they said through Renner's lips: "The expectations of Russian socialism and its adherents outside Russia that the end of the war would have the world revolution, as its immediate consequence, have suffered defeat. . . . Something directly the contrary has happened. Thanks to the war itself the whole world is becoming capitalised throughout. . . . Only now is all the earth becoming capitalist, but not socialist, and Soviet Russia will be subject to the same fate."*

* See Renner in "Der Kampf" (August): "World Economic Bases of Social Policy After the War."

ELEVEN years have passed since the October revolution, and every year we ask of history: 'Whose prognosis has been justified—that of Lenin or the Mensheviks?

What does the eleventh year of proletarian dictatorship tell us on this point?

First in regard to the U.S.S.R. During this past year the Soviet Republic has experienced the Shakhty affair, which caused confusion in the ranks of the technical intelligentsia, and also very great difficulties in connection with grain purchases. Were these difficulties a symptom of the degradation of Soviet economy or, on the contrary, a symptom of the growth of the productive power of the towns and villages in circumstances of an intensified class struggle? The gradual solution of these difficulties has confirmed the accuracy of the view held by the C.P.S.U. leadership, that these difficulties had arisen directly out of the growth of the productive forces and the strengthening of the socialist elements of economy in face of the pressure of the capitalist encirclement and the capitalist elements within the country.

IN the preliminary drafts of the plan for the U.S.S.R., in connection with the capital investments and the reconstruction of industry, a decline in the tempo of growth of production to the level of 10 to 12 per cent. per annum was foreseen. In reality the tempo of growth of industry has not only not declined, but has even increased during 1927-28, in comparison with the previous year. While during 1926-27 industry grew by 18.2 per cent., in 1927-28 it has grown by 22.6 per cent. In its general dimensions the gross production of census* industry in the U.S.S.R. exceeded pre-war production by 27 per cent. It is true that, owing to conditions inherited from Tsarist Russia, and owing to the fact that the world and civil wars struck particularly heavy blows at the heavy industries, the growth in industry has not been an even one. The Gosplan control figures for 1928-29 (which, it may be mentioned, are now being subjected to correction in the direction of a still greater increase in the dimensions of production) indicate that the output of iron ore

* That is, enterprises employing more than 15 "hands."

will be only 76.7 per cent., and the production of cast iron 92.3 per cent. of the 1913 level. But in all the other spheres of industry a great advance is already revealed, and is also projected for the coming year. Thus, in accordance with the Gosplan control figures, the production of electrical energy in 1928-29 will constitute 340 per cent. of the 1913 level, the output of coal will be 142 per cent., the oil output will be 137 per cent. (and about 80 per cent. of the oil output is being obtained from wells bored during the Soviet period), the peat output will be 500 per cent. The output of internal combustion engines is 506 per cent., that of agricultural machinery is 260 per cent. by comparison with 1913. Of articles of general consumption cotton fabrics exceed pre-war output by 13.7 per cent., woollens by 6.9 per cent., sugar by 12.2 per cent. The production of superphosphates—the chief chemical manure, which formerly was imported from abroad—has in 1927-28 reached 273 per cent. of the pre-war level. The Soviet works have begun to produce rustless steel and dynamo iron, and are producing nitrogenous compounds from the air. The import of electric lamps has ceased, the production of textile machinery, motor-cars, match and leather machinery, has been begun; new cellulose and cotton mills have been built, and also an enormous new glass works. On the eleventh anniversary a new giant of the electrical industry, the State Electrical Power Station, was brought into operation. Following on the Volkhovka Electrical Station the Svirsk Electrical Station has been built, which produces double the power of the first. Great successes have been achieved in the chemical world and so on.

THE Soviet Government has taken as its aim not only the industrialisation of the country, but also the development of a tempo of industrialisation which will afford us the possibility of overtaking and passing the leading capitalist countries; and that tempo is being maintained in practice, despite the credit blockade, despite the injury worked from within the country, despite the inherited cultural backwardness, despite the economic difficulties. In the leading capitalist countries the annual growth of industrial production as

a whole does not exceed 10 per cent., while in the U.S.S.R. in 1927-28 it was 21.7 per cent., and for 1928-29 it is planned at 22.6 per cent.

Together with the quantitative growth of production and of the means of production in the first place, favourable qualitative alterations are observable, especially of late. Despite the insufficient supply of skilled labour power, and particularly of chemical personnel, together with a growth in the real wages in the U.S.S.R., we observe also a growth in the productivity of labour which is overtaking that growth in wages. During the last year productivity has grown by 14 per cent., under conditions of severe economic difficulties, in the sphere of supplies. But it is particularly worthy of mention that at last a break has been achieved in the matter of lowering the cost price of industrial production. At the beginning of the reconstruction period in 1925-26 we even had a rise of 1.7 per cent. in the cost of production; in 1926-27 we succeeded in reducing the cost by only 1.8 per cent.; in 1927-28 we at last achieved a noticeable change, and costs have fallen by 5.1 per cent.

DESPITE the vigorous growth of industry, the Soviet Republic has not yet outlived the goods famine. How is this to be explained? Though it may sound paradoxical, in so far as we do not speak of a goods famine in its acute, crisis form, that goods famine arises out of the sound socialist policy of the Soviet Government, and for a certain period of time, so long as the industrialisation of the Soviet Republic has not reached the necessary stage of development, it will be inevitable. The point is that in the capitalist countries, where accumulation goes on at the expense of the working class and the toiling masses generally, there is a permanent tendency to over-production, which periodically overflows in the form of severe industrial crises. But in the Soviet Republic the economic policy of the State is directed to ensuring that parallel with the accumulation there should occur an increase in the consumption of the working class and the peasantry. Here the increase in consumption of the people, stimulated by the revolution and the increase in their financial resources, is overtaking the

vigorous growth in productive forces. Consequently, despite the fact that during the past four years, in which the population has grown by 10 per cent., industrial production in the Soviet Republic has almost doubled, the goods famine still remains. In so far as the recent manifestations of the goods famine are concerned, they are explained by the rapid growth of capital investments in industry, which investments serve during the preliminary period preponderantly as a source of increased demand for industrial and agricultural commodities, while no commodities are put on to the market in exchange for some time after. But this severe form of goods famine will undoubtedly be outlived during the next few years. During the year 1928-29, more than 150 new industrial works will enter the market for the first time not only as buyers but also as sellers of new industrial commodities.

THE agricultural situation is worse. Owing to the extremely low agricultural standards inherited from the past, and the land being "parcelled out" to a great extent in consequence of the agrarian revolution, grain economy, and particularly its commodity proportion, lag greatly behind the growth of industry. Owing to this lag the production of grain cultures still constitutes only 89.2 per cent. of the 1913 level, which, in view of the swiftly growing demand for marketed grain in the conditions of industrialisation led in the summer of the present year to a crisis in grain collections.

However, despite this lag, the talk of "degradation" of agriculture in the U.S.S.R. is deprived of all basis, as is evident from the unbroken growth of the area sown with grain: in 1924-25, 89,100,000 hectares were sown with grain, in 1925-26 95,400,000 hectares were sown, in 1926-27 97,200,000 hectares, and in 1927-28 about 100,000,000 hectares.

A great increase in the extent of grain culture, and particularly of its marketed proportion, cannot be achieved within a short period of time. None the less, this question was extensively considered even at the Fifteenth Congress of the Party, and raised in the sense of the recognition of the "affiliation and transformation of petty individual holdings into great collectives" as the "basic task of the

Party in the countryside," parallel with the "consolidation of the Soviet farms and their transformation in practice into model large-scale establishments of a socialist type," and with a further consolidation of the petty individual holdings, especially those of the poor peasants. And in this direction no small results have been achieved. In 1927-28 750,000,000 roubles were assigned as aid to the middle and poor peasant husbandries, while in 1928-29 it is intended to put into operation a decree by which 40 per cent. of the total sums credited for individual holdings have to be directed to the poor holdings on easy terms. The plan for forcing the development of the collective and Soviet farms, adopted at the Party Fifteenth Congress, and given concrete formulation at the July Plenum of the Central Committee, is being successfully carried through. This plan meets halfway the trend of the poor and to a certain extent of the middle peasants, towards collectivisation—a trend which has greatly increased recently. In 1926-27 there were altogether 17,893 collective farms in the R.S.F.S.R., Ukrainian S.S.R., and the White Russian S.S.R. But in 1927-28 there were 34,854, which gives an increase of 94.8 per cent. During the year the gross output of the collective farms grew by 73.9 per cent. In July the Grain Centre stated that it has agreements with collective farms, artels and societies, by which it will receive 20 to 25 million poods of grain from them. The Soviet farms also were to yield 20 to 25 million poods of marketable grain.

In addition one has to add the rapid increase in the supply of grain through the agency of the co-operatives: according to the Grain Centre, from the spring contracts they expected to receive 825,000 tons of grain, of which 40 per cent. was already received by November 1st, while from the winter contracts they expected to receive 7,800,000 tons, which indicated an increase by nine and a half times! Of course, these are only the first results of the course taken, and for a comparatively long period to come agriculture in the U.S.S.R. will continue to be based on the small farms; but a certain break will be noticeable after five years. The financing of the Soviet farms in 1928-29 will be doubled by

comparison with that of 1927-28. In 1927-28 the gross production of the Soviet and collective farms constituted 2.4 per cent. of the total agricultural production and 6.4 per cent. of the commodity production. In 1928-29 it will constitute 8.0 per cent. of the total commodity production of all agriculture. But after the expiry of the five-year period the grain factories alone—the Soviet farms—will give 1,600,000 tons of grain annually, which will provide a very large reserve fund in the hands of the Soviet State.

PARALLEL with the rapid rate of industrialisation there is going on a growth in the numbers of the working class and a growth in the wages fund. Despite the rationalisation of production the number of the population occupied in wage labour has increased during the past year by 3.6 per cent. The wages receipts of the wage workers have increased by 10 per cent. during the past year, whereas the monetary income of the total population increased by 6.8 per cent. Together with the rise in wages of the backward categories of workers there is going on a reduction of working hours. While everywhere in capitalist countries the eight-hour day is being abandoned for a nine-hour day and even more, in the U.S.S.R. factory after factory is transferring to the seven-hour day.

The growth of the socialist sector and the increase in its specific proportion is to be observed in trade to the same extent as in industry. The proportion of the socialised sector in the lower grades of trade has risen to 82 per cent., while during the year the share of private trade has dropped from 32 per cent. to 18 per cent.

IN close connection with the swift tempo of growth of the socialist elements of economy and the elimination of the capitalist elements, there is taking place a rise in the cultural standards of the masses—although, owing to the inheritance of Tsarist times the absolute level of that culture is still very low. In the protection of motherhood and childhood the U.S.S.R. now takes the first place in Europe. The mortality of the population has fallen tremendously. During the eleven years 10,000,000 illiterates have become literate.

Before the revolution the elementary schools had 7,000,000 scholars, to-day they have 11,000,000. There were 564,000 students in the secondary schools in 1914-15; to-day there are 800,000. The workers' faculties—the favourite child of the proletarian revolution—now embrace over 45,000 peasants and workers. Professional education has more than doubled. In the higher educational institutions the workers' and peasants' sector constituted 37.8 per cent. in 1923-24; in 1926-27 it was 50.3 per cent.; in 1928-29 it will constitute 55 per cent. The circulation of newspapers has grown from 2,500,000 before the revolution to 8,000,000, and these newspapers, of course, do not contain the bourgeois poison.

We see that despite the inheritance of the past, despite the backwardness of the country and the economic difficulties connected with that backwardness, despite the capitalist blockade, despite the increasing opposition of the kulak and the Nepmen elements within the country, socialist construction is swiftly growing and developing.

BUT what is the situation on the world capitalist front? The capitalist countries are also now living through a third period since the end of the war—the reconstruction period. "There can be no doubt," say the theses of the Comintern Sixth Congress, "of the great increase in technique of the capitalist countries, which in certain of them (United States, Germany) is taking the character of a technical revolution." Parallel with this development "in the economic sphere is observable an exceptionally swift growth in the capitalist monopolies (cartels, trusts, banking consortiums) which exert a continually increasing influence on agriculture." But while, despite the temporary severe economic difficulties, in the Soviet Republic the socialist elements are more and more consolidating, in the capitalist countries, despite the vigorous growth in technique and the concentration of capital, we observe a continually increasing development of the contradictions gnawing at the capitalist system, at the basis of which contradictions is the following,

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according to the theses adopted at the Comintern Sixth Congress: "The growing productive forces of capitalism are more and more coming into conflict with the restricted bounds of the internal markets, which in a number of imperialist countries have contracted since the post-war ruin, and the growing pauperisation of the peasant masses in the colonies, and also with the post-war construction of world economy, of which the contradictions have increased and become extraordinarily complex by the new antagonism between the U.S.S.R. and the capitalist countries."

This basic contradiction of post-war capitalism is the source of new wars, which are swiftly developing behind the noise of the pacifist babble and under the cloak of the multifarious commissions for disarmament, "Kellogg Pacts" and similar screens, intended for the stupefying of the masses. From this basic contradiction arises the continually increasing antagonism between the British Empire and the United States, between the former and the present overlords of the capitalist world, which will inevitably take the form of a capitalist war, if the entire capitalist system does not crash before then. This contradiction partially explains the intervention of capitalist countries in the semi-colonial countries and the war being feverishly prepared against the U.S.S.R. This all shows how thoroughly false are the social-democrats' declarations that we have passed into an epoch of the peaceful development of capitalism under the flag of super-imperialism.

THE crisis of modern capitalism is demonstrated to the same extent in the intrinsic contradictions of the national capitalisms. During the so-called "normal" capitalist development the periods of industrial revival, the vigorous growth of technical progress, and the centralisation of capital were accompanied by a reduction in the reserve labour army and an increase in the number of the labour aristocracy. To-day, owing to the above-mentioned basic contradiction between the growth of productive possibilities and the contraction of the market, we observe colossal chronic unemployment not only in countries with a declining industry, such as Britain, but also in countries such as the U.S.A., where the number of unemployed has reached

4,000,000. Simultaneously in all the capitalist countries we at present observe not attempts to bribe the upper ranks of the working class, but, on the contrary, an intensified attack on the conditions of labour of the entire working class. Under capitalist rationalisation, and parallel with the extraordinary intensification of labour, the tendency to lengthen the workers' day and to reduce wages is being manifested everywhere. At the same time intensified pressure is being exerted on the trade unions, on the freedom to strike, in certain cases by direct interdiction (Italy), in others by compulsory arbitration systems, and in yet others by a system of organised strike-breakers and lock-outs. All this is accompanied by a terrorist attack on the revolutionary elements of the workers' movement.

This continually intensifying pressure on the working class has recently evoked a universal leftward movement among the workers, which trend has been manifested in the parliamentary elections in France, in Germany and in Poland, where there has been a partial withdrawal of workers from the social-democrats in favour of the Communist Parties in the industrial areas, and a widely extended strike movement, which, despite the frenetic Fascist regime, in Lodz took the form of a general strike, while the persecuted Communists succeeded in getting the practical leadership into their hands. Owing to the treachery of the reformists' trade unions, which directed the movement into the channel of compulsory arbitration, and to the counter-attack of trust capital in the form of lock-outs, in the majority of cases the extensive strike movement has so far not been crowned with success. But these enormous mass strikes, such as the mass strikes in Germany, for example, are symptomatic, and reveal the revolutionary possibilities with which the modern life of capitalist countries is pregnant.

THE situation is no better in the colonies and semi-colonies. Here also the social-democratic talk of the tendencies to decolonisation, the industrialisation of the colonies and their transformation into independent countries with vigorously developing capitalism is self-deception or deliberate lying, as the resolution on the colonial question, drawn up at the Comintern Sixth Congress,

points out. Hence the inevitability of the further development of the anti-imperialist revolutionary movement in the colonies and semi-colonies. In China the revolution has suffered heavy defeats; none the less, the united forces of the national counter-revolutionary bourgeoisie and the imperialist robbers have not succeeded in restoring the economic life of China or in deflecting the new revolutionary wave by even a half-hearted resolution of the Chinese problem. And they had not succeeded in quenching the fire in China before the situation in India began to grow acute. "The latest measures of British imperialism in India," say the theses on the colonial question adopted at the Sixth Congress, "show that the objective contradictions between the British colonial monopoly and the tendency towards India's independent economic development are growing more acute every year, and are leading to a fresh revolutionary crisis. The real menace to the British domination arises not from the camp of the bourgeoisie, but from the growing mass movement of the Indian workers, which is developing in the form of enormous strikes; at the same time the intensification of the crisis in the villages witnesses to the development of an agrarian revolution. These phenomena are leading to a radical alteration of the entire political situation in India."

SO we see that the theory of a "single world economy," according to which its every link, including the Soviet, would have to conform—that this theory, discovered by the social-democracy and now propagated by Trotsky also, is an out-and-out lie. A single world economy does not at present exist, but there are two hostile fronts: on the one hand, the Soviet economy, successfully overcoming the greatest of difficulties and growing continually stronger, together with the revolutionary movement of the colonial and semi-colonial countries, which is developing, with ebbs and flows, and undermining the bases of imperialism; on the other there is the capitalist economy of the imperialist countries, which, despite the vigorous technical progress and the as vigorous concentration of capital, is revealing all the signs of corruption and is

being consumed by insoluble intrinsic contradictions.

IT is just because that is the situation that the danger of war grows more and more actual for the Soviet Republic. It is just because of this that that war is being so feverishly prepared by means of a system of secret agreements, by means of secret conferences, by the conclusion of the latest Anglo-French *rapprochement*, directed against the Soviet Republic far more than against the U.S.A. or Germany, and finally by means of the affiliation of the German bankers to the most aggressive anti-Soviet organisation of all—the International Association of Russian Creditors.

In their day the Trotskyist opposition argued that the increasing danger of war against the U.S.S.R. was explained by a weakening of the proletarian dictatorship in the Soviet Republic, by its Thermidorian degeneration and the systematic defeats of the revolution in the East owing to the opportunist leadership of the Comintern. That is a fable. The position is exactly the reverse. When the Soviet Republic entered on the reconstruction period of its economy at the beginning of the N.E.P., when it was still economically extremely weak, the bourgeois States hastened one after another to recognise her *de jure* in the open belief that they would succeed in economically stifling Soviet Russia in their embraces, by means of establishing closer economic connections with her, and so transfer her economy to the bourgeois channels. But when the Soviet Government entered on the road of reconstruction, when it took a firm course for the industrialisation of its economy and proved that it could carry through that course successfully, despite all the difficulties, the capitalist world began feverishly to prepare for a decisive struggle with the Soviet Power.

The capitalist world is faced with the prospect of new imperialist wars over the partitioning of the earth, and in particular with the prospect of a war between the U.S.A. and Great Britain. But the imperialist Powers cannot lock together in a mutual scrimmage without safeguarding their rears, without guaranteeing themselves against their chief

enemy, who with every year consolidates her position still more and gets still closer contact with the colonial and semi-colonial peoples now preparing for the struggle. That is why the danger of war with the U.S.S.R. is drawing closer, that is why we are on the eve of a new cycle of wars and revolutions.

THUS life has completely justified the accuracy of the prognosis which Lenin made in 1915: "The inequality of economic and political development is an unconditional law of capitalism. Hence it follows that it is possible for socialism to be victorious preliminarily in a few or even in one separately taken capitalist country. The victorious proletariat of that country, who had expropriated the capitalists and organised socialist production at home, would stand opposed to the rest of the capitalist world, attracting to their side the oppressed classes of other countries, and in the event of its necessity entering even with armed forces against the exploiting classes and their States . . . for the free association of nations in socialism is impossible without a more or less protracted and stubborn struggle of the socialist republics against the remaining States." That war is now being planned not by the "victorious proletariat," who carry on a peaceful policy to the farthest possible extent, but by the capitalist countries; but the picture is not fundamentally changed by that fact.

THE fact that history completely confirms the accuracy of Lenin's prognosis shows that we are on the right road. Does that mean that we shall not have enormous difficulties to overcome along that road? Not in the least! One of the basic features of Leninism, distinguishing it from social-democracy, consists in Leninism having always been inimical to fatalism, in its having always rejected estimates of easy victories or an inevitable victory at the present day. There is not an instance in the history of the Russian revolutionary movement which Lenin directed where he did not sound the alarm concerning the great dangers menacing that movement. The strength of Leninism always consisted not in carrying out an ostrich-like policy, clos-

ing one's eyes to the dangers, but in seeing and revealing those dangers, and having the courage to overcome them, no matter how great they were. And now, realising that the objective conditions for the development of world revolution are very favourable, at the same time we must recognise that enormous difficulties lie on the road of revolution at the present moment, and that these difficulties have already caused vacillation and right deviations in almost all the sections of the Comintern.

What are those difficulties and in capitalist countries the right deviations connected with them? The international social-democracy shouts the louder anent the peace-making role of the League of Nations the more they become convinced of the approach of the war which they themselves are actively supporting. International social-democracy shouts the louder of "industrial peace" and "economic democracy" the more clearly they see the maturing of tremendous class battles. Bearing on their foreheads the stigma of the Cain's betrayal which they consummated during the world war and the post-war revolutionary crisis, international social-democracy join their destinies the more closely with those of the imperialist bourgeoisie the closer approaches the era of fresh military and revolutionary catastrophes. And it is for this very reason that the social-democratic parties have everywhere been transformed into openly bourgeois Labour parties of the counter-revolution.

AS a result, in all countries there has recently been effected a distinct polarisation. On the one front we have the leftward-moving working masses, on the other the united bloc of all the bourgeois parties, including the "left" social-democrats. Even the glorified "left Austrian" social-democracy has reached such a pass that it has published manifestoes together with the Fascists against the revolutionary proletariat. This clean-cut class differentiation caused the Ninth Plenum of the E.C.C.I. to lay down a new strategic line for the French and British C.P.'s under the slogan: "Class against class," the line of a united front only from below and an intensified fire against social-democracy and the reformists of all shades. But even then, and still

more after the Ninth Plenum, it became clear that sections of the Comintern or certain elements of those sections were not disposed to carry out, and are not consequentially carrying out, this slogan, and that the new more acute situation is inducing the growth of nakedly opportunist right deviations among them.

After the Comintern Fifth Congress, at the beginning of the stabilisation period, after a series of defeats of the revolution, when the task consisted not in going straight into the struggle but in maintaining and strengthening the link with the masses, the wavering in the Comintern sections took preponderantly the form of "left" deviations, such as the lack of desire or the lack of ability to carry out the tactics of the united front, withdrawal from the trade union movement, and so on. But when with the advance of the third reconstruction period the class contradictions grew more acute, when on the one hand there appeared the symptoms of a clear leftward trend among the working class, when on the other hand there was a closer concentration of the united counter-revolutionary front from the Conservatives to the social-democrats inclusive, when the war danger began to approach, part of the Communists in various sections of the Comintern rushed to the right, taking fright at the approaching heavy struggles. They did not wish to see all the severity of the pending war danger, they did not wish to see all the depths of the treachery of the "left" social-democrats, they did not wish to break the bounds of legality, they did not wish to take the initiative in the strike struggle so long as they were not masters of the trade union machinery, they did not demonstrate sufficient energy in the overcoming of the obstacles to their penetration into the large enterprises, they did not wish to reorganise the Party on the basis of production nuclei.

This led, *inter alia*, to the situation that, despite the growth in the C.P.'s political influence which was revealed at the parliamentary elections, the Party membership in certain sections became stagnant or even fell. This caused the Comintern Sixth Congress to sound the alarm on the "right" danger. The theses of the Comintern Sixth Congress formulated these right dangers in the following terms: "At the present time within the Com-

munist Parties the main line of deviations leads rightward from the sound political position, on the basis of a partial stabilisation of capitalism and in direct connection with the influence of the social-democracy. This deviation is revealed in the remnants of "legalism" and excessive subservience to legal forms, in an unsound attitude to social-democracy (for example, the well-known opposition to the decisions of the Ninth Plenum in France), in inadequate reaction to international events, and so on. These right deviations are particularly dangerous in face of the existence of comparatively strong social-democratic parties, and the struggle against them must be given prime importance, which presupposes a systematic struggle with a reconciliatory attitude to the right tendencies inside the Communist Parties. None the less, simultaneously there are left deviations," and so on.

LATER events have shown all the timeliness of the slogan of "Fire to the right," put forward by the Sixth Congress. Immediately after the Congress, in connection with the fiasco of the "Red Day" in Czecho-Slovakia, the E.C.C.I. had to address an open letter to the members of the Czecho-Slovakian C.P., in which it elucidated in detail the right opportunist errors in that party and the methods of outliving them.

Still later, in connection with the exploitation of the Wittdorff affair by the right elements of the German C.P. in order to make a frenzied attack on the C.C. of the German C.P., the E.C.C.I. Presidium was again forced to interfere, in order to assist the C.C. of the German C.P. to repulse the attack of the right wing.

But the right danger has recently come out into the open even in Soviet Russia in the ranks of the C.P.S.U., and also in connection with the intensification of the class struggle.

In the reconstruction period, when at the Fourteenth Party Conference the C.P.S.U., in connection with the Georgian rising and the revival of activities among the kulaks, made concessions to the middle peasantry (the liquidation of the remnants of "war Communism," the lightening of the rental conditions and conditions attaching to the employment of labourers) in order to consolidate its alliance

with the proletariat and thus to wrest it away from the kulaks, the opposition raised its head in the Party under a left "flag." Now the picture is changed. Now the shattered "left" Trotskyist opposition is endeavouring to exploit the economic difficulties in order to revive its counter-revolutionary work inside the Party. But now the chief danger for the C.P.S.U., as for all the Comintern, is coming from the right, for the Russian and the international situation has changed by comparison with 1925. When the course adopted by the Party at the Fourteenth Party Conference yielded its results, when the damaged alliance with the middle peasantry had been again restored, at the Fifteenth Congress the Party had the possibility of putting forward the slogan of a direct, "more resolute attack on the kulak" and forcing the collectivisation of the countryside. This more resolute attack, taken in conjunction with the measures for the reconstruction of industry and agriculture on the basis of the new technique with all the great difficulties involved therein, led to a further growth of the activity and struggle of the capitalist elements in the country (the Nepmen, the kulaks and the bourgeois intelligentsia) against the policy of the proletarian State, but this time on a higher stage of the Soviet economy's development and in connection with the forced advance of its socialist sector. This attack was revealed in the Shakhty affair, and in the exploitation of grain collection difficulties by the kulak elements in order to stultify those collections.

When there thus ensued an intensification of the class struggle along the whole line in connection with the strengthening of the socialist elements in economy—a struggle which cannot but grow acute from time to time in view of the development of socialist economy, and so long as the petty-bourgeois elements preponderate in the country—when this tense situation was created, certain vacillations to the right were revealed both in individual sections of the working class and in certain sections of the C.P.S.U. itself, particularly among the leadership of the Moscow organisation of the Party. This caused the C.C. of the C.P.S.U. to direct an open letter on 19th October, 1928, to all the members of the Moscow Party organisation. In this letter the C.C. explained how

these vacillations had been caused and the form in which they were expressed. "On this basis," the letter reads, "sometimes an attitude develops in favour of the reconsideration of the fundamental course of our Party, an attitude in favour of reducing the tempo of development in industry generally, and of heavy industry in particular. Instead of the Bolshevik overcoming of difficulties we thus get flight from them." "These vacillations," we read further on, "find their expression in an under-estimation of the role of the Soviet and collective farms, and in a tendency to reconsider the decision taken by the Fifteenth Party Congress to intensify the attack on the capitalist elements of the village." Later in this open letter there is mention of something which the C.C. had been forced to remark in their letter of February 13th: "In our organisations, both Party and others, there have developed recently certain elements alien to the Party, elements which cannot see the classes in the villages, who do not understand the basis of our class policy and are endeavouring to carry on the work in such a manner as to give offence to no one in the villages, as to live in peace with the kulak, and generally to retain their popularity among 'all sections' of the peasantry." Finally, in the same letter we read: "This under-estimation of the class struggle represents an openly opportunist deviation, a loophole to bourgeois democratic tendencies."

Thus the readiness to retreat before social-democracy in capitalist countries has found a corresponding tendency among the vacillating elements of the C.P.S.U. in the readiness to retreat under the pressure of the kulaks during the very period when the conditions have matured for a "more resolute attack on the kulak."

The open letter of the C.C. of the C.P.S.U. has found a sympathetic response in the active elements of the Party in Moscow, and in the re-elections to the nuclei throughout the Party generally, which demonstrates that the battle-tempered C.P.S.U. is in its great majority able to put up an energetic resistance to any form of right deviation, just as the recent conference of the German C.P. has resisted its right and reconciliatory elements. But the fact remains that the "danger" of the right

deviation in this present period of intensification of the class struggle does exist even in the C.P.S.U.

IN conclusion we repeat : The objective conditions for the development of the world revolution are at present extremely favourable, but the difficulties standing in the way of its development are extremely great. Great are the difficulties of developing socialist construction in the U.S.S.R., under conditions of struggle with the kulaks and with the imperialists' attempts to effect a financial blockade of the Republic; great are the difficulties of developing the class struggle in the capitalist countries against the united front of trustified capital with the treacherous social-democracy; great are the difficulties of the struggle against the impending war on the U.S.S.R. In all sections of the Comintern

these difficulties are evoking vacillations to the right. In order to overcome all these difficulties and in order to lay down the road to revolutionary victories in the approaching enormous struggles, we must first and foremost paralyse the vacillations in our own ranks. It is necessary to remember that the great victory of October was made possible only by the iron discipline of the Party, which paralysed the vacillations of some of the comrades at the moment of seizure of power. And this is an indispensable prerequisite to the victory of the world October.

"By the clarity of the Leninist line the struggle against all opportunism and against reconciliation with opportunism, we shall ensure the victory of our Party, the complete triumph of Leninism." (Slogan for the eleventh anniversary of the October revolution, put forward by the C.C. of the A.U.C.P.)



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Unemployment in Great Britain

By W. Hannington

GROWTH OF UNEMPLOYMENT

SINCE 1920 unemployment has been one of the greatest social and economic problems confronting British capitalism. In spite of all the prognostications made from time to time by capitalist economists of coming trade revivals we find a very serious increase in the number of unemployed during the last twelve months.

The number of persons registered as unemployed at the Labour Exchanges in Great Britain and Northern Ireland on June 25th, 1928, was approximately 1,239,000 (986,000 men, 198,000 women, 55,000 boys and girls).

Compared with the previous month we find that on May 21st, 1928, the total was 1,143,000, an increase of 96,000.

Taking the figures for June 27th, 1927, we find that the total registered unemployed was 1,032,000. June, 1928, therefore shows an increase over last year of 207,000 registered unemployed.

Here are the figures from June, 1927, to June, 1928 :

1927			
June	...	...	1,032,000
July	...	...	1,055,000
August	...	...	1,076,000
September	...	...	1,075,000
October	...	...	1,132,000
November	...	...	1,172,000
December	...	...	1,127,000
1928			
January	...	...	1,199,000
February	...	...	1,139,000
March	...	...	1,071,000
April	...	...	1,171,000
May	...	...	1,143,000
June	...	...	1,239,000

THE UNEMPLOYMENT INSURANCE SCHEME

There are other factors which must be taken into consideration that show that unemploy-

ment in Britain to-day is much worse than the above figures indicate.

The Unemployment Insurance scheme covers 11,800,000 workers. It does not cover agricultural workers or workers employed in private domestic service.

To-day the insurable age is between 16 years and 65 years. Since January, 1928, persons over 65 years of age have ceased to be insured under the scheme. This is the result of the Widows', Orphans' and Old Age Contributory Pensions Act, under which persons over 65 years of age receive 10s. per week pension.

The operation of the Act struck out from the Unemployment Insurance scheme 323,000 men and 24,000 women. When the Pensions Act commenced to operate on January 2nd, 1928, there were 30,000 persons over 65 years of age registered as unemployed who ceased to have any further claim on the Unemployment Insurance scheme, and consequently ceased to register themselves as unemployed.

For this category of unemployed worker the Pensions Act meant a sudden reduction in their meagre standard of existence, for it reduced them from 18s. per week to 10s. per week. The hardship was even more severe in cases where the man had been drawing dependents' benefit under the unemployment scheme. For a wife he would have been drawing 5s. dependents' benefit in addition to his own benefit of 18s., and if the wife was under 65 years of age, and therefore not entitled to the pension, the income to the home would be reduced from 23s. per week to 10s.

CHEATING THE UNEMPLOYED

The figures issued by the British Government on the registered unemployed by no means reveal the full volume of unemployment. Let us consider some other facts in connection with this.

During the last two years in particular the Baldwin Government has been operating what

it is pleased to term a "policy of economy" in the administration of the Unemployment Insurance scheme. To put it in simple language, this means that they have been resorting to every possible method and device for disqualifying unemployed persons from benefit, in brief, robbing them of the benefits for which they had been compelled to pay when in employment.

Between March, 1927, and March, 1928, 541,387 persons were refused claims for benefit at the Labour Exchanges. This means that unless these persons continued to sign the register they would not be recorded as unemployed in the figures issued by the Government.

Only a very small proportion of unemployed continues to sign the register after they have been disqualified from benefit. As an indication of this we find that on June 25th, 1928, there were only 30,322 persons who had been refused benefit signing the register.

There are no figures available on the number of persons unemployed and not registered at the Labour Exchanges, but the above figures on persons who have been refused benefit is an indication that such an army is very large.

But let us consider some other figures which will also help us in our continuation of the real number of unemployed in Britain to-day.

POOR LAW RELIEF

Figures issued by the Ministry of Health show that on June 30th, 1928, in 25 selected areas in England and Wales there were 561,513 persons in receipt of Poor Law relief. In six other selected areas in Scotland there were 125,847 recipients, making a total for the 31 selected areas of 687,360. This figure includes dependents but excludes "casuals" (i.e., tramps, of whom there are approximately 70,000). Out of the total in the 31 selected areas 125,772 were recipients of "indoor relief," that is, they had become inmates of the institutions known in Britain as "workhouses."

In order to get the figures for the whole of the country it is necessary to take the annual return issued by the Ministry of Health, which deals with an earlier date. But even

this only covers England and Wales, and does not include Scotland, which has its own Scottish Board of Health.

We find that on January 1st, 1928, the total number of persons in receipt of Poor Law relief in England and Wales alone numbered 1,364,691, comprising 389,117 men, 494,801 women and 480,773 children. Of the total 338,013 were in the "workhouses."

It must be remembered that those drawing Poor Law relief practically constitute a separate army of unemployed from those drawing Unemployment Insurance benefit.

There is only a relatively small number of cases to-day where persons are granted Poor Law Relief in addition to Labour Exchange benefit.

THE THIRD ARMY OF UNEMPLOYED

In the administration of Poor Law relief, as well as in the Unemployed Insurance scheme, the Government has frantically endeavoured to make it appear that the problem is abating by refusing relief every week to thousands of applicants.

Under the Unemployment Insurance scheme, in spite of the fact that they were refusing on an average 44,000 applicants every month, we find that between June, 1927, and June, 1928, the number of registered unemployed increased by 207,000. But with Poor Law relief they were more successful, and were able to show a decrease of 184,220 in England and Wales compared with a year previous.

We find, therefore, that there is a third army of unemployed, namely, those who have been refused both Labour Exchange benefit and Poor Law relief. How large this third army of unemployed is we cannot say, for there are no figures issued by the Government. We, therefore, are left to guess how many of those refused Labour Exchange benefit and Poor Law relief are still unemployed. But when we realise that the longer a person is unemployed, the more difficult it becomes for him to find an employer who will engage him, we can estimate that the third army of unemployed is of considerable proportion. I should estimate that it numbers 200,000 in Britain to-day.

Taking all these factors into consideration,

and taking a minimum estimate that out of the total persons drawing Poor Law relief in England, Scotland and Wales, 500,000 are adult workers not in receipt of Labour Exchange benefit, but drawing Poor Law relief owing to unemployment, we can estimate that the total number of persons unemployed in Great Britain to-day is approximately two million.

When we consider that the working population is only about 14,000,000 we see that there are nearly 15 per cent. unemployed. The registered alone form 10.6 per cent. of the insured workers on June 25th, 1928. We see, then, how serious is the problem of unemployment in Great Britain to-day.

During the period of British capitalist ascendancy it often suited the employers to have a large army of unemployed to act as a threat to workers taking strike action for increased wages. The employers viewed the unemployed as a potential blackleg force, and were generally successful in using them for that purpose. But to-day the problem has become so severe, and the unemployed themselves have so great a sense of class loyalty, that the employers can no longer view it in the old light, for it has now become a serious menace to them; a drain upon the resources of the capitalist State; a challenge to the very continuation of the capitalist society.

COMMUNIST WORK AMONGST UNEMPLOYED

The Communist Parties should devote attention to work amongst the unemployed. It is not possible in this article to deal with the international character of unemployment, but the arguments which are brought forward here in connection with Great Britain will have general application to other countries that are acutely affected by unemployment.

That unemployment provides an important field for mass agitation and for developing revolutionary activity, must be obvious to all practical-minded revolutionaries.

Some of the biggest agitations of the last eight years in Britain have been conducted by the unemployed organised in the National Unemployed Workers' Committee Movement. The great National Hunger March on London

in 1922-23, and more recently the Miners' March from South Wales to London in November, 1927, are two examples of this.

The National Hunger March was responsible for preventing the Bonar Law Government from introducing measures to attack the standards of the unemployed. The South Wales miners' march drew national attention to the appalling conditions existing in the South Wales coalfield.

Following the march numerous relief funds were opened. Committees of public men and experts were formed to consider the steps that should be taken to relieve the South Wales situation, and the pressure on the National Labour Party forced them to appoint special commissioners to visit South Wales and report their impressions publicly; and the Baldwin Government, in spite of a long period of stubborn refusal, has at last been compelled to give financial assistance to the industry. While all these things are no solution to the problem, they are, nevertheless, the direct results of the ferment created by the march.

It was the great mass demonstrations of the unemployed throughout Britain in 1921-22, the seizure of Town Halls and other public buildings for meeting places, and the numerous fights on the streets with the police, that completely changed the administration of Poor Law relief and established the claim of all able-bodied unemployed persons to such relief.

The policy of militant struggle of the Communist Party, that is most readily accepted by the unemployed, provides the Party with a splendid opportunity for mass agitation.

Further we must not overlook the importance of the organised unemployed in relation to the struggles of the workers in industry. We have excellent examples of this in Great Britain where, during strikes and lock-outs, the organised unemployed instead of becoming a blackleg force, have by mass picketing and demonstrations of solidarity proved a tremendous additional strength to the workers in dispute.

Now let us consider the importance of Party work amongst the unemployed in relation to certain other questions.

THE UNEMPLOYED AND THE PREPARATION FOR WAR

In what manner is unemployment related to the question of capitalist preparation for war? Let us consider some facts which show this.

On April 19th this year the new Unemployment Insurance Act passed by the Baldwin Government commenced to operate. It is necessary here to deal with the whole of the changes that are introduced by this Act, but a few important points must be considered.

First let us remember that this new Act was based upon the Report of a Committee known as the Blanesburgh Committee, which was formed in November, 1925, and upon which sat three prominent members of the National Labour Party, who signed the Report along with Lord Blanesburgh and other capitalists. These three so-called Labour representatives were Margaret Bondfield, Frank Hodges and A. E. Holmes. As a matter of fact, the recommendations which these signed were worse in some respects than the new Act which has been passed by the Conservative Government.

The new Act lays it down that no person in future can claim unemployment benefit who is not able to show 30 weeks' work within the two years immediately preceding the date of the claim.

But it is estimated that nearly half a million persons in receipt of benefit would not be able to fulfil this condition, and if this number were struck off benefit in one week it would precipitate a serious outbreak of struggle on the part of the unemployed. The Government has, therefore, very cunningly introduced into the Act what are known as transitional conditions by which a person who has only eight stamps on his insurance card (eight weeks' work) for the two years previous can be granted benefit. These transitional conditions will cease to operate in April, 1929.

This means that from the commencement of the operation of the Act the Government had one year in which to "comb" out all those who cannot fulfil the statutory condition. The rate of combing out will undoubtedly depend upon how the unemployed themselves react to the situation.

If the combing out is stimulating militant

action on the part of the unemployed then the process will no doubt be moderated.

For the 12 months immediately preceding the operation of the new Act there was an average of 45,000 claims for benefit rejected every month. But in the first month following the Act this number jumped up to more than 71,000.

Now, in a country like Britain with a voluntary army the bulk of the men recruited for the army are drawn from the ranks of the unemployed. They join the army to escape from conditions of poverty that have resulted from unemployment. This increase in the number of men refused benefit is unquestionably calculated to increase the number of volunteers for the army.

But there is something in the new Act even more glaring than this, that is, the heavy reductions in the benefits of young men between the ages of 18 and 21.

Here is the scale for this class of unemployed :

	Previous benefit	Present	Reduction
Men aged 20 to 21	18s.	14s.	4s.
" " 19 to 20	18s.	12s.	6s.
" " 18 to 19	18s.	10s.	8s.

This is the class of unemployed that suffer the heaviest reductions under the new Act, just that class of worker that is needed for the British Army.

Is this accidental? No, it is quite deliberate.

Prior to the Act being introduced the British Army report was issued which showed a falling off in the number of recruits, and attributed this to the "high" rates of benefit paid to the unemployed.

The next move was the issuing of the Blanesburgh Report and passing the new Act, which attacked most severely that particular section of unemployed men most suitable for recruiting into the army.

We see very clearly how the treatment of the unemployed is related to the question of war preparation.

We must also remember that with a standing army of 2,000,000 unemployed there is a danger of the bulk of these becoming an immediate voluntary army for capitalism on the outbreak of war, especially if the Government,

as we can quite conceive, is prepared to offer special conditions for first recruits.

From this standpoint then we see how important it is for the Communist Party to conduct anti-militarist work amongst the unemployed.

UNEMPLOYMENT AND RATIONALISATION

Let us consider briefly the importance of work among the unemployed in relation to capitalist rationalisation. We know that amongst other things rationalisation means increased unemployment. Mr. George Hicks, of the T.U.C. General Council, admitted this at a trade union conference in London where he was defending the "Industrial Peace" policy. Lord Melchett (Sir Alfred Mond) has also admitted it in articles which he has written to the "Manchester Guardian."

Between May 21st and June 25th this year there was an increase of 53,859 in the number of unemployed coal-miners. This was largely due to the application of rationalisation particularly in the Scottish and Yorkshire coal-fields. This provides the Party with a splendid opportunity for mass agitation among the unemployed against capitalist rationalisation. We can show the unemployed by clear facts that rationalisation means not an opportunity for them to get back into industry again, but, on the contrary, an additional displacement of workers from industry to swell still greater the colossal army of unemployed.

Work amongst the unemployed in relation to rationalisation means also undermining the influence of the Labour leaders who support the policy of rationalisation.

At the present moment the British T.U.C.

General Council is attempting to launch a scheme for organising the unemployed under their control. Is it some strange coincidence that they are doing this at the very moment when they are joining with the Mond group of employers in the policy of Industrial Peace and the capitalist rationalisation of industry? No! We can be quite sure that it is no coincidence. On the contrary, it is highly probable that there is a mutual understanding that in order to meet the increased unemployment due to rationalisation, the General Council should endeavour to organise the unemployed with a view to stifling any unemployed agitation.

This move of the British General Council must be smashed and the N.U.W.C.M. strengthened. The Communist Party must intensify its work amongst the unemployed. The Communist Parties must pay more attention to this question of work amongst the unemployed in the future. The Communist Parties in all countries where unemployment is acute must help to build up mass organisations of the unemployed on the model of the British N.U.W.C.M.

The Communist Parties must aim at the leadership of this great mass of unemployed workers in the capitalist countries. The Communist Party can accomplish this because it goes forward to the unemployed with a militant policy which has unemployed desire and which the social-democrats cannot offer.

The acute discontent of the unemployed must be harnessed and directed into the path of struggle against the capitalist governments for the overthrow of capitalism and the establishment of working-class rule.

The Situation and Prospects in Italy

By Ruggiero Grieco

FOREIGN comrades quite frankly ask themselves and us when the Fascist regime will fall. In other words, they want to know when the revolution will break out in Italy. If the situation of the Italian toiling masses is as bad as it is painted by the Italian Communists, and if it is true that the Italian workers and peasants are more or less openly demonstrating their aversion for the government which dominates Italy at the present time, if the economic crisis in Italy is so severe, why is Fascism holding its ground, and, judging from outside, is even consolidating its position?

Consequently, on us Italian Communists falls the task of spreading deeper understanding of the Italian situation among the comrades of the Comintern, and of explaining to them wherein the Italian paradox consists.

THE STRUCTURE OF ITALIAN ECONOMY

Italy is predominantly an agricultural country, without raw materials, external markets and a large home market. This basic feature of Italian economy has not changed as the result of war. The value of the agricultural production continues, as before, greatly to exceed the value of industrial production (we shall not produce figures, for in view of the complete absence of central statistical organs information is obtained as the result of the investigation of individuals, in consequence of which there is great divergence between the figures of the various investigators). It is a fact that during the ten years from 1911 to 1921 the correlation between the agricultural and industrial population has remained almost unchanged (in 1911 about 40 per cent. of the population were agriculturists, while in 1921 there were 39.5 per cent.). The peculiarities of Italian economy explain the character of Italian imperialism, which has been called the "imperialism of ragamuffins," i.e., the im-

perialism of a poor country, one which does not export capital, but exports millions of starving people (at the present time there are 10,000,000 Italian emigrants).

Capitalism and modern industry in our country has developed at the cost of these "poor people" which constitute the great majority of the Italian population. Italian industry was created with the aid of a stubborn protectionist policy, without which it could not have survived. But that protectionist policy cost milliards of liras, extracted from the indigent population.

The severe contradictions amid which Italian capitalism developed from the very moment of its birth are the direct consequences of its organic weakness. They in their turn gave birth to and maintained imperialism, i.e., the tendency to resolve all these contradictions by resort to the policy of expansion, by means of conquest of fresh markets. But neither the colonies won in 1911 nor the European war were able to resolve the Italian problems. The African colonies, both old and new, represent only a liability in the State budget and play no role whatever in the problem of disposal of industrial produce.

One of the most important consequences of this situation of affairs was the impossibility of having both a workers' aristocracy and a permanent policy of low wages. If a glance be cast over the political history of Italy, beginning with the appearance of modern industry in the north down to the present day, we immediately see that the development of industry coincided with the beginning of a ruthless class struggle. In literature, and particularly in articles and notes of foreign tourists the declaration that the Italian people were an undisciplined people, disposed to anarchy and indolence, is a common feature. Someone will wish to explain—and possibly to justify—Mussolini's Fascism by these stupidities. The fact is that in Italy strikes

were always frequent and severe. But this is explained not by the temperament of our workers, and not by the suggestion that our proletariat is easily influenced by the agitators, as the bourgeois newspapers write, but by the fact that the Italian capitalists always obtained a reduction in the costs of production by way of a worsening of the conditions of labour.

Everybody knows that the Italian workers were the most oppressed of all the workers of the "civilised countries." Not having control over all the elements of production, Italian capitalism always strove to compensate itself by the greater exploitation of labour power, in order to obtain that rate of profit which would have fallen to it if Italian capitalism had had control over all the factors of production. That is why Italy, a country in which the development of capitalism was relatively late, found itself in a condition of open revolutionary ferment, beginning from the day of the Armistice: the class contradictions were always acute in Italy, and the war made them still more severe.

POST-WAR CRISIS

In Italy, as in other countries, the war evoked an enormous increase in the machinery of production, one which was completely out of proportion with the real level of the internal market. On the other hand, Italy concluded external loans for war needs to the sum of 100,000,000 liras, and in the distribution of the spoils at Versailles did not receive any territory suitable for colonial exploitation.

The innate defects of the structure of Italian economy were revealed clearly after the war. The capitalists wished to demobilise war industry to the injury of the proletariat. A severe struggle broke out, one which for the first time faced the proletariat with the problem of power. The absence of a revolutionary party of the proletariat led to its defeat in that struggle. Then began the process of the stabilisation of capitalism.

How was it possible for Italian capitalism to stabilise itself? What road was it necessary for it to take? The only road open to it was that of attacks on wages and the increased exploitation of the toiling peasantry.

All this took on the specific colouring of a political advance against the toiling classes, the more so as the latter, basing themselves on a long experience of struggle, would not allow themselves to be oppressed without putting up the most resolute opposition. The specific form of the stabilisation of Italian capitalism is Fascism, which consequently possesses an essence which is profoundly and typically anti-proletarian and anti-peasant.

The definition of Fascism as "a method of stabilising Italian capitalism" is absolutely correct. But it is too "synthetic," and does not provide an explanation of the content of Fascism and the method by which the Fascist movement became a capitalist instrument, with a cynically anti-proletarian policy. In order to understand the development and consolidation of Fascism as a mass movement, it is necessary to have a clear understanding of the position of the various strata of the middle and petty town bourgeoisie, and of the more important sections of the rich and middle peasantry after the war.

After the war the petty and middle bourgeoisie began to group themselves, mainly, around the great mass parties—the socialists and the Catholics (Popularists), whereas before the war these classes had followed various bourgeois parties, and only to a small extent had followed the Socialist and Republican Parties. If the Socialist Party had become a genuinely revolutionary proletarian party the petty-bourgeoisie would have been drawn after it in the struggle for power, and would have submitted to its policy. But in reality the petty-bourgeoisie and the higher strata of the agricultural proletariat of the Po valley saw in the Socialist Party only a preponderantly "political" organisation which wished—although it did not succeed, for it was impossible—to arouse the proletariat to co-operation with a democratic government, and which only prevented the proletariat from carrying on the struggle against the capitalist State.

The defeat of the proletariat in 1920 and the reaction which followed, drove the petty-bourgeoisie away from the Socialist Party. In this situation the Fascist movement took the form of an "independent" organisation of the middle classes with a radical, typically bour-

geois programme, capable of satisfying the mobilised youth and the broad masses of the middle classes by its simultaneous proclamation of a struggle both against capitalism and against the proletariat. Thus Fascism became the new political "independent" formation of the petty-bourgeoisie, which wrote on its banner the demand for seizure of power. "Power to the war-participants," "Struggle against the class struggle," "A strong government, standing above classes"—such were its slogans.

And indeed at first, during the stage of the alliance of the middle and petty-bourgeoisie, in certain areas and in certain cases, the Fascists did carry on a simultaneous struggle against capitalism and the proletariat. In 1920 Mussolini carried out the seizure of factories by workers. In 1921 the Fascists supported the movement in favour of a rise in the wages of the agricultural workers in the Ferrara area, and carried through the seizure of the land of the landowners. This took place only in the stage of the attack against socialism, when Fascism had to show that it really "stood above classes." There is no doubt whatever that in its first phase Fascism was permeated with petty-bourgeois ideology, and that many of its followers then believed in the justice of Mussolini's programme for that very reason.

However, capitalism saw direct advantage to itself here also in supporting the Fascist movement. It is true that no one could foresee what turn the whole affair would take, but Fascism was active against the proletariat, it undermined their energy and broke up their organisations, thus conducing to the process of stabilisation of capitalism. The further political development of Fascism was on a par with all the consequent phases of the difficult road of capitalistic stabilisation. Capitalism supported the movement of the "black-shirts," supplying it with arms and money and granting them impunity.

THE PROCESS OF STABILISATION AND THE CRISIS IN FASCISM

Having obtained power with the support of the industrial capitalists, agrarians and monarchists, at one time the Fascists thought that they had finally established a strong

government, a government capable of dominating equally capital and labour, disciplining them both. But by 1923 an internal political crisis had developed inside the Fascist ranks. Certain groups of "adherents of 1919" and republicans left Fascism (accusing Mussolini of betraying the 1919 programme), and also groups of former war participants, who had been disillusioned by the *volte face* of the new government towards capitalism.

The following were the immediate measures for achieving stabilisation :

(1) Support of the activity of the industrial machine, which had developed during the war period.

(2) Reduction of the costs of production so as not to lose (but rather to extend) the external markets.

(3) Reduction of the State budget to order.

(4) Consolidation of the internal and external debts, which reached an aggregate of about two hundred milliard liras.

It was not possible to do this without worsening the conditions of labour by political measures. If those political measures had not existed, if there had been no police and no terror, the Italian proletariat would have defended itself, it would have prevented the lowering of wages, it would have defended its class organisations. Consequently the work of destroying the class organisations was begun, being carried out not only by the efforts of private persons, but also with the aid of persecution by the State authorities. Then Fascist syndicalism developed, and together with it arose the present theory of Fascist syndicalism.

However, despite all this the Italian workers still remained outside the Fascist trade unions, and down to the end of 1925 they carried on the struggle in the name of the General Confederation of Labour. This continued until the new laws on associations and the rights of trade unions were promulgated. With the appearance of these the struggle slowed down and took on specific forms.

The Fascist policy was successful in obtaining a higher rate of profit in industry and agricultural enterprises, and in stimulating an acceleration in the process of the concentration of economy. Fascism, which had destroyed the class organisations and had

paralysed the proletariat, was successful in realising the maximum of capitalist freedom, as the result of which it became possible to lower wages and to reduce the earnings of the peasants and the small craftsmen. This policy was carried out mainly (in so far as the economic and financial spheres were concerned) by the extensive application of protective tariffs, and also, until the spring of 1925, by means of currency inflation. This had favoured the growth of production during the period of 1924-5 by eliminating the "obvious" unemployment and allowing Italian commodities to compete successfully on the foreign markets with the commodities of other countries.

But an inflation policy, especially in such an indigent country as Italy, could not be long continued without evoking an economic catastrophe, for inflation destroyed accumulation and intensified the economic and political factors making for the disintegration of the regime. This explains the new policy of deflation, which began to be carried through from the end of 1927, from the moment of the legal stabilisation of the lira. And this also explains the fresh general economic crisis.

The deflation of the lira put an end to the industrial expansion of Fascism, and faced it with the problem of conquering the sources of raw materials and markets, revealing with pronounced severity the weaknesses and the contradictions of Italian economy, in which foreign capital could effect only a partial and temporary improvement, while in its turn creating new, more profound contradictions, and intensifying the existing crisis still further.

The policy of currency stabilisation had as its consequence not only a reduction of production but also a reduction of internal consumption, as the result of the lower classes being reduced to still greater indigence, and because of the fall in the prices of agricultural produce. Thus the economic crisis of 1927, which still continues, has a twofold nature. It is an industrial crisis, and simultaneously an agricultural crisis.

As Italy is a country where the chief occupation of the population is agriculture the crisis has its reflection on all spheres of

economy, and intensifies the industrial crisis by reducing the already poor home market.

As a result we have: (a) A partial cessation of the circulation of commodities both in the foreign and home markets; (b) unemployment, in the aggregate there are about 800,000 unemployed; (c) an unprecedented fall in wages, allowing the industrialists to expropriate several milliards of liras; (d) the impoverishment and proletarianisation of an enormous number of small farmers, a speeding up of the proletarianisation of the village; (e) a reduction in credit.

The deflation of the currency also compelled the capitalists to retreat from a number of industrial positions which, owing to inflation, had been occupied by them previously to the end of 1926. This retreat naturally most injured the weakest. Fascist policy was favourable to the concentration of capital and to a great degree strengthened financial capital, which at the present time is the real governor of the country.

Is the crisis in the Italian economy to be regarded as a temporary phenomenon or as a mortal illness? An analysis of Italian economy inevitably leads us to the conclusion that the crisis of Italian capitalism cannot be regarded as a merely temporary one. The contradictions which have been evoked by Italian capitalism cannot be eliminated without a radical reconstruction of the entire system of production.

Having paralysed all its opponents, Fascism could introduce comparative freedom for the play of capitalist forces and interests. But what are the results of that policy? Ten milliard liras of new external loans, which have been added to the old consolidated war loans, a reduction in exports, an industrial and agricultural crisis with 800,000 unemployed, a reduction in savings, a serious diminution of commercial activity!

But while the Italian economic crisis is a serious one it is not catastrophic. One must not under-estimate the significance of the solidarity of foreign capital in regard to Fascist Italy. The capitalist world knows full well that an economic catastrophe in Italy would evoke a revolutionary wave throughout Europe. Hence the assistance which foreign capital provides, opening various channels at

the moment of intensification of the crisis and affording the Italian capitalists the strength to overcome their immediate difficulties. On the other hand, in conditions where agriculture predominates, the agrarian factor does, within certain limits, afford a way of alleviating the severity of an industrial crisis, for in Italy the agrarian crisis develops comparatively slowly, in consequence of the variety of its forms and because the dominance of financial capital in agriculture began comparatively recently. A third factor acting to protect Italian capitalism is the State power.

FASCISM'S FUSION WITH CAPITALISM AND THE SOCIAL CHANGES IN FASCISM

The Fascist regime is becoming more and more blended with the capitalist system and with the directing element of capitalism, with finance capital. The Fascist State is coming more and more under the influence of capitalist economy. This process was not begun without an internal crisis. During the events arising out of the Matteotti affair in 1924 one could still consider that the bourgeois democracy was the heir to Fascism. Inflation led to the necessity for some protection of labour, and not all capitalists had then allied themselves with Fascism. But after the economic crisis had been resolved to the detriment of the toiling classes and the petty-bourgeoisie, and capitalism had consolidated its position, the class struggle began to develop within the Fascist ranks. As a result there was a transfer of the political centre of gravity from the petty-bourgeoisie to the great bourgeoisie and the landowners.

Mussolini recently declared that in 1925 the Fascist Party was quite other from what it was in 1922-23. Of recent years there has been a noticeable organisational, or at the least a political, withdrawal of the mass of the petty-bourgeoisie, and even of certain groups of the middle town and village bourgeoisie. Of the petty and middle bourgeoisie of the 1919 and 1922 period, part have been drawn into the State apparatus, and have thus thrown in their lot with the regime. Quite a large section are members of the Fascist organisations, but play no directing or active political role in them. Another section has abandoned

Fascism, without, however, finding any definite political orientation. Part of these last have joined or have returned to the ranks of the Catholic federation. The new political crisis of the petty and middle bourgeoisie is one of the most noticeable and symptomatic phenomena of the present political situation. The petty-bourgeoisie never had an independent political organisation. It always based itself either on the bourgeoisie or on the proletariat, in dependence on the direction in which the specific interests of one or another of its sections drove it and on the specific conditions of the time. The withdrawal of the petty-bourgeoisie indicates the instability of the present situation.

It is interesting to note the position of the wide masses of the petty and middle peasantry, who in consequence of the crisis have abandoned "active" Fascism. That is a very interesting fact, and particularly interesting by the fact that it is accompanied by the social regeneration of these sections—their proletarianisation or semi-proletarianisation.

THE FASCISTS' ATTEMPTS TO OVERCOME THE CRISIS

Fascism is doing everything it can to overcome the economic crisis. It would be erroneous to think that Fascism holds on exclusively by means of the terror, although undoubtedly the terror is one of its principal methods of overcoming the difficulties of the situation. It enabled capitalism to tide over the most difficult periods, and made it possible for capitalism to lower the wages of the workers. But Fascism has other methods too. The Fascist State system binds a large section of officials to capitalism. Eleven thousand prefects, 5,000 trade union organisers, 10,000 militia officers, deputies, party functionaries, a new bureaucracy, a new police of various categories—such is the backbone of the regime. Control over the economic factors affords Fascism a certain freedom of action. An appeal to foreign capital may also prove to be a means of defence against the crisis.

In the sphere of international politics Italian Fascism remains an element of ferment and disturbance. The attempts to solve the crisis drive it to the aggressiveness of

despair. The necessity of procuring raw materials and markets grows more and more acute; this need cannot be satisfied without war. That is why Italian capitalism is seeking war, although at the moment it cannot afford to be the "aggressor." That also is why Italian capitalism will be interested in joining an anti-Soviet bloc for participating in a war against the U.S.S.R. and receiving compensation for this participation.

Such is the present situation of Italian capitalism. Undoubtedly during 1926-27 Italian capitalism succeeded in overcoming the severest moments of the crisis. But at the same time the elements making for the disintegration of capitalism are accumulating. Among the factors against capitalism has to be considered the circumstances that in 1927 the proletariat and the peasantry revealed signs of activity. The most important fact in the life of the Italian proletariat during 1927-28 was the opposition put up to Fascism by the Communist Party, and the latter's agitational and organisational activity among the masses. Another important factor is the mass movements which have taken place, the significance of which is all the greater since large numbers of workers participated in them. This activity of the masses why Fascism has been compelled to resort to demagogic methods to carry out its attack on labour conditions. The activity of the masses is also the explanation of the fact that Fascism has more than once postponed the execution of its anti-proletarian and anti-peasant plans.

THE PRESENT DISPOSITION OF POLITICAL FORCES IN ITALY

In conditions of a monopoly of Fascist legal political activity, the most convenient means of measuring the alterations taking place in the depths of the social organism are absent. The political changes which are revealed on the surface are occurring more slowly and lag behind the social changes. This is explained by the absence of active ideological and political centres for the masses. It would be a profound error to think that in such circumstances as those at present prevailing in Italy no regrouping of forces is occurring, and that the entire Italian situation is characterised by political and social

stagnation. In the first place, there is an obvious regrouping of more or less extensive social strata. In order to obtain an approximate yet scientific determination of these political regroupings we can accept four factors as indicators: (a) The social changes which are taking place in the basis of Fascism; (b) the movements of the masses; (c) the position and the internal crisis of the "parties of concentration"* and other forms of grouping of the anti-Fascist masses; (d) the Communist Party as the centre of the organisation of the toiling masses.

We have already spoken of the changes which have taken place and are still taking place in the social basis of Fascism itself. The causes are chiefly economic, and arise out of the general economic crisis. But at the same time they are created by the Fascist policy, by the measures which Fascism applies for overcoming the crisis. Together with a certain radicalisation of the town and village petty-bourgeoisie there is activity among the workers and peasants, which manifested itself in the demonstrations which were held during the second quarter of 1927. Even a superficial consideration shows that it is more intensive in the villages than in the towns. For that matter, considering the workers' demonstrations during 1927-28, we can easily establish that the greater number of them fall to the share of that group of workers which is socially linked up with the villages. There are adequate reasons for this:

(a) The Fascist crisis has had more effect in the countryside because the villages are farther from the control of the Fascist militia, and because the Fascist militia of those areas are themselves under the influence of the economic, social and political crisis.

(b) The State coercive apparatus lies heavily on the towns to a degree which is not possible in the case of the villages.

(c) The menace of hunger hangs much more over the agricultural workers and poorer peasants.

The ferment among the masses which is taking place is a conditioning factor of the alteration in the correlations of political

* *I.e.*, Anti-Fascist Liberals, republicans and socialists, "concentrating" on a struggle for a return to bourgeois democracy—mostly emigrants.

forces. A fresh disposal of forces is not possible without movement. The development of the movement is a pre-condition of any alteration in existing forces.

The necessity of a political orientation and organisation is deeply felt by the masses. Capitalist society, being a product of a higher form of economic organisation of society by comparison with preceding forms, has created the need of organisation among the masses. That is why, when capitalism finds itself in a situation that it must defend its economic positions, which are destined by history to disappear by the application of pressure from the toiling masses, the masses seek the most varied ways of organising themselves—they seek legal ways, the easiest ways from the point of view of economy of effort. Consequently it is not surprising that despite the philo-Fascism of the higher church hierarchy and of certain of the priests, the Catholic union may appear to a part of the peasantry and the petty town bourgeoisie as a method of crystallising a certain kind of opposition to Fascism. The opposition groups inside the Fascist party itself are utilised still better than the Catholic organisations, especially in agricultural areas.

The political condition of the "concentration parties" reflects the regrouping of the social bases in Italy. It would be interesting to deal in somewhat more detail with the relationship between the changes taking place in the masses within Italy and the condition of the "concentration parties," which at the present are found abroad. In so far as the "concentration parties" were not created by isolated groups, in so far as they were the political expression of the interests of definite social forces, so far does there still exist an ideological correspondence between the "concentration parties" and definite masses. And in their case ideology is at present a form of organisation.

The Communist Party declared that "concentration" already exists in Italy, for its social bases exist. We can define this point of view thus: At the present time a concentrationist organisation in its most elementary form exists in Italy, inasmuch as there exists (and it does, in fact, exist) a concentrationist ideology. If we were to deny that truth we

should need to come to the conclusion that either the Italian masses are Fascist or are already won over to Communism. But either of these conclusions would be equally erroneous.

None the less, it is definitely known that the social bases of the anti-Fascist concentration are not at the present time the same that these parties based themselves on in 1924 and later. It is impossible to deny the existence of regroupings of certain elements of the worker section of the socialist parties in Italy, regroupings which have to be accepted as readjustments of the basic groups in the direction of a Communist orientation.

The favourable position in which Communists found themselves within the General Confederation of Labour after 1926 cannot be explained exclusively as a fortuitous phenomenon in the political life of the Italian proletariat, which will be eliminated as soon as the Confederation again finds itself in the position in which it was in October, 1926. Anyone who holds such an opinion is not in a position to understand the facts of Italian political life. For in reality those socialist workers who combined with the Communists on the basis of the programme of defence and the unity of the class trade union movement had abandoned the position which they had held up to October, 1926. This demonstrates that a regrouping in the direction of the Communist Party has taken place in the lower ranks of the workers. The leftward movement of the masses is depriving socialism of its worker basis. This does not mean that there no longer exist groups of workers under the influence of the socialists. We only wish to say that the social basis of the socialist parties has shifted in the other direction, that the worker element has yielded place to the town and village petty-bourgeois element. But this again does not mean that concentration can satisfy the interests of the bourgeoisie; but in conditions of a relative stagnation of the masses, the interests of definite strata of the petty bourgeoisie and peasantry are crystallised around the concentration ideology, from which they can be shaken only as the result of the propaganda of our Party and in the process of active work.

Such a regrouping of the social basis will

evoked an internal crisis in the "concentration parties," a crisis which, however, will not move with any great speed, for these parties are isolated from the Italian masses, and the masses themselves in Italy are at present relatively stagnant.

FASCISM AND THE STRUGGLE FOR DEMOCRACY

Fascism does not represent a progressive stage in the development of Italian capitalism. It is true that it has developed new forms of industrial and bank organisations, but these new forms serve the traditional economic policy of the Italian dominating classes, and are a means by which that policy continues to exist under the new conditions.

But Italian capitalism cannot return to government by means of the system of democratic parliamentarism. This is a fundamental conclusion for us Italian Communists. In this there is a profound distinction between ourselves and the socialists. Certain socialists and republicans set themselves the question: Was democracy ever existent in Italy? They declare that Fascism cannot be any other than the historical product of an inadequate, sickly democracy, that countries really democratic could not descend to Fascism. Such an ideological method of raising the problem of democracy and Fascism does, however, contain a grain of economic truth in so far as Italy is concerned. The democracy which existed before Fascism represented that quality of democracy which Italian capitalism could afford to concede to the masses. A weakly developed capitalism had to defend itself by means of a restricted democracy, for it could not make big concessions to the masses, it could not bribe a large section of the proletariat and base a wider democracy on that section. The inability to see the economic root of the problem of bourgeois democracy involves an inability to understand the history of Italy during the last decades. It is absolutely true that an extensive democracy never existed in Italy. But this was so because the structure of Italian economy did not permit capitalism to extend political rights and to carry through reforms without risk of being overthrown by the forces of the proletariat. That is why in Italy

stabilisation took on the form of Fascism and the characteristic features of complete reaction. Is any process taking place in Italian capitalism which would establish the prerequisites of the conquest of a new, extended democracy by the Italian masses? On the contrary, we rather have a mortal crisis of Italian capitalism. And for the Italian masses the problem of democracy can be only a problem of struggle for workers' democracy. No matter what opposition parties existed in Italy at the present time they would have to reflect the needs of the toiling masses, even if only in a restricted measure. And that would threaten to wrest out of the hands of the government the control over the sole element on which the government depends in its stabilisation policy. In other words, this means that a stable democratic regime cannot replace Fascism and that Fascism is the last phase of Italian capitalism.

THE PROBLEM OF THE FUTURE

After all we have said the problem arising from the present situation in Italy is no longer a problem. The struggle for the overthrow of Fascism cannot be carried on under the leadership of either the Liberal bourgeoisie or the petty-bourgeoisie, which during the Fascist experience has suffered a resounding blow, and has demonstrated that it cannot play any role or provide an independent political direction. That struggle can be directed only by the most revolutionary class—the proletariat. From the historical aspect there can be only one prospect before us: the Fascist regime can be overthrown only at the same time as Italian capitalism, as the result of a proletarian revolution. We always have struggled resolutely against the errors committed by those who believe in the indispensability of a democratic phase as an absolute condition of the further development of the revolutionary process. If the democratic phase were historically indispensable, if Italian capitalism could make concessions to the toiling classes and so had as its task the carrying through of the Liberal-bourgeois revolution to its end, we should have to assist the advance of such a phase. But the analysis we have made of the Italian situation and of Fascism tells us that if the democratic phase could be included in

the line of the revolutionary movement it would represent a cessation of that movement, for it would coincide with a transference, albeit a transient transference, of the control of political forces and of the government into the hands of capitalism, which would be equivalent to an unprecedented reaction against the revolutionary proletariat and its party.

From the strategic aspect, to stop at the overthrow of the present regime by an attack of the people directed by the revolutionary proletariat is insufficient. It presupposes the realisation of a swift regrouping. Among our prospects there is no prospect of a defeat of the Italian proletariat, but there is the possibility of a delay in the orientation of political forces towards the proletarian revolution. The situation in Italy provides us every day with a lesson of prudence and realism.

At what stage is the process of formation of a workers'-peasants' bloc at the present moment? That is the basic problem to be investigated. Have the masses of the Italian peasantry already passed under the direction of the proletariat? No. Not only is it not possible to declare that the political direction in the regrouping of the peasant masses belongs to the revolutionary proletariat, but the relative passivity of the proletariat itself shows that the latter does not yet feel itself to be a class-leader of the revolution. Such a situation is quite typical of the preliminary, backward phase of the creation of a workers' and peasants' bloc. Consequently in our work we start with the basic historical prospect, not, however, leaving the other prospects out of sight, such as the delay in the grouping of forces around the proletariat. If we denied this second prospect we should be going half-way to meet defeat. If the first prospect is realised suddenly, *i.e.*, if a revolution breaks out and the proletariat is successful in placing itself at the head of its allies at the same moment as the national revolution against Fascism occurs, it will connote that the national revolution has coincided with the proletarian revolution. In the other case (the second prospect) the national revolution will have to be transformed into the proletarian revolution in the process of struggle. Here the process of winning allies will take place

during the struggle, in which the majority of the toiling class will become convinced that the actual and final overthrow of Fascism is nothing other than the overthrow of the capitalist system.

THE WINNING OF ALLIES

At the base of our political activity lies the acquisition of allies. Consequently we have a double front of struggle : against Fascism and against democratic concentration. In that struggle we work with the methods of propaganda and agitation. We must win to our side all the proletariat, we must give a revolutionary political and proletarian orientation to the social strata of the peasantry which are abandoning Fascism, and wrest from "democratic concentration" the social basis on which it builds at the present time. To this end we exploit the general and partial "democratic" slogans. Why do we do this? If we were to restrict ourselves to explaining to the non-proletarian masses, and also to the most backward section of the proletariat, that the establishment of the former political forms of bourgeois democracy are impossible in the present phase of Italian capitalism, we should hardly be likely to succeed in convincing these sections of the population of the truth of this. The social-democratic parties, which in their agitation base themselves exclusively on the restoration of democracy as the condition of the successful development of the class struggle, would retain their influence among the masses, and thus the masses would prove to be bound to capitalism. Consequently we must link up the economic attacks of the masses with the struggle for partial political demands, thus aiding the masses to get into movement. But in the process of this movement the masses themselves will become convinced that the struggle for democratic aims will come into conflict with the forces of the capitalist system. They will come up against the concrete fact that the overthrow of the capitalist system and the struggle for power are identical with the struggle for democracy. We must appeal to the masses as the sole democratic party existing in Italy, for we struggle for the establishment of a workers' State in Italy, whereas the remaining opposi-

tion parties in Italy are struggling only for an outward change in the form of capitalism's dictatorship.

WHEN WILL FASCISM FALL?

It is impossible to give a superficial answer to such a question. We have already said that the economic crisis of Italian capitalism is a profound, but not a catastrophic one. On the other hand, the severity of the economic crisis in Italy is not the element which of itself can evoke the crash of Fascism. Those who build political prospects solely on the one element of the economic crisis do not take account of:

(a) The strength of capitalist solidarity, which links the various bourgeois States one with another, and

(b) the role of the State.

Capitalist solidarity will overcome its contradictions and the "national" conflicts in face of the danger of the proletarian revolution. Italian Fascism has already several times found assistance in its work of overcoming the severest features of the crisis from the financial solidarity of the bourgeois democratic States. And while this aid deepens the internal contradictions it at the same time serves as a means of delaying their ultimate results. The role of the State power, and particularly of the Fascist power as an instrument for the preservation of the existing economic system has in general not been adequately evaluated and precisely investigated by us Communists.

The organisation of the modern State is a most powerful weapon for the defence of capitalism. It affords the possibility, within certain limits, which shift according to the degree of perfection of the State mechanism, of extending the existence of capitalism beyond the bounds which in other circumstances would be set to it by history.

The reactionary machinery of the Fascist State, costing millions of liras annually, is as necessary to capitalism as is the army. Just as the task of the army is to provoke fresh wars for spoliation in favour of imperialism, so the apparatus of State coercion has as its aim the guaranteeing of the capitalists' profit and the rents of the landowners inside the

country. The struggle against the modern State is the most difficult struggle with which the toiling masses were ever confronted.

Needless to say, one may not think that the capitalist bloc in Italy is something monolithic and homogeneous. The existence of large petty-bourgeois strata in the basis of Fascism is one of the elements of the internal crisis within Fascism itself. Within Fascism is developing a struggle between the petty-bourgeoisie, the "apparatus" and the capitalist direction. In addition, inside the capitalist bloc a struggle is progressing between the industrial and the agrarian groups, between the banks and the agrarian circles, between separate industrial groups, between the agrarians of the north and the south, and so on. The general economic crisis in Italy is provoking a more or less obvious struggle on the surface between the various capitalist groups. These internal conflicts of capitalism, which the governmental policy is striving to overcome, favouring first one then another group, will all increase as the general situation gets worse. An intensification of the internal contradictions of capitalism will provoke various splits and dissensions in the apparatus, and also in the organisation of the capitalist class. Without disintegration and without panic in the ranks of the Fascists, no directly revolutionary situation can arise. Certain fissures in the Italian capitalist bloc have already made their appearance more than once, just as there have been withdrawals of one or another group. But the correlation of forces has not changed to a sufficient extent, for the proletariat has not yet succeeded in placing itself at the head of the mass advance, it has not succeeded in driving its wedge into the cleft in the opponents' bloc. In this it has been hindered by the social-democratic policy, which strives for a peaceful settlement of the crisis.

The objective factors are in favour of the appearance of such fissures, but the existing regime will indefatigably stop them up, resorting to all resources at its disposition. The game between Fascism and the opposition has come to an end.

At what moment will the balance prove to be in favour of the opposition? The situation in Italy is such that one may look for unex-

pected manifestations of the crisis on the surface.

THE COMMUNIST PARTY AND ITS TASKS

To work indefatigably on the organisation of the masses connotes in our position a struggle against the disorganisation of the toiling masses which Fascism is trying to effect. The success of our work depends on how far we succeed in overcoming and defeating the efforts which the Fascists are making to effect the disintegration of the toiling classes and of the proletariat in the first instance.

At the present time there is a lack of correspondence between the influence of the Party and its organised forces, just as there is a lack of correspondence between the political strength of the Party and the political tasks with which the situation confronts the Party. The overcoming of this depends on the ability to move the masses from the position in which they are at present.

The Party and its activity has to be regarded as a positive element in the situation, but one must not under-estimate the losses

which they have suffered. Many are not aware at what enormous sacrifices we have put up our opposition to Fascism during the last seven years. We have lost a large part of our cadres, and the task of creating fresh cadres is becoming more and more difficult. At the present time our Party is weak organisationally, ideologically and politically. Our first task, the one to which we must direct all our attention, is the strengthening of the Party.

Without the Party there can be no activity. Our second conference, held some months ago, indicated to the Party the tasks of its organisational and ideological strengthening, as well as the tasks arising in the work of organisation and agitation among the masses. Undoubtedly we have won important political positions among the Italian masses, but we still suffer from our backwardness. Our main task is to place the Party in such a position that it will be able to take an active part in the event of an unexpected crisis. And this signifies laying down new lines, dictated by the needs of the proletariat, the building up and consolidation of the directing centres of the Party, and organising the influence which the Party has won by its sacrifices.

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The South African Question

(Resolution of the E.C.C.I.)

ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL STRUGGLE

SOUTH AFRICA is a British Dominion of the colonial type. The development of relations of capitalist production has led to British imperialism carrying out the economic exploitation of the country with the participation of the white bourgeoisie of South Africa (British and Boer). Of course, this does not alter the general colonial character of the economy of South Africa, since British capital continues to occupy the principal economic positions in the country (banks, mining and industry), and since the South African bourgeoisie is equally interested in the mercileless exploitation of the negro population.

In the recent period in South Africa we have witnessed the growth of the manufacturing iron and steel industries, the development of commercial crops (cotton, sugar, cane), and the growth of capitalist relations in agriculture, chiefly in cattle-raising. On the basis of this growth of capitalism there is a growing tendency to expropriate the land from the negroes and from a certain section of the white farming population. The South African bourgeoisie is endeavouring also by legislative means to create a cheap market of labour power and a reserve army.

The overwhelming majority of the population is made up of negroes and coloured people (about 5,500,000 negroes and coloured people and about 1,500,000 white people, according to the 1921 census). A characteristic feature of the colonial type of the country is the almost complete landlessness of the negro population: the negroes hold only one-eighth of the land, whilst seven-eighths have been expropriated by the white population. There is no negro bourgeoisie as a class, apart from individual negroes engaged in trading and a thin strata of negro intellectuals who do not play any essential role in the economic and political life of the country. The negroes constitute also the majority of the working class: among the workers employed in industry and transport,

420,000 are black and coloured people and 145,000 white; among agricultural labourers 435,000 are black and 50,000 are white. The characteristic feature of the proletarianisation of the native population is the fact that the number of black workers grows faster than the number of white workers. Another characteristic fact is the great difference in the wages and material conditions of the white and black proletariat in general. Notwithstanding a certain reduction in the living standard of the white workers which has lately taken place, the great disproportion between the wages of the white and black proletariat continues to exist as the characteristic feature of the colonial type of the country.

THE POLITICAL SITUATION

The political situation reflects the economic structure—the semi-colonial character of the country and the profound social contradictions between the black and white population. The native population (except in the Cape province) of the country have no electoral rights, the power of the State has been monopolised by the white bourgeoisie, which has at its disposal the armed white forces. The white bourgeoisie, chiefly the Boers defeated by the arms of British imperialism at the close of the last century, had for a long time carried on a dispute with British capital. But as the process of capitalist development goes on in the country, the interests of the South African bourgeoisie are becoming more and more blended with the interests of British financial and industrial capital, and the white South African bourgeoisie is becoming more and more inclined to compromise with British imperialism, forming with the latter a united white front for the exploitation of the native population.

The Nationalist Party, which represents the interests of the big farmers and landowners, and a section of white (mainly Boer) bourgeoisie and petty-bourgeoisie, is winding up

its struggle for separation from the Empire and is surrendering before British capitalism (the formula proposed by the leader of this Party, General Herzog, and carried at the British Imperial Conference). Furthermore, this party is already coming out as the open advocate of the colonial expansion of British capital, carrying on an agitation for the extension of the territory of the Union of South Africa to the north (the annexation of Rhodesia), hoping in this manner to secure a vast fund of cheap native labour power.

Simultaneously with the importation of British capital and British goods, there are imported to South Africa the methods of corrupting the working class. The Labour Party of South Africa, representing the interests of the petty-bourgeoisie and of the skilled labour aristocracy, openly carries on an imperialist policy, demoralising the white workers by imbuing them with a white racial ideology. Nevertheless, the influence of this party is being undermined by the steady worsening of the material conditions of the mass of the white workers. At the same time the South African bourgeoisie is endeavouring to attract to its side certain elements of the non-European population, for instance, the "coloured" population, promising them electoral rights, and also the native leaders, turning them into their agents for the exploitation of the negro population. This policy of corruption has already brought about the fact that the leaders of the negro trade union organisations—the Industrial and Commercial Union—having expelled the Communists from the union, are now endeavouring to guide the negro trade union movement into the channel of reformism. The inception of negro reformism, as a result of the corruptionist policy of the white bourgeoisie, a reformism which acts in close alliance with the Amsterdam International, constitutes a characteristic fact of the present political situation.

The united front of the British and South African white bourgeoisie against the toiling negro population, backed by the white and negro reformists, creates for the Communist Party in South Africa an exceptionally complicated but favourable position of being the only political Party in the country which

unites the white and black proletariat and the landless black peasantry for the struggle against British imperialism, against the white bourgeoisie and the white and black reformist leaders.

THE COMMUNIST PARTY AND ITS TASKS

The Executive Committee of the Communist International recognises the successes which the Communist Party of South Africa has recently achieved. This is seen in the growth of the Communist Party, which is now predominantly native in composition. The Communist Party has a membership of about 1,750, of whom 1,600 are natives or coloured. The Communist Party also spread into the country districts of the Transvaal. The Party has waged a fight against the reactionary Native Administration Act. The E.C.C.I. also notes the growth of native trade unions under the leadership of the C.P., the successful carrying through of a number of strikes and efforts to carry through the amalgamation of the black and white unions.

The present intensified campaign of the Government against the natives offer the C.P. an immense field to develop its influence among the workers and peasants, and it is among this section of the South African population that the chief field of activity of the Communist Party must continue to lie in the near future.

(a) The first task of the Party is to reorganise itself on the shop and street nuclei basis and to put forward a programme of action as a necessary condition for the building up of a mass Communist Party in South Africa.

(b) The Party must orientate itself chiefly upon the native toiling masses while continuing to work actively among the white workers. The Party leadership must be developed in the same sense. This can only be achieved by bringing the native membership without delay into much more active leadership of the Party both locally and centrally.

(c) While developing and strengthening the fight against all the customs, laws and regulations which discriminate against the native

and coloured population in favour of the white population, the Communist Party of South Africa must combine the fight against all anti-native laws with the general political slogan in the fight against British domination, the slogan of *an independent native South African republic as a stage towards a workers' and peasants' republic, with full, equal rights for all races, black, coloured and white.*

(d) South Africa is a black country, the majority of its population is black and so is the majority of the workers and peasants. The bulk of the South African population is the black peasantry, whose land has been expropriated by the white minority. Seven-eighths of the land is owned by the whites. Hence the national question in South Africa, which is based upon the agrarian question, lies at the foundation of the revolution in South Africa. The black peasantry constitutes the basic moving force of the revolution in alliance with and under the leadership of the working class.

(e) South Africa is dominated politically by the white exploiting class. Despite the conflict of interests between the Dutch bourgeoisie and the English imperialists, the basic characteristic of the political situation in South Africa is the developing united front between the Dutch bourgeoisie and the British imperialists against the native population. No political party in South Africa with the exception of the Communist Party advocates measures that would be of real benefit to the oppressed native population, the ruling political parties never go beyond empty and meaningless Liberal phrases. The Communist Party of South Africa is the only Party of native and white workers that fights for the complete abolition of race and national exploitation, that can head the revolutionary movement of the black masses for liberation. Consequently, if the Communist Party correctly understands its political tasks it will and must become the leader of the national agrarian revolutionary movement of the native masses.

Unfortunately the Communist Party of South Africa did not give evidence of sufficient understanding of the revolutionary importance

of the mass movements of the native workers and peasants. The Communist Party of South Africa carried on a correct struggle for unity of the native and white workers in the trade union movement. But at the same time the Communist Party of South Africa found itself in stubborn opposition to the correct slogan proposed by the Comintern calling for an independent native South African republic as a stage towards a workers' and peasants' republic with full, equal rights for all races.

This opposition shows a lack of understanding of the task of our Party in South Africa relative to the revolutionary struggles of the native masses, which explains partly the still insufficient growth of the political influence of our Party upon the negro masses despite the extremely favourable conditions.

South Africa is a British dominion of a colonial type. The country was seized by violence by foreign exploiters, the land expropriated from the natives, who were met by a policy of extermination in the first stages of colonisation, and conditions of semi-slavery established for the overwhelming majority of the native masses. It is necessary to tell the native masses that in the face of the existing political and economic discrimination against the natives and ruthless oppression of them by the white oppressors, the Comintern slogan of a native republic means restitution of the land to the landless and land-poor population.

This slogan does not mean that we ignore or forget about the non-exploiting elements of the white population. On the contrary, the slogan calls for "full and equal rights for all races." The white toiling masses must realise that in South Africa they constitute national minorities, and it is their task to support and fight jointly with the native masses against the white bourgeoisie and the British imperialists. The argument against the slogan for a native republic on the ground that it does not protect the whites is objectively nothing else than a cover for the unwillingness to accept the correct principle that South Africa belongs to the native population. Under these conditions it is the task of the Communist Party to influence the embryonic and crystallising national movements among the natives in order to develop these movements into national

agrarian revolutionary movements against the white bourgeoisie and British imperialists.

The failure to fulfil this task means separation of the Communist Party of South Africa from the native population. The Communist Party cannot confine itself to the general slogan of "Let there be no whites and no blacks." The Communist Party must understand the revolutionary importance of the national and agrarian questions. Only by a correct understanding of the importance of the national question in South Africa will the Communist Party be able to combat effectively the efforts of the bourgeoisie to divide the white and black workers by playing on race chauvinism, and to transform the embryonic nationalist movement into a revolutionary struggle against the white bourgeois and foreign imperialists. In its propaganda among the native masses the Communist Party of South Africa must emphasise the class differences between the white capitalists and the white workers, the latter also being exploited by the bourgeoisie as wage slaves, although better paid as compared with the natives. The Communist Party must continue to struggle for unity between black and white workers and not confine itself merely to the advocacy of "co-operation" between the blacks and whites in general. The Communist Party must introduce a correct class content into the idea of co-operation between the blacks and whites. It must explain to the native masses that the black and white workers are not only allies, but are the leaders of the revolutionary struggle of the native masses against the white bourgeoisie and British imperialism. A correct formulation of this task and intensive propagation of the chief slogan of a native republic will result not in the alienation of the white workers from the Communist Party, not in segregation of the natives, but, on the contrary, in the building up of a solid united front of all toilers against capitalism and imperialism.

In the struggle against the domination of British imperialism in South Africa and against the white bourgeoisie under the slogans of the agrarian revolution and native republic the Communist Party of South Africa will undoubtedly meet with the most brutal

attack of the bourgeoisie and the imperialists. This can be no argument for not adopting the slogan of a native republic. On the contrary, the Party must wage a struggle for this slogan preparing by all possible means, first and foremost by mobilising the black and white workers, to meet the attacks of the ruling class.

The E.C.C.I., while fully approving the Party's agitation against the native Bills put forward by the Pact Government, considers that this agitation should be further strengthened and intensified, and should be coupled with agitation against all anti-native legislation.

The Party should pay particular attention to the embryonic national organisations among the natives, such as the African National Congress. The Party, while retaining its full independence, should participate in these organisations, should seek to broaden and extend their activity. Our aim should be to transform the African National Congress into a fighting nationalist revolutionary organisation against the white bourgeoisie and the British imperialists, based upon the trade unions, peasant organisations, etc., developing systematically the leadership of the workers and the Communist Party in this organisation. The Party should seek to weaken the influence of the native chiefs corrupted by the white bourgeoisie over the existing native tribal organisations by developing peasants' organisations and spreading among them the influence of the Communist Party. The development of a national-revolutionary movement of the toilers of South Africa against the white bourgeoisie and British imperialism, constitutes one of the major tasks of the Communist Party of South Africa.

The Party should immediately work out an agrarian programme applicable to the native agrarian situation. The E.C.C.I. considers that the Party was correct in launching at its last Congress the slogan of "Expropriate the big estates and give them to the landless whites and natives." But this can only be treated as a general slogan. It is necessary to work out concrete partial demands which indicate that the basic question in the agrarian situation in South Africa is the land hunger

of the blacks and that their interest is of prior importance in the solution of the agrarian question. Efforts should be made immediately to develop plans to organise the native peasants into peasant unions and the native agricultural workers into trade unions, while attention to the poor agrarian whites must in no way be minimised.

In the field of trade union work the Party must consider that its main task consists in the organisation of the native workers into trade unions as well as propaganda and work for the setting up of a South African trade union centre embracing black and white workers. The principle that the Party's main orientation must be on the native population applies equally to the sphere of trade union work. The Party should energetically combat the splitting policy of the Industrial and Commercial Union leaders under the slogan of unity of the whole trade union movement of South Africa. Further, the Party should work out a detailed programme of immediate demands for the native workers. The Communists must participate actively in the trade union organisations of the native workers, pursuing the policy of building up a strong left-wing within these organisations under Communist leadership.

The Party should continue its exposure of the South African Labour Party as primarily an agent of imperialism in the Labour movement.

While concentrating its chief attention on organising the native workers in the trade unions the Communist Party should not neglect the work in the white trade unions. Its tasks are the organisation of the unorganised, work in the existing trade unions, to intensify the propaganda for reorganisation of the trade union movement on an industrial basis, increased agitation for affiliation of all trade unions to the Trade Union Congress. In all trade union organisations the Party must strive to build up a strong left-wing under Communist leadership.

The Party must energetically combat the influence of the Amsterdam International in the black and white trade union movement, intensifying the propaganda for world trade union unity along the lines of the Profintern (R.I.L.U.) policy.

In connection with the danger of world war, the present imperialist intervention in China and the threatening war against the U.S.S.R., the Party must fight by all means against the help given to the military policy of Great Britain which found its expression in the tacit support of the break of the British imperialists with the U.S.S.R. The Party should not neglect anti-militarist work.

The E.C.C.I. repeats its previous proposal to launch a special paper in the chief native languages as soon as technical difficulties have been overcome. Such a step is of great political importance.

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The "Right" in the C.P.S.U. and the Comintern

THE recently concluded Plenum of the C.C. of the C.P.S.U. summarised results of the struggle which has been taking place in the Party of recent months over the decisions of the Fifteenth Congress. The main line of discussion was on the attempts to retreat from the decisions of the Fifteenth Congress on industrialisation in the U.S.S.R., and the strengthening of the attack on the kulak. The Plenum considered the whole group of problems connected with the practical work of carrying out the decisions of the Fifteenth Congress. The control figures of national economy for 1928/29, i.e., the annual plan of socialist reconstruction, the measures indispensable to a speedier development of backward agriculture, the introduction of the seven-hour day as being at the present stage a fundamental condition of greater attraction

of the workers to the work of industrialisation of the country, and finally the enrolment of the workers and the regulation of the growth of the party; (in other words, the improvement of its personnel) so as to ensure successful speedier reconstruction of the entire economy; a task which now immediately confronts the country and the party,—all this in the aggregate represents the sum of practical measures which must be carried out in order to realise the decisions of the Fifteenth Congress at the present time.

ALL the work of the Plenum was carried on with the idea of resolute resistance to the right deviations and to any reconciliatory attitude towards them. This aspect of the Plenum's work is of especial importance

to the C.P.S.U. It was on this question that the Party impatiently awaited a decision.

In its decisions the Plenum attacks those superficial views which represent right deviation as one easily overcome, as the kind of deviation that could be liquidated by a couple of hundred resolutions and a few dozen applications of so-called "organisational measures."

These views are profoundly inaccurate, since the Party has still to carry on a long struggle with the right. The liquidation of the right will be first and foremost predetermined by the socialist reconstruction of the entire economy (including agriculture). So long as there remain millions of privately-owned, peasant commodity-producing farms, elements of capitalism, so long as the kulaks and Nepmen consequently retain their hopes of a capitalist development of peasant economy, so long as the pressure of the petty bourgeois elements on the Party remains, so long will there be manifestations of right deviations to a more or less degree, and in one or another form, within our Party. Hence the struggle with the right cannot but be protracted.

TROTSKYISM was an anti-middle-peasant deviation. It denied the Leninist idea of the union of proletarian and peasant. Consequently Trotskyism was and remains a "town" deviation. It rests and will continue to rest on the fragments of the old classes (the "suburban" and the bourgeois intelligentsia) and on the declassed elements (students and others declassed in the process of the revolution). Trotskyism, with its idea of the return to war-communism, with its view of the peasantry as a colony of the socialist State to be ruthlessly exploited for the purposes of socialist construction, cannot receive support from among the great masses of the peasantry.

THE right deviation is preponderantly a "village" deviation. It does not reject the Leninist idea of the union of proletariat and peasantry, but objectively it leads to the directing role in that union being conceded to the peasantry, thus retreating from Lenin's basic condition of the directing role of the proletariat in that union.

Even in 1920, side by side with the "Workers' Opposition" of that time (Shliapnikov) we had developed a "peasant" opposition also (finding expression in a primitive peasant form in the Red Army). This peasant opposition put forward the proposition that the "peasantry is the elder brother, and the proletariat the younger." After several years of N.E.P. the peasant idea found its expression in a milder form in the denial of the necessity of industrialising the U.S.S.R. in the immediate future, and in the teaching that it is necessary to agrarianise it during this stage. But in such a form the deviation was far too primitively expressed, and at the present time it is masked behind the teaching that we ought not to set too swift a tempo of industrialisation, that we ought not to restrict the freedom to develop of the kulak farms, since the kulak is still of service to us,—we still need the kulak's grain,—and that finally we ought not to be in a hurry with our collective farms and Soviet farms. Thus the idea of co-operation of the proletariat with the bourgeoisie for the construction of socialism in the U.S.S.R. is thrust forward: an idea which has nothing whatever in common with Leninism. That is the basic idea of the right deviation in its "Russian" form, an idea which naturally does not make its appearance in such a nakedly cynical form.

THE second peculiarity of the "Russian" form of the right deviation consists in its still not being formulated even ideologically, not to mention any organisational formulation. It is still passing through the elementary phase of its development.

None the less the sources of this deviation are incomparably more profound, as we have seen, than the sources of Trotskyism. It has its roots deeply thrust into the enormous mass of 25,000,000 privately-owned peasant farms (of which only 400,000 approximately were united into collective farms last year). Its tendencies are individualist peasant tendencies, the tendencies of a peasantry not yet drawn into co-operation, of a peasantry still drawn towards capitalism; and consequently they are kulak economic tendencies.

THE concrete forms of manifestation of the right are extremely varied. They appear in various sections of the Party, Soviet and trade union work. Naturally the enormous petty bourgeois masses exert pressure on all phases of Party life. The deviation also appears in the grain collection campaigns, when the lower Party and Soviet workers put obstacles in the way of the sound development of that work on behalf of the interests of the kulaks and the prosperous sections of the middle peasants; it is revealed also in an unjust distribution of the agricultural tax (a lowering of the tax on the kulaks to the injury of the middle peasants), and in an unjust distribution of agricultural machinery (their supply to the kulaks), and in purely social manifestations (Communists fraternising with the kulaks and Nepmen), in the kulak elements' penetration into the village Party organisations and so on. It is impossible to specify all the varied manifestations of the right in the Party life of the C.P.S.U.

THE right deviation has not yet been crystallised into any system of opinions, but separate elements of that system are scattered everywhere. In consequence of this a ruthless ideological struggle with the deviation, despite the fact that it is still ideologically unformulated, is urgently necessary even now. The Plenum emphasised the absolute necessity of such a struggle in the most resolute fashion, and thus also emphasised the absolute necessity of struggle against any patient or reconciliatory attitude.

IN other Communist Parties there is a different situation from that in the C.P.S.U. This has to be given particularly definite emphasis, since the purely mechanical application to other parties of the decisions taken by the last Plenum of the C.C. of the C.P.S.U. might result in a complete distortion of the practical tasks confronting those Parties in the struggle against the right.

In the first place it must not be forgotten that in distinction from the C.P.S.U. other C.P.s are still confronted with the task of accomplishing a socialist revolution. And as we know very well from the experience of the Russian party, that task demands the maxi-

imum of unity and agreement from those parties. During ten years the Bolsheviki carried out a persistent cleansing of their ranks to ensure this. Without all this preliminary work, which was expressed in a protracted and persistent struggle against all deviations, the C.P.S.U. could not have prepared itself for the accomplishment of the October revolution.

The history of all the other Communist Parties which have developed since the October revolution and emerged from the womb of the social-democratic parties, shows that during these years those parties have also cleansed themselves by way of an internal party struggle more and more from the social-democratic human ballast (Levy, Frossard, Bubnik and company) which they had brought out with them. Now these parties are more homogeneous than they were ten years ago. But the process is far from being completed.

BUT meantime the intensification of the class contradictions and the class struggle and the swift approach of the war danger demand of these parties a swifter cleansing from social-democratic elements.

The sources of the deviations in the C.P.S.U. are also different. While in the C.P.S.U. the right deviation is still passing through only its elementary phase, in other Communist Parties the deviation has already been formulated not only ideologically but in places organisationally also. This essential difference must not be forgotten, for it shows that the purely mechanical application of the decisions of the last Plenum of the C.P.S.U. to other parties may lead to a number of serious errors.

But the common feature of the "Russian" and the International right deviation is the tendency towards co-operation with the bourgeoisie (in the capitalist countries in the form of co-operation with the reformists). This tendency arises out of the fear of struggle in circumstances of an intensification of the contradictions existent both in the U.S.S.R. and in the capitalist countries. Naturally this tendency takes on different forms in the U.S.S.R. and in the other countries, since in the U.S.S.R. the construction of socialism is already proceeding, while the other countries

are still only confronted with the social revolution. But despite this enormous difference it is this basic tendency towards co-operation with the bourgeoisie which unites the right on the international scale. And this also must in no circumstances be forgotten.

THE task of cleaning out the right elements assumes a particular importance in regard to the directing party organ. The approaching gigantic class and war conflicts demand the transformation of these directing organs into revolutionary staffs, not in any figurative, but in the actual meaning of the words. And in the staff there must be no doubters, no waverers, no unstable elements ready to retreat at the first failure; in a staff there must be no panic-mongers.

We do not in the least intend to imply that there must be no ideological struggle. That would be absolutely unsound. The ideological struggle is indeed needed. We only desire to emphasise the profound difference which exists on the question of attitude to the right danger between the U.S.S.R. and other C.P.'s. The basic task of the C.P.S.U. at the present stage is the waging of a ruthless ideological struggle against the right and so-called "organisational measures" can play only a secondary role. But in other C.P.'s the basic task is a cleansing of the right elements, which will not in the least eliminate, but will on the contrary, demand of the party an intensified ideological struggle against the right deviation.

A number of incidents which have occurred in the C.P.'s of recent times have provided extremely clear confirmation of this. As an example we need only to consider what has been happening and is still happen-

ing inside the German C.P. The right-wing attempts in connection with the Wittdorf affair to overthrow the existing Party leadership and to capture the power for themselves, their organisation inside the Party of fractions which publish their own fractional newspapers and refuse to subject themselves to the decisions of the C.C., which violently attack the decisions of the Fourth R.I.L.U. Congress and the Sixth Comintern Congress, which sabotage the struggle in the Ruhr, and are openly preparing a schism within the Party, provide a pattern of what awaits our Party in the event of revolutionary or war complications (which are incomparably more difficult than the complications caused in the Party by the Wittdorf affair) if the rights retain the organisational possibility of sabotaging the revolutionary work of the C.P.'s and exploit internal Party difficulties to this end.

AT the moment we are not discussing the question of the forms of reaction to the activities of the rights in the German and other C.P.'s. This is another subject: that of the methods necessary to cleanse the C.P.'s of the rights. The question which interests us at the moment is the estimate of the present experience of the struggle with the rights is that without a resolute cleansing of the past experience in the light of the general revolutionary tasks confronting the C.P.'s, and also in the light of the immediate revolutionary tasks.

The chief conclusion to be drawn from this survey of the experience of struggle with the rights is that without a resolute cleansing of the C.P.'s of the capitalist countries, and in particular of the leading Party organs, from the rights, our Parties will not be able completely to fulfil their revolutionary obligations.

The Split in the Polish Socialist Party

By B. Valetsky

THE split in the Polish Socialist Party which occurred in October, at the height of the general strike in Lodz, and which found expression at the beginning of November in the simultaneous meeting of two party congresses, is of great international interest owing to a number of reasons. In the international family the P.S.P. occupied a prominent place, especially of recent years. It was not for nothing that its official congress was personally greeted with particular solemnity by the general secretary of the Second International, Fritz Adler himself. The P.S.P. incarnates in a stronger form all the features of the social-democratic parties in other countries. The P.S.P. has been the centre of attraction for the menshevik parties of all the border countries, from the Finnish, Esthonian, Latvian and Lithuanian to the Ukrainian, Roumanian and Georgian parties. The importance of the P.S.P. in the Second International is determined by the political role of Poland itself in the family of capitalist and imperialist countries, by its role of outpost in the crusade against the Soviet Union now being prepared. Finally, from the Polish example (after the example of the Italians and Spaniards), one can study the mechanism of inter-relationships between the Fascist dictatorship and the social-democracy with exceptional exactitude.

For the split in the P.S.P. was accompanied by the music composed by Pilsudsky's staff.

FASCIST POLICY

One of the features of Polish Fascism, as of Fascism generally—one which arises out of the fact that Fascism is the regime of the open dictatorship of the bourgeoisie, is the tendency towards the complete elimination of all the pre-existing political parties. From the very moment of the armed capture of power in May, 1926, Pilsudsky has unswervingly made for the realisation of this end, striving on the one hand to group the social following of the old parties around himself,

and on the other to discredit, to disgrace the professional politicians at their head and also their assembly, the Seym.

Being essentially the servant of the great bourgeoisie and the landowners, putting the tried and tested cadres of his own military organisation, and also his international "connections" who had helped him to power at their disposal, Pilsudsky literally the day after the May coup d'état, ensured himself the firm support of the great bourgeois and landowning economic alliance which had deserted their traditional party, the National Democracy.

His relationship with the P.S.P. proved to be more original and more complex, for having unconditionally attached itself to the May coup d'état, having begun the task together with Pilsudsky, there was nothing the P.S.P. desired more passionately than to support him through thick and thin. Its deputies voted in the Seym for dictatorial plenipotentiary powers to the Government, its press and its agitators continued to extol the glory and prestige of Pilsudsky, and to struggle with his enemies "on the right." But they thought of the new Government as being an original kind of "coalition," in which they, as the "representatives" of the workers and "recognised" as such by the Government, were called to play second fiddle. They counted on being allowed to operate on the basis of the ostensibly independent trade union and party organisations, on the masses of "their" electors; they wished to be paid with the political coinage due to monopolist middle-men between the Government and the masses. But while availing himself of their services, Pilsudsky answered their bootlicking, their proposals, pretensions and ambitions with kicks and scoffings. True he selected from their ranks certain persons slavishly devoted to him (such as Morachevsky, Goluvko and others), and took them into his Government, but he did not confer even the privilege of conversations on the official leaders of the party. He knew that it would be forced to serve the interests of the bourgeoisie and him-

self without any reward, and would betray the working class unwearyingly. He knew that all their threats of opposition were not worth a brass farthing. He knew them through and through as did no one else in the world—for he himself had for decades been their leader and teacher! Moreover, he knew that besides the petty ambitious members, who desired to sell themselves in decent, "democratic" ways, he could count on an adequate number of persons inside the P.S.P. who were heart and soul devoted to him and his Fascist work, persons with "names," with "services," with "authority," persons who, like himself, were evolving towards Fascism as the sole saving regime for such a Poland. And so he spat on them.

For more than two years did this game played by the Fascist dictator with the compromising leaders continue. For more than two years has Fascism carried on a war of extermination with the revolutionary proletarian organisations and with the Communist Party, at the same time laying down its own road to the masses; and while exploiting all the services of the compromisers, has systematically and unswervingly disintegrated their party.

The open split within the P.S.P. which occurred in October connotes Fascism's attempt directly, ideologically and organisationally to capture part of the working masses, to include them in the system of a single Fascist organisation. On the one hand, there were the pure "Pilsudskyites" of the Warsaw organisation who had revolted against the opportunist leaders being joined by the Upper Silesian organisation which had split away at the beginning of the year, and on the other was the official party playing at "opposition."

The Fascist dictatorship, the task of which is to carry out capitalist stabilisation in Poland, and at the same time to develop Poland's military power for imperialist purposes, is coming up against increasing difficulties which threaten the very existence of the regime. The intensification of the class contradictions which have been evoked by both the economic and the political measures of Fascism has reached an unprecedented point, and the indignation of the great masses of the towns and the villages is bursting through to the surface ever more frequently and violently.

The economic policy of Fascism, which is subservient to the naked interests of the landowners and great capital, leads to an intensification of the process of differentiation in the villages, destroying the prestige with which not so long ago the name of Pilsudsky was surrounded among the masses of poor peasantry; the attempts to attract the national minorities to the side of the bourgeoisie are being accompanied by an intensified oppression and exploitation of the poverty-stricken masses of the oppressed nationalities. But the revolt and the will to struggle are revealed most clearly of all among the masses in the towns: in the working class, against whom the murderous "rationalisation" is directed. The unbroken growth of Communist influence among the masses, which over the last two years has been perceptible even from month to month, despite the measures for their extermination; the growing will to battle of the masses, which is revealed in such great demonstrations as the last Lodz strike, have directly confronted the dictatorship with the problem of finding new methods of breaking the militant force of the proletariat. As an instrument against Communism, as an instrument for the perversion of the masses, the old P.S.P. has proved to be bankrupt. Thus the question of a split in the P.S.P. has come to maturity, and the issue has arisen of separating from it elements whose function would be to carry through a direct Fascist policy among the masses.

OBJECTS OF THE SPLIT

In connection with the general aims pursued by the Fascist stage managers of the split who are members of Pilsudsky's staff (aims arising out of the very essence of the Fascist system), the split is serving a special aim connected with the war now being prepared. All that has taken place during the last few years in Poland's internal policy—not to speak of its external policy—beginning with the creation of the Fascist dictatorship with the active participation of the British Ambassador—the economic policy, the policy in regard to the national minorities, the militarisation of the leading civil positions—everything is being built up with the forthcoming war in prospect. The unreliability of the wor-

kers and the poorer peasant masses, and also of the masses of oppressed nationalities, from the aspect of military activities against the Soviet Union, sets up an obstacle which has to be eliminated during the period of mobilisation. The preparation of lists of persons unreliable from this aspect, of lists embracing upwards of one hundred thousand families of citizens subject to arrest and internment at the moment of mobilisation, is albeit a necessary yet an inadequate measure.

The military dictatorship (and such the Fascist dictatorship must be in modern Poland, operating as it is in a *milieu* which by its social character is profoundly unreliable) must base itself on elements unconditionally faithful and subject to no vacillation whatever. While in peace-time Fascism could enjoy the services of such lackeys as are the majority of the leaders of the P.S.P., while in peace-time, during the period of preparation of the war they ideologically provide a by no means poor support for that preparation (we shall have something more definite to say about this role of the official leaders of the P.S.P. a little later on), in wartime, pregnant as it is with dangers and surprises, it is not expedient to base oneself entirely on the fidelity of these opportunists and politicians. This consideration was frankly expressed as one of the decisive motives for the preparation of the split in the P.S.P. some weeks before the split occurred, in the much-bruited interview with Minister Morachevsky. "Despite all, it must not be forgotten," stated Morachevsky, who is now at the head of the splitting section of the P.S.P., "that it was in the tragic moment of the Bolshevik advance on Poland that treachery draped in the ideology of Marxism began to appear in the ranks of the P.S.P. Suppressed by the party authorities, it still remained a demonstration of the fact that the consolidation of the State elements, insistent on the unconditional independence of the State, inside the Polish socialist movement, is a work of prime importance."

A DEFENCE AGAINST COMMUNISM

This note of distrust in the official leaders of the P.S.P. at the moment of war is systematically repeated in the agitation of the dissi-

dent section of the party after the split. In the daily newspaper of the dissident section, "Przedswit" (Dawn) for October 24th, in the report of the party meeting at Prushkov, close to Warsaw, one finds the following "disclosure": "During the Bolshevik advance on Warsaw a secret meeting at No. 13, Holy Cross Street, was participated in by a now prominent member of the C.C. of the P.S.P. and the Central Trade Union Commission, who defended the opinion that it was necessary to come to an agreement with the Communists for all was lost and defence was useless."

It is obvious that confronted with such "terrible" accusations and suspicions the official leaders of the P.S.P. (and particularly those who feel themselves attacked) will jump out of their skins in the endeavour to prove their 100 per cent. reliability from the point of view of military activities against the U.S.S.R. At the Congress in Sosnovicz, at which the representative of the "brotherly" Czecho-Slovakian social-democracy, Prokes greeted the P.S.P. as the "defensive rampart against the expansion of the turbulent neighbours on the East," literally every speaker, no matter on what they were reporting, invariably stated one and the same thing: "We are the outpost farthest to the East"; "after the destruction of the rampart which the P.S.P. constitutes against the Communists, Poland in the future will not find an adequate force for opposition to the Bolsheviks"; (deputy Barlitzky) our chief task is "the consolidation of Poland's independence"; (Niedzalkovsky) the chief thing is "Poland's geographical situation"; (Marek) "our party will not see this State face to face with the Communists without defence, without the the P.S.P. will be the defence of Poland against the Communists, even by force." (Puzhak in his organisation report.)

In a special resolution against Communism, which was drawn up with exceptionally idiotic illiteracy even for these people, the Congress of the official P.S.P., after repeating in its own words Otto Bauer's Brussels thesis to the effect that "Bolshevia" has compelled the Comintern to pin all their "hopes" to a war, adds on its own behalf: "The Congress directs the attention of the comrades working in the eastern borders of the Polish republic to the

necessity of emphasising the complete bankruptcy of the Soviet national policy."

Pilsudsky knew very well that in order to compel these persons to intensify their ardour for reviling the Soviet Union it would be sufficient to express some doubt of them in that connection. But none the less, when the business grows serious he will prefer to have people on whom he can count implicitly in the responsible positions.

THE DISSIDENTS

The dissident section of the P.S.P. has adopted the name of the "Old Revolutionary Fraction," *i.e.*, the title adopted by Pilsudsky's fraction in 1906 after the first split in the P.S.P. Its basic nucleus is the Warsaw organisation, directed by the notorious Yavorovsky, the president of the city Duma, which organisation has at its disposition a military organisation consisting of the dregs of the Warsaw *lumpen-proletariat* crimson with the blood of innumerable revolutionary workers. They have been joined by the Upper Silesian organisation, which was expelled from the P.S.P. in January this year, and is led by the dirty-handed Binnishkevitch. The ideological leader of the "fraction" is Minister Morachevsky, who in 1917-19 was the "Polish Kerensky." At the Congress in Kattovicz (Upper Silesia), which met simultaneously with the official Congress held in the adjacent Dombrova area, in Sosnovicz, there were present a hundred or more "delegates" hastily gathered from all parts of Poland. One need not discuss the mental level of this Congress. The thing that was noticeable about this Congress was its worker composition and the large number of active members of the trade union movement. In general, in accordance with the instructions issued from above, *i.e.*, from Pilsudsky, not to look back at the government but to work among the masses (an instruction strengthened by imposing monetary subsidies), the "fraction" placed the trade unions at the centre of its work. The immediate cause of the split had been the formation in Warsaw of a trade union council which had revolted against the Central Commission directed by the official P.S.P. In carrying through this split in the trade unions Yavorovsky is striv-

ing to achieve their complete Fascisation, their fusion with the Fascist "federations" already set up. Having thus created a counter-revolutionary Central Commission, Yavorovsky is carrying on a very skilful demagogic baiting of the old commission, accusing it of bureaucracy, ossification, deliberate neglect to enrol new members and so on; in a word, of all the faults which the Communists have always accused it of having. Simultaneously an agitation is being carried on among the masses in favour of the necessity of a strike. The "Przedswit" newspaper is flooded with correspondence from the works, factories and so on. In the political sphere, while denying its dependence on the Fascist government, the fraction rejects the "anti-State," systematic "opposition" of the official P.S.P., and preaches "a businesslike attitude" to the government, extolling its economic achievements and its benevolent attitude towards the workers, expressing a desire to eliminate the "rights" from membership of the government, and first and foremost it preaches the Pilsudsky cult.

THE OFFICIAL CONGRESS

The keynote of the Congress of the official P.S.P. was one of defence, despite their noisy comminations of the splitters. We have already show how all the speakers vied with one another in attempting to demonstrate that their "patriotism" stood above all suspicion. While reaffirming their parliamentary "opposition," pointing out that Pilsudsky was more and more coming under the "influence" of the bourgeoisie and the landowners, and shouting about the "defence of democracy," the leaders of the official P.S.P. none the less emphasised that they had no thought of denying the "achievements" of the Pilsudsky government, and that they were even ready to co-operate with it if it changed its course. Recognising the growth of the Communist Party's influence and throwing responsibility for this growth on the "schismatics" (at their Congress the "schismatics" had also recognised the indubitable, unbroken successes of the Communists, and had accused the official leadership of conducting to those successes by their "fruitless opposition"), the P.S.P. Congress put forward

as its chief task the struggle with Communism, and adduced the menacing Communist danger as the chief argument in favour of unity.

Despite their demonstrative optimism, the presence of representatives of the Second International at the Congress, as well as those of a number of "fraternal" parties, and also the participation of representatives of the "Bund" and the German social-democracy in Poland, the Congress of a party which had been given more than one and a half million votes in the elections to the Sejm was filled with alarm for its future.

Not only because the stage-managers of the Congress and the leaders of the party were tired of their insincere, simulated "opposition," not only because they are aching for the master whom they are in any case compelled to serve to change his anger into kindness, not only because they do not want a struggle, are afraid of a struggle, do not believe in struggle, are not capable of struggling, not only because the breach effected in their ranks by the split is greater than they care to admit, but also because trusted henchmen of Pilsudsky, no less dangerous for them than the departed Yavorovsky and Morachevsky, have remained within their ranks for "tactical" consideration. In addition to the head of Lodz town, the former minister Zemensky, who openly spoke at the Congress against the official leadership, besides Bobrovsky, the leader of the Crakow organisation, who refused to become a member of the Central Committee, besides the deputy Prauss, who after a dramatic speech resigned his deputy's mandate, the president of the Sejm, Daszinsky, has to be added to the opponents of the C.C. and the whole-hearted worshippers of Pilsudsky. And it is no secret to anyone that any of the prominent "opposition" leaders will betray his colleagues on the C.C. whenever Pilsudsky or his agents think fit to draw the reins tight on him. In addition to all this, in the lower ranks of the party there are workers who take all the opposition phrases seriously, who sincerely hate Pilsudsky, the Pilsudskyites, Fascism, the bourgeoisie and capitalism, and whose revolt may become more dangerous than that of Yavorovsky.

* * * *

The split in the P.S.P., which was directly evoked by the manoeuvring of the Fascist dictatorship and their agents of the first and second line among the working class of Poland, confronts the Polish Communist Party with new difficult tasks. It is true that in two of the great centres of Poland, in the Dombrova basin and in Warsaw, the Polish C.P. proved to be stronger in the elections to the Sejm this year than the P.S.P., while in Lodz they are almost as strong. It is true that the Lodz events have shown the growth of influence of the C.P. and strengthened that growth in its turn. But the same elections demonstrated that Fascism, unmasked by socialist phrases, had also penetrated into the workers' districts, and particularly in Warsaw.

The split in the P.S.P., which, if considered mechanically, would be bound to have the effect of weakening this our traditional enemy in the working class, is in reality establishing a position which demands a great concentration of attention and activity from the Polish party.

Both sections of the split P.S.P. are already, by sheer force of necessity arising out of their rivalry, developing a more intensive and wider demagogic activity among the workers.

Basing itself on oppositional phrases, and adopting a "left" mask, defending the "unity of the trade union movement" against the splitters, the official P.S.P. represents a danger no less but even more than before the split. While in reality serving Fascism and "struggling" with it in words, it is the chief impediment to the consolidation of the masses (who subjectively are opposed to Fascism) around the Communist Party and under its leadership.

The Fascist "revolutionary fraction," directed by demagogues with practically unlimited resources at its disposition, which will exploit its decision in favour of quite "radical" agitation among the workers for a time, even to the extent of organising strikes, the success of which are guaranteed in advance by the government (a form of Zubatov provocation which Mussolini also resorted to earlier), yet working directly for Fascism, will find favourable ground for their activities among the backward, indigent and starving sections of the workers.

Both these fractions will compete with each other in the slandering of Communists, in the slandering of the U.S.S.R. and in the ideological preparation of war.

The split in the P.S.P. is the indirect result of the growth of Communist influence among the working class of Poland, and the direct manifestation of the manoeuvres of Fascism; and it demands of the Polish C.P. a still greater intensification of its work among the

masses both in the political and in the trade union sphere.

The growth of the Communist Party's influence, with its propaganda of the revolutionary overthrow of the Fascist dictatorship, and also the growth in the movement and the fighting spirit of the masses following it, are a guarantee that the Party will know how to exploit this regrouping of the agents of Fascism among the working class in order to carry on a further successful struggle against them.

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Lessons of the German Lock-Out

By S. Gussiev

AT the time of writing the struggle of the 220,000 Ruhr workers who have been locked out by the masters of the iron and steel works has lasted three weeks.

During this period the intentions of both sides have been very clearly revealed, and the prospects for the further development of the struggle have also been indicated.

The capitalists' programme is short and clear: not a pfennig on the pay, not a minute off the day before 1930; no compromises, no negotiations, but a lock-out, peace through struggle, class against class.

This is the programme of a resolute attacking movement against the proletariat.

The workers' demands are not quite so unified: some of them support the demand for an increase of fifteen pfennigs per hour and the shortening of the working day; another, less resolute, section bite their lips and agree to two pfennigs additional (for only a section of the workers). But both sections stand resolutely opposed to the capitalists.

ORIGIN OF THE STRUGGLE

The conflict in the Ruhr arose in connection with the reconsideration of the wages agreements, and it is this circumstance which gives it a special importance. By July 1st, 1929, 93 per cent. of the wage agreements, involving 5,500,000 workers, will expire. In particular, by March 31st wage agreements involving 1,850,000 workers will have expired. The real wages of all these millions of workers have fallen greatly with the rise in cost of living, and the conditions of labour have greatly worsened with the rationalisation of industry. All the workers are resolutely putting forward a demand for a rise in wages in the new agreements with the capitalists, and some are putting forward the demand for an eight-hour day also.

The Ruhr conflict is thus a prototype of a number of gigantic conflicts, in which the German workers will ere long be involved.

The programme of the iron and steel barons is the programme of the entire capitalist class. The Ruhr capitalists are the leading division of German heavy industry, which will be followed by all the other German industries. The Ruhr capitalists own foundries, rolling mills and machinery works not only in the Ruhr area but in Middle and Northern Germany also, and in Upper Silesia. They are closely connected with the great banks, and have enormous financial resources at their disposal. The entire press belonging to the enormous Hugenberg concern, and also the entire press of the national party is at the disposal of the Ruhr steel and iron lords. All the rest of the bourgeois press unquestioningly supports them against the Ruhr workers. On the side of the Ruhr masters are their brothers in exploitation of the chemical, textile, metal working, and woodworking industries. They feel themselves to be the conscious representatives of the entire class of capitalists and in the Ruhr conflict to be defending the general class interests of the capitalists. On the other hand, the entire class of capitalists is consciously supporting Ruhr giants of heavy industry, as being the representatives of their interests in the struggle against the entire working class.

THE CAPITALIST POSITION

The slogans — no concessions, through struggle to peace, no negotiations, but a lock-out—are the slogans of the entire capitalist class, which is acting as a single, consolidated, organised force.

The organ of the German bourgeoisie, "Berliner Börsenzeitung," is openly appealing to all the German capitalists. On all the German entrepreneurs now lies the obligation to stand in closed ranks behind the Rhenish-Westphalian metal industry, which has taken on itself the responsibility of advancing to the front line of the battle in which the question whether there shall be a German industry or not is to be decided.

In opposition to this force stands the working class, of which only the leading section sees the entire prospect of the approaching class battles and is ready to enter into a decisive struggle with the capitalists, while the other sections are following the bourgeois political parties and the social-democracy, which openly defend the capitalist system.

In opposition to the organised class of capitalists stands the working class, not consolidated into a homogeneous force, still ununited by one and the same desires, but swiftly consolidating and organising its forces in the actual struggle, rallying around the demands of the whole class, beginning to realise the trickery of the bourgeoisie and the treachery of the social-democrats and to see the fundamental conditions of its victory in this struggle.

Class against class—such is the position, if not for today, then for tomorrow. The class of capitalists, avidly grabbing at its enormous profits, and the class of workers insisting on the maintenance of their miserable wages. Class against class—not as an historical abstraction, but as concrete history. Class against class—such is the revolutionary prospect of the next six months in Germany. Class against class—such is the simple formula which is supplanting all the other formulæ of social contradictions.

§ THE BOURGEOISIE

We shall let the representatives of the capitalists have the first word. We shall listen to their view of the prospects, how they view the course, the tasks, and the result of the struggle now begun.

First for Prof. Dr. Max Wolff. He writes in the "Deutsche Bergwerkzeitung," (German Mining Gazette), the organ of the Ruhr lockout lords. Thus Professor Max Wolff has to stand in the advance-post. He knows exactly what his masters expect of him, he is to be trusted. "Through struggle to peace,"—so the professor headed his article. After expressing his regret that the struggle in the Rhenish-Westphalian iron works had taken on an "acute" form from the very beginning, (which for that matter was not unexpected, the professor adds) the learned lackey of the capitalists at once proceeds to business. "The

trade unionists," says he, "have put forward demands. Their leaders know very well that they are impossible of execution at the present time." (It is not certain whether the professor is hinting at some special means of informing the trade union leaders in regard to the state of the capitalists' profits). "They also know very well that they can be given a mathematical proof of the fact that the iron and steel industry cannot stand the least increase of wages." Preserving a modest silence concerning the dozens of million marks profit which this poor industry has brought capitalism during the past year, the professor despondently asks: "But is that of any help?"

PLAIN TALK BY A PROFESSOR

The cause of the professor's despondency is made clear in the next few lines. "Behind them" (i.e., the trade union leaders), he proceeds, "stand the Communists, and the trade union leaders are forced to offer their adherents something, otherwise they would move in masses to the left. There is no free way of retreat left to the leaders. Any concession would be interpreted as a betrayal of the workers, and no matter how strong the position of the trade unions, they are still not strong enough to withstand such a reproach from the Communists."

Rarely do the underlings of capital talk in such language. The situation must needs be really serious for the German professor openly (and that several days before the beginning of the lockout) to recognise so strong an influence of the Communists on the workers and such instability in the influence of trade unions. For us this is a very valuable admission. This is a testing of our own views by the class enemy. We are grateful to the worthy professor for these words and we shall remember them. They will be of much service to us in the future.

These words are valuable to us also because they raise the curtain from all the cunning mechanism of the lockout. The professor recognises the hopeless position of the trade union leaders, he shares their grief that owing to the Communists the pleasant possibility of their betraying the working class has been greatly restricted. Moreover, the professor kindly allows them, in view of the special cir-

cumstances, to betray his majesty capital this time, and allows them to insist upon the "mathematically" unrealisable demands of the workers.

THE PROFESSOR IS CAUTIOUS

But to return to our professor. He will tell us much more of interest.

Having outlined the position of one side (one class) he turns to consider the other side. "On the other side stand the masters," he writes. But before he says anything about them, the professor has to take a breath, for here it is necessary to express himself cautiously; now he is not dealing with some trade union leader or group of workers. And so the professor introduces his decisive words with the following clever phrase: "We shall apportion the light and the shade equally" (in other words "we" shall be impartial). And then, taking his courage in both hands, he adds hurriedly: "They also are struggling for their own advantage."

What tripe! It now appears that the Ruhr masters are struggling for their own benefit. Did you ever hear of such a thing! And just imagine,—this scandalous story is revealed by Professor Dr. Max Wolff, who is attached to them under special commission, who is their trusted confidant. And yet that is not all. Now what is to happen to the mathematical proofs of the impossibility of raising the workers' wages? For it appears that the capitalists do get some benefit, so that means that they might be able to make some concessions. Or is the laying of hands on the capitalists' benefits in contradiction not only to the laws of capitalist society but also to the laws of nature, to the laws of mathematics?

We need expect no answer from the professor to this question. It is good anyway to know that he recognises the fact of the existence of two sides, that he speaks of two classes, that he understands how hard that struggle will be for the capitalists.

However, as a true bourgeois professor, he cannot of course refrain from representing the struggle of the Ruhr masters for their own advantage as a struggle for the benefit of the whole nation, and the satisfaction of the workers' demands as a "national catastrophe."

"We want peace, we have need of peace," the professor exclaims, "But this peace is continually being disturbed by the growing demands for a rise in wages. The entrepreneur cannot work any more [Think only, how terrible!—C.G.] and most of all he is unable to conclude agreements abroad because he does not know what expenses he will have to face tomorrow." And reduced to utter confusion, the mathematics-loving professor bitterly exclaims: "Anyone knows that wages can numerically go on being raised indefinitely."

All these miserable words about the heavy fate of the capitalist are necessary to the professor only in order to prepare for the following declaration:

"What we need is peace to work, and that peace must be won from the workers by the masters. The issue in the present struggle is whether we shall succeed in getting stable relationships."

Translated from the professorial tongue into human speech, this means: "Will the capitalists succeed in strangling the workers so far as to ensure that in the future they will not dare even to murmur one word about a rise in wages?"

"This struggle must be maintained to its end," the professor continues, "and it must not be debased by compromise."

His further remarks are either a redigestion of what he has already said or else attempts to smother the clear slogans of no compromise and "through struggle to peace" with unnecessary declarations that the capitalists are waging the struggle not "for the sake of victory," but "for the sake of peace." "It is miserable," writes the professor, "to see citizens of the nation standing facing one another as enemies, but it is still more miserable when they face each other as victors and vanquished. The aim of the present struggle is the reconciliation of workers and masters."

Without concessions from the capitalists such a reconciliation can mean nothing else than the workers' complete surrender to the will of the victor.

The formula of "class against class," which appeared to be so classically clear, and which the professor recognised almost word for word in the first half of his article, now does not appear to be so clear: side by side with it in the second half of the article is comfortably

disposed the directly contrary formula: peace between the classes, peace between the workers and the masters.

What will a bourgeois professor not include when it is necessary to defend the interests of the capitalists!

He is capable of concealing the imperialist tendencies of consolidated German capital without leaving a trace, he is capable of hiding a complete battle-cruiser together with all the revived militarism of the German capitalists.

Not one little word does Professor Max Wolff utter even on matters of which other bourgeois professors speak boldly: the workers want a rise in wages, that would lead to a rise in the price of our manufactures, and consequently would decrease our competitive ability on the foreign markets.

He is also silent in regard to the fact that the construction of a war fleet now being planned by the German capitalists is pursuing the same aim as is the lockout: i.e., the seizure and conquest of foreign markets. He pretends not to see that the Ruhr lockout lords are building a cruiser with one hand, and with the other are throwing their workers on to the street, carrying out the same plan in each case. He doesn't notice that there is the closest of economic and political connection between the cruiser and the lockout

Our professor wrote before the social-democratic Minister of Labour proclaimed the decision of the arbitration court granting a rise of two pfennings to a section of the workers to be obligatory. Consequently we cannot demand of the professor that he should explain how an addition of two pfennings is going to lead to a mathematical endless rise in wages. This grateful task was taken on by the "Deutsche Allgemeine Zeitung," which on the day of the beginning of the lockout wrote: "The economically weak masses of the German population will recall with terror the disastrous screwing up of prices and wages, ever increasing in the speed of their tempo, which occurred a few years ago: the rise in wages was followed by a rise in prices, which then had their reaction on other spheres of industry, evoking a rise in wages there also, and so on right down to the catastrophe in our economy and our currency."

ARBITRATION NOT WANTED

Confronted with such a catastrophe the Ruhr saviours of the German nation can do nothing else than resolutely reject the two-pfennig rise, (which would cost them seven million marks annually) giving the following reasons: "It is time to put an end to the present wages policy, thanks to which every renewal of a wages agreement connotes a rise in wages: it is necessary to put an end to the system of arbitration courts, which again and again concede a rise in wages."

Putting it briefly, the arbitration system, now that with its aid they have consolidated their position, is no longer necessary to them, it has become a hindrance to them. And they have thrown it on to the rubbish heap of history. And by this action the leaders of the trade unions and the entire social-democracy, for whom the theory and practice of the political and economic coalition was a beloved child, have been placed in new and more difficult conditions.

While Professor Max Wolff permitted the trade union leaders to support (albeit not very resolutely) the workers' demands before the beginning of the lockout, after the capitalists' refusal to carry out the compulsory decision of the arbitration court these leaders are not left with even that saving mouse-hole. They cannot support even the two-pfennig rise. In order to justify it economically they would have to mobilise arguments which would go much farther than their aim and would reveal that it was necessary to give a rise of fifteen pfennings and to reduce the workers' day to eight hours. Consequently the trade union leaders are forced to renounce economic arguments, and they are compelled to clutch at juridical arguments. They have a strong dislike to political arguments.

The intensification of the class-struggle is administering a conclusive blow to the idea of economic coalition, industrial peace, industrial democracy, and arbitration. Both the warring parties, both workers and capitalists, reject arbitration.

The formula: "class against class," squeezes out the formula: "third party arbitration and compulsory arbitration." But on the other hand the formula: "compulsory

arbitration" squeezes out the formula: "class against class."

We shall see immediately to what a monstrous perversion the clash of these two contradictory formulas leads.

§ THE SOCIAL-DEMOCRATS

We shall now hear what the social-democrats have to say.

The resolute refusal of the Ruhr capitalists to carry out the decision of the arbitration court has placed the social-democrats in an extremely difficult position.

For some years ago Kautsky proved irrefutably, with the aid of monstrous falsifications and perversions of Marx, that the dictatorship of the proletariat is the coalition of the proletariat with the bourgeoisie. By this discovery Kautsky did not in the least destroy his previous discovery of ultra-imperialism. It merely appeared that ultra-imperialism and the dictatorship of the proletariat could peacefully develop within the frontiers of one and the same state.

In 1928 Kautsky's dream was realised and Germany, after the formation of the government of the grand coalition, in which the social-democrats participated as representatives of the working class, passed into the epoch of the dictatorship of the proletariat, into the epoch of peaceful socialist development, which is simultaneously a peaceful, warless and crisisless "ultra-imperialistic" development and is accomplished within the confines of democracy.

The Ruhr mine-magnates' refusal to submit to the decision of the arbitration court at once threatened all that the social-democrats had so diligently created and built up. So it is not surprising that they were highly agitated and on November 1st were shouting in "Vorwärts": "The employers against the State," "employers' anarchism," "the employers are in revolt against the authority of the State," "the employers are giving the workers an example of open revolt against the law."

In the following number for November 2nd the same theme is repeated, but now more quietly: "The struggle in the metal-working industry," one reads, "is a struggle against the authority of the State, despite all the as-

surances to the contrary coming from the camp of the employers."

However in both numbers the question of employers' anarchism still remains in an undeveloped form, and no practical deductions whatever are drawn (as to what to do, and how to struggle against this latest form of anarchism).

But in the issue for November 3rd, although there is talk of the "act of violence against the law" on the part of the capitalists, the actual article in which this is stated is entitled: "The provocateurs in a cul-de-sac," so that on November 3rd the capitalist anarchists seemed to be not at all terrifying. Then on November 4th there is a big article under the title of "The struggle for the State," and the sub-title reads: "An economic putsch ten years after the revolution." Here the theme of employers' anarchism is developed to its full extent and is treated with great severity.

What had happened? What had forced the social-democrats to raise their voices so loudly? An indirect cause is found in the "Vossische Zeitung," which on November 1st declared: "Evidently this time the employers of the iron and steel industry have entered upon a struggle not only against the workers but against the State also."

So the article began, but at its close the position of the Ruhr industrialists was represented thus: "What? The Minister of Labour, and a social-democrat into the bargain, is to determine the wages? That is monstrous. An end must be put to this. By a struggle against the workers? No. By a struggle against the government, against the State, which dares to take such a line."

The "Vossische Zeitung" had blurted out the social-democratic secret. Whosoever transfers the whole question into the juridical sphere, whosoever puts forward the formula of the "anarchist violation of the law," whosoever sums up the Ruhr lockout by such a formula, must reject the formula of "class against class," and must estimate the capitalists' position not as a struggle against the workers but as a struggle against the State.

What caused the social-democrats to shout much more loudly about the anarchism of the capitalists was however the fact that during the first three days of the lockout the workers

thrown out of the works frightened them by their firm, undeviating will to struggle. The "Vorwaerts" for November 3rd, to which we shall return later, leaves no doubt on this point. A diversion had to be caused; the attention of the workers had to be turned elsewhere; they had to be shown a danger elsewhere from where it really lay.

The article "The struggle for the State" was intended for this purpose.

"The employers," we read in this article, "are celebrating the tenth anniversary of the German revolution with a revolt against the State and against the law which has emerged from the revolution. The great lockout in the West is an attempt to destroy the positions which the working class have captured and consolidated during the revolution and after; this lockout is a storming party against the authority of the State and its social content."

But what are the positions which have been captured by the proletariat? And what does the social content of the democratic state look like?

PEACEFUL SETTLEMENTS AND THE STATE

This is the explanation given by "Vorwaerts":

"Ten years ago the conflict over wages would have been settled entirely by a social struggle, by force only of the trade union resources. Ten years ago the workers' organisations would have found no protection from the State and its organs, they would then have had to be convinced in practice of the bitter truth that in such a gigantic conflict the State authority was on the side of the organised employers.

"But now the State guarantees the collective agreement. The great social differences are settled not only by resort to the trade union method of struggle, but simultaneously by the force of the political influence which the workers possess in the State. Ten years ago the wages were purely union rates, now they are union and political."

As you see, the positions won by the working class in the revolution seem to be quite miserable ones. It rather seems as though there were no position at all, for the fable of the State guaranteeing the collective agree-

ment and of the State's protection of the workers' organisations has been refuted during these last few days in a manner obvious to the most obstinate of ossified social-democratic minds: with one stroke of the pen the judges in Duisberg refuted all the subtle considerations of the "Vorwaerts" by settling the dispute over the collective agreement between the employers and the trade unions in favour of the capitalists.

As for "social content" of the democratic republic, (which from Kautsky's viewpoint could justly be called a coalition or even a republic of the proletarian dictatorship) it amounts to the new teaching concerning political wages. The ordinary German mark which the worker receives in payment of his labour now appears to be not a simple mark, with which only a certain definite quantity of bread, potatoes and beer can be bought, but a political mark as well. It is true that this new quality does not bring with it a single extra crumb of bread, a single extra potato or one little drop of beer. And so from our coarsely materialistic, Bolshevik viewpoint this new social-democratic theory of political wages is a typical piece of social-democratic verbal-sharpening and a mere making mock of the workers. But that's because we're barbarians. The truly cultured German socialist devoutly kisses the mark of the sacred coalition democracy. Nor should one smile thoughtlessly at these strange theories propounded by "Vorwaerts." The social-democrats are not fools and they have a good knowledge of their own workers. And if their new theories seem to be idiotic, if it is absolutely clear that they won't get far with them nor ride on their backs for long, the cause here lies in the fact that they are confronted with highly developing class contradictions and class struggles, and they are left almost without reserves on which to fall back in order to keep the workers under their further influence in the future.

After accumulating a further heap of horrors on account of the capitalists' "revolt," the capitalists' "insurrection," the "State coup-d'état," and "economic putsches," the "Vorwaerts" finally leads its stupefied readers to its fundamental deduction: "The metal industrialists of the western group are engaged in a struggle against the workers and

against the State. The employers are against the State; the workers are on the side of the State."

We see the classically clear and simple formula of "class against class" has in the hands of the social-democrats suffered such alterations that nothing is left of it. Superficially it is the same formula: on the one side the employers; on the other the workers. Between them an irreconcilable contradiction: against the State and for the State — class against class. But the social-content of this contradiction has been radically changed. It now appears that the struggle is being waged not over wages at all and not over profits, (as Professor Dr. Max Wolff kindly explained to us) but for the State and against the State. The struggle is being waged around the State, and the question of wages may only obscure the real aims of the struggle, may only lead one astray. Better therefore to dismiss the question of wages altogether.

Some naive person may perhaps be found to ask several questions: how do you make all this out? The bourgeoisie against a bourgeois State, and the workers for a bourgeois State? And why does the State against which the capitalists have risen take no action against them? Why don't the social-democratic ministers drive the insurgent coalition ministers out of the Government?

But that is just where such people show their simplicity,—putting such strange questions! Although we must admit together with the naive ones that the forgery made by the social-democrats is a clumsy one. But the question of the nature of the coalition democratic State is not exhausted by this. We shall see later that a much finer piece of forgery is being put across in this sphere, and that too in the ranks of the Communists, among persons who hold the party ticket of the German Communist Party.

"VORWAERTS" AND THE TEXTILE EMPLOYERS

We turn now to an article in "Vorwaerts" for November 3rd, entitled "Another 450,000." This article, dealing with the approaching lockout of 450,000 textile workers, is highly significant.

"The position which the textile lords are working for will end in catastrophe not only

for the textile workers but for the textile lords themselves."

Such is the main thesis of the article, the whole force of which is concentrated on the catastrophe threatening the textile lords, but not the textile workers.

The article is addressed to the employers, calls on them, warns them, admonishes them, entreats them.

What is the trouble? What catastrophe threatens the cotton and cloth barons? "Vorwaerts" provides the following answer:

"The measures being undertaken by the textile lords, considered in connection with the struggles called forth by the metal industrialists, have not only an economic significance; they have already far exceeded the limits of the economic spheres and have taken on a serious political importance."

Bravo, bravo! You've learnt a little from the Communists. Continue!

"The agitation among the workers is unusually strong. Go to any large meeting or the big workers' conferences which are considering their attitude to the problems raised by the industrialists, and there you will hear the unequivocal gnashing of teeth of enormous masses of workers, who in no circumstances wish to allow the ruthless method of action of the industrialists. Such expression as 'possibly this is the last sack our bosses will give us from above,' and so on, illumine the position like a lightning flash."

Thanks, thanks, Messrs Social-Democrats! Taken with the admissions of Professor Dr. Max Wolff, your admissions only confirm that the class struggle now begun in Germany is crammed with revolutionary content. We shall remember your admissions. They will be useful.

"VORWAERTS" THREATENS

But not only the textile manufacturers but the Ruhr works owners also are threatened, if not with a catastrophe at any rate with defeat. This defeat is announced in the article "The provocateurs in a cul-de-sac," printed in the same number of "Vorwaerts."

"No matter how long the struggle lasts in the Ruhr, no matter when the employers open the gates of their works again, nothing can save them from defeat," the article declares.

In what will the defeat of the Ruhr capitalists consist? Here we are: "Nothing can save the federation of employers of the north western iron industry from paying the wages and recompense for losses according to the court."

A way out is found. If it is impossible to transform the formula "class against class" into the formula of "capitalists against the State, the workers for the State," there are at least labour courts which are obliged to watch over the sacredness and inviolability of the wage agreements. The great class battle will be settled in court. It will be settled in favour of the workers, for the compulsory arbitration decision announced by the Minister of Labour is equal to a wage agreement. Fidelity to agreements,—it is a convenient slogan for catching the workers. The capitalists are breaking the democratic law, are violating the sacred right, are tearing up the agreements: the workers are faithful to the agreement; they stand guard over right and law.

It is true that the Duisberg Labour Court did not understand the exalted enthusiasm of the social-democrats and pronounced in favour of the capitalists. Never mind! There are other courts in Berlin, and we'll appeal to them.

The social-democrats catch feverishly at all possible straws. If an appeal to the sound sense of the capitalists, to their feelings, is of no avail, you can appeal to their pockets. You yourselves reap no advantage from the lock-out,—they reason with the steel barons—you've got to pay your employees, your watchmen, your taxes, and meantime no profits are coming in. But the barons are as hard as the steel produced by their workers: no concessions, no compromises, through struggle to peace, class against class.

The social-democrats are left with only one other weapon: the betrayal of the workers' interests behind their backs. But this oft-tried and tested method threatens to be unserviceable within the near future.

THE LEFT SOCIAL-DEMOCRATS

Nor can the left social-democrats put forward any proposals, and they have hidden away round the corner from the menacing

formula of "class against class." In a leading article the "Leipziger Volkszeitung" describes the anecdotal ten years' anniversary of the Ministry of Labour, which was celebrated two days before the declaration of the lockout. Representatives of both classes were present at the celebrations. The Minister of Labour, the social-democrat Wissel, extolled the German democracy in his official speech, indicating that at its basis lay the principle: "Man is at the centre of economy." "Two days later," the "Leipziger Volkszeitung" states mournfully, hiding its grief beneath a light irony, "the capitalists proclaimed another principle: 'Profit is at the centre of economy!'"

The newspaper ends its article with the words: "We do not think that the employers' attack will improve the conditions of struggle to their advantage. From the heart of the entire German working class must arise an unanimous will to defence."

In an indeterminate, uncrystallised form we again have the formula: "class against class." As an impartial observer, the "Leipziger Volkszeitung" recognises the presence of such an extreme intensification of the class struggle, while not in the least being interested in the question of what is to happen next.

The left social-democrat Liebe, takes exercise in left-wing gesticulations at a respectable distance from the front of the struggle. In the social-democratic Vienna "Arbeiter Zeitung" he publishes an article in which with the utmost caution he puts forward a proposal for the compulsory confiscation with compensation of a single Ruhr works, which has to serve as a warning to the other owners. This is like putting your fingers to your nose behind someone's back. But this also is proposed on a strict legal basis, on the basis of par. 153 of the German Constitution, which Liebe quotes in full in his article, lest he should be suspected of breaking the law, which God forbid.

We step across the ultra-left Communists of the Trotskyist Leninbund, who gloried in their terrible "leftism," but on the day of the great struggle had nothing to contribute of their own (and they simply repeated the slogans of the Communist Party) and we consider the Communist camp.

§ THE RIGHT-WING COMMUNISTS

We shall begin with the right flank. The latest events in the German Communist Party have clearly displayed strong elements of survival of social-democratic views among the right section of the C.P. To the present day this section cannot reconcile itself to the decision of the E.C.C.I. Presidium on the questions bound up with the Wittdorf affair. It would be an error to think that this affair continues to occupy the centre of the Party's attention. The Ruhr lockout has thrust it far into the background and has confronted the Party with all the basic problems of strike strategy and tactics, all the questions of the leadership of the working masses in their attack, as definite practical tasks.

The Party is resolving those problems in the spirit of the decisions which were taken at the Fourth Congress of the Profintern (R.I.L.U.) and the Sixth Congress of the Comintern. The right wingers openly declare their complete disagreement with the decisions of these two congresses and qualify them as demonstrations of an "ultra-left" course. In their view these decisions lead to a complete break with the tactics of the united front, to a split between the organised and the unorganised workers, to a split in the trade unions and to the liquidation of the trade union work which the Party is carrying on, and to the leftward moving, revolutionarily developing workers being driven back to social-democracy.

ATTITUDE OF THE "RIGHT" C.P.

What is the root of the evil, in the view of the right wingers? It appears that it consists in the fact that the congress decisions recommended the organisation of the workers' struggle outside the trade unions, and that to this end elected strike or lockout committees should be established, both the organised and the unorganised workers to be drawn into these elections. The rights not only call this tactic a putschist tactic, but even declare that it represents an avoidance of the difficulties of the struggle with the social-democratic leaders with their bourgeois tendencies.

Then what, in their opinion, should be the true "revolutionary" tactic? It should consist in the creation not of a dual leadership

of the strikes, but of a single leadership. This latter connotes and cannot but connote the resignation of the leadership of the proletariat's economic battles entirely into the hands of the trade unions as before, these being in their turn entirely in the hands of the social-democrats. In a word, in the view of the rights the leadership of the proletariat's economic struggle must remain in the hands of social democracy. For that matter the rights make no attempt to hide this, since they are quite unable to imagine the economic struggles being led by any other than trade unions, or the trade unions being in any other than social democracy's hands. So it was, so it will be—therein is summarised the whole philosophy of the rights.

The social-democratic essence of the right deviation in the German C.P. is most clearly and definitely revealed in the very strike strategy and tactics which they defend in contraposition to the line of the Profintern and the Comintern. So only the direct agents, (albeit unconscious agents) of the social-democrats inside the German C.P. could speak.

Only think! For the first time for several years owing to the leftward movement of the proletariat, owing to their abandonment of social-democracy and the strengthening of the C.P.'s own influence, our C.P.'s both in Germany and in France have got the opportunity of really taking into their hands the leadership of the growing economic attacks of the worker masses. For the first time they have the opportunity of doing this on a large scale, against the frenzied opposition of the social-democratic trade union leaders. For the first time they are succeeding in capturing from the reformers the leadership of the great working masses.

And the right wing sages profoundly tell us concerning these most important successes that this is a demonstration of our weakness, that we are dodging the difficulties of the struggle against the social-democratic leaders by rejecting the tactics of the united front. We are opportunists, since we "place the united front tactics in dependence on the conduct of the social-democratic leaders" (an exact quotation). The meaning of this last ludicrous asseveration is that the social-democratic leaders are against the carrying through of the united front tactic and will not allow

the Communists into the unions, consequently the Communists want to carry it through outside the unions. That means that they place the united front tactics in dependence on the conduct of the social-democratic leaders.

CHANGED CONDITIONS

The rights refer to the decisions of the Third Comintern Congress to prove that the decisions of the last congresses of the Profintern and the Comintern revoke the decisions of the Third Congress. By so doing they only prove that they have never understood and even now do not understand the united front tactics. The new united front tactic is the direct projection of the former tactics in face of conditions which have changed in a favourable sense.

In what do those changes consist? In a leftward movement of the working masses, in a weakening of the influence of the social-democrats, in a strengthening of the influence of the C.P. The former correlation of forces between the C.P. and the social-democracy was really such that owing to the former's weakness the carrying through of the united front tactics depended on the social-democrats' attitude. Now we are strong enough to have been able largely to extend our tactics of the united front, spreading it among the wide masses of unorganised workers. Our activities have come to depend much less on the conduct of the leaders of social-democracy, and that dependence grows weaker every day. The right wing sages want to drag us back to a period now outlived, they want everything to remain as of old, i.e., they want to maintain the previous dependence of the united front tactics on the social-democratic leaders. Yes, of course, "only opportunists can place the united front tactics in dependence on the conduct of the social-democratic leaders." The rights have provided a very precise characterisation of themselves.

OPPOSITION FROM THE "RIGHT"

Together with the social-democratic and trade union leaders they are putting obstacles in the way of our getting a free hand with the leftward moving masses, frightening us with the prospect of a split between the

organised and the unorganised workers. But with every successive day reality contradicts still more the fears of the rights. By the very fact that the Communists are taking on themselves the organisation of the unorganised, and their attraction into the trade unions, they are liquidating that line of demarcation between the organised and the unorganised which the social-democrats are striving by all means to maintain and to deepen. The Communists are in favour of the extension of the trade unions, in favour of fresh millions being drawn into them; the trade union bureaucrats, who are threatened with a complete loss of their influence, are against. The Communists are for a single leadership of the economic struggles of the masses; the social-democrats, who do not recognise any elected strike committees except those appointed from above and composed of trade union officials, are in reality in favour of a dual leadership of the strikes. But the "right" Communists have dabbled so deeply in social-democratic prejudices that they see everything in an upside-down, inverted social-democratic form.

To what depths of decline the rights have sunk is evident from the following episode. The slogan characteristic of the previous united front tactics was "force the trade union bureaucrats." This slogan expressed the dependence of the practical realisation of the united front tactic on the trade union bureaucrats. Now, in connection with the enormous extension of the united front tactic, in connection with the possibility of carrying it through independently of the leaders of the trade unions, the slogan has been completely withdrawn. The rights are not at all pleased with this. And on this account they express themselves literally in the following words:

"These tactics (the new united front tactic) has already led to the formation of bands armed with cudgels, to clashes between workers and workers. The withdrawal of the slogan has thus led in practice to the "revolutionary" [what venomous inverted commas!] slogan: force the workers to strike by use of cudgels."

This is a direct defence of the strikebreakers against the pickets set by the strikers. That is all one can call it.

"RIGHT" PROPOSALS

And what practical proposals do the rights make in regard to the Ruhr conflict of classes?

They put forward "revolutionary transitional slogans." These social-democrats in Communist clothing are prepared to declare any genuinely revolutionary work an ultra-left putsch; (in no way can we save ourselves from this uninvited assistance of the rights in the struggle with the ultra-lefts and vice-versa) under the form of revolutionary transitional slogans they thrust before us the most reactionary of all that were ever invented by the Mensheviks.

"The first step should be to demand of the Government the further payment of wages to the locked-out workers at the cost of the employers. If we are successful in mobilising the masses to this end, it will prove to be the best of preparations for the extension of the militant divisions and for drawing into them such important categories of workers as the miners and the railwaymen. Thus the prerequisites will be established for the transformation of the struggle for wages into a political struggle for power. Simultaneously committees of action should be formed from the workers and employees for the control of the false statistics of the magnates of the steel trusts, with particular reference to the ostensible inability of the steel industry to meet competition owing to the workers' demands (the confiscation of all commercial documents and the disclosure of commercial secrets)."

And then comes the point concerning the establishment of the "single" strike leadership which we have already quoted.

Such is the "program of action" invented last year by Brandler from the aspect of its practical application. That is how the Brandler "control over production," which was not for nothing called the blood brother of the social-democratic "industrial democracy," appears in practice.

The words referring to the political struggle for power can neither bribe nor delude us. The rights' conceptions of the political struggle for power are entirely along social-democratic lines. The social-democrats represent that struggle in the form of the parliamentary struggle. Only let the social-democrats collect a majority of votes in the

parliamentary elections and get a majority of deputies, and the whole job is done, the years of struggle for power will come to a favourable end in the most peaceful fashion.

The "right" Communists also propose a similar peaceful road. Only let them succeed in mobilising a majority of the workers around the demand for wages to be paid by the Government at the cost of the capitalists, and the job is done, power is won, the proletarian dictatorship is established, and all without any of your revolutions, insurrections, civil wars and other Bolshevik attributes.

Simultaneously, quite arbitrarily, committees of action formed from the workers and employees are summarily to make their appearance, first establishing a control over the swindling falsifications of the capitalists; and thence it is only a step to control over production, and then nationalisation of all the factories and works is quite close.

A revolution without revolution, an insurrection without arms, nationalisation without violence, class struggle without struggle!

What a marvellous prospect! How simple, easy, clear it all is! And what putrid Menshevism all this idyll stinks of!

A RUSSIAN EXAMPLE

Once upon a time, twenty-three years ago, a Menshevik named Axelrod thought out a cunning tactic which was intended to give the Russian proletariat the possibility of getting on without a struggle, and to enter the paradise of bourgeois parliamentarism without any effort. The Tsarist Government proclaimed the establishment of the State Duma, and the election law for it was drawn up by a Tsarist official named Bulygin, after whose name this (unsummoned) Duma was called the Bulygin Duma. The Bulygin electoral law entirely deprived the workers of the right of participation in the elections. And then Axelrod appeared, and proposed that the workers should not pay any attention to the law, but should occupy themselves seriously with the elections. That which is elected by the people is sacred. The workers would elect their own Duma, and the Tsarist Government would have to fold their hands in their perplexity and declare: "Well, what's to be done? Once they've been elected by the peo-

ple we cannot but recognise them." And if the Tsarist Government tried to prevent this game of elections, these "mock elections," as the Bolsheviks called them, very serious consequences might conceivably arise for it.

And it is this very parliamentary game of Axelrod's that the right with their "committees of action" are projecting. Instead of the real class political struggle we are to have miserable attempts of two or three committee members, armed with nothing more than questionable mandates, to get inside the strong rooms of the capitalists, into the holy of holies of the trusts and syndicates, which are defended by the whole armed force of the capitalist State.

The rights replace the formula of "class against class" by the formula of "committees of action against the watchmen."

And nothing can alter their dependence on the mobilisation of the masses around the demand that the Government should pay wages at the expense of the capitalists.

Such a slogan only leads the masses into delusions concerning the real class nature of the present Government. If it is really capable of satisfying this demand and so of acting against the capitalist class then this coalition social-democratic bourgeois Government is a workers' Government already.

THE "RIGHT" AND STABILISATION

The right Communists fall straight into the arms of the social-democrats, who are extensively spreading this view of the present Government. Moreover, the right Communists go farther than the social-democrats in this matter, for the latter have never proposed to demand wages from the Government at the expense of the capitalists, and have even been against the payment of auxiliary pay to the unorganised locked-out workers. Whilst if the rights themselves do not believe that the present Government will act against the capitalists the tactics they propose is an absolutely impermissible deception of the masses.

What is the basic source of such a profound decline among the rights, such a social-democratic degeneration? Respect for capitalist stabilisation, which to them appears to be incomparably more stable than it really is, complete subservience to the growing power of

the capitalist class and the Social-Democratic Party, and still more complete distrust of the power of the proletariat, and a denial of their leftward trend. Only such a profoundly pessimistic evaluation of immediate prospects could drive them to the invention of cunning manoeuvres which would provide the possibility of replacing the missing strength by cunning and of getting along without a struggle. In the right interpretation the formula "class against class" takes on this form: "The mighty class of capitalists against the weak working class." Hence the liquidator's conclusion: "Workers, throw yourselves on the mercy of the capitalists! Communists, throw yourselves on the mercy of the social-democrats!"

Truly the rights are dangerous to the Party. They will sabotage the tactic of the united front.

§ THE RECONCILERS

After the rights one can consider the reconcilers. They are distinguished from the rights by the fact that they do not speak as they act nor do they act as they speak. They form a bloc with the rights on a number of political and internal Party questions, they protect the right, act as their advocates, and make light of their social-democratic sins.

On the stabilisation question their viewpoint is much closer to that of the rights than to that of the Sixth Congress of the Comintern. They do not deny the intensification of class contradictions, but with the rights they exaggerate the strength of the capitalist class, with the rights they cannot see the decline of the social-democrats' influence among the masses behind their purely superficial accession of strength, with the rights they underestimate the leftward movement of the working masses.

The reconcilers' formulas are not so resolute as those of the rights; they are more flexible, more elastic.

DEFENCE AND ATTACK

Thus, as distinct from the rights they do not at all deny the intensification of the class struggle, but they lay emphasis on the point that the chief feature of the present Ruhr conflict is that it is a capitalist attack. Hence the deduction that the proletariat is only

defending itself. It is on this point that they differ from the Party, which correctly considers that we have in the Ruhr the existence of a responsive attack of the proletariat, which serves as an indication of the revolutionary character of the incipient class struggles. Among the reconcilers the formula "Class against class" is transformed into the formula "The capitalist class is on the attack, the proletariat are on the defence." The revolutionary prospect of the extension of the front of class struggles, the mobilisation of the proletariat, its organisation in the struggle with all its consequences in a swift growth of the influence of the Communist Party, and of the latter's conquest of the trade unions—all this is completely absent from the reconcilers' outlook.

On the question of the strategy and tactics of the economic struggle, which is the one interesting us at present, the reconcilers, in distinction from the rights, formally recognise the decisions of the Fourth Profintern Congress, but in practice they oppose the Party in its struggle against the rights, sabotaging these decisions and openly struggling against them.

The following episode is typical. Point seven of the resolution of the last Party conference read as follows:

"This is possible only under the condition that the Party unswervingly carries out the decisions of the Fourth Congress of the Profintern and ruthlessly smashes the opposition of the right fraction to these decisions."

Comrade Ewert proposes to strike out these lines and to substitute in their place:

"This is possible only by a sound application of the decisions of the Fourth Congress of the Profintern, by an overcoming of all vacillations and any opposition to them, and by a resolute course for the improvement of the trade union work."

This means the concealment and defence of the rights in the very spots where they are strongest and where they are closest of all to the social-democrats, namely in the trade unions.

After that it is possible in one of the later points formally to agree to a "systematic struggle against the right views and groups."

They say one thing and do another.

The pessimistic outlook on the future held

by the reconcilers is most clearly indicated in the declaration that the further development of the Party is threatened with "terrible danger" (the rights say "destruction") in connection with the unsound decision of the E.C.C.I. on the Wittdorf affair.

This is said at a moment when the Party is successfully organising tens of thousands of locked-out workers and with a continually firmer hand is carrying through the tactics of the united front.

§ THE PROSPECTS OF THE STRUGGLE

The newspaper "Arbeit" wrote on the Ruhr lockout from an original aspect.

"The lockout which was declared on the Rhenish-Westphalian metal workers from October 31st," it says, "is very close to the British miners' lockout of May 1st, 1926 in its importance. In both cases the lockout of the most important category of workers in the respective countries (in Britain the miners, in Germany the metal workers) connotes the capitalists' passing to a resolute attack on the whole of the working class. The employers count in advance on the possibility of an extension of the front of struggle, in certain places they are even artificially extending it, and also on the possibility of the conflict being a protracted one, in order once for all to break the opposition of the proletariat. The first battle may possibly be difficult, but with the co-operation of the reformists victory is ensured them, and this victory will connote the complete defeat of the working class—the British experience bears testimony to that—and the capitalists are far better at taking international experience into account than are the short-sighted Amsterdam leaders of the trade unions.

"In distinction from the capitalists the German social-democratic leaders are blindly repeating the mistakes (or simply the treachery) of their British colleagues."

To finish our quotations we cite also the end of the article:

"The task of taking the leadership of the strike into the hands of the Communists has to be achieved at all costs, for it is a matter of the fate of the German proletariat. The victory or defeat of the Rhenish metal workers.

will connote the victory or defeat of the German proletariat for many years to come." (*Arbeit*, November 2nd.)

WILL THERE BE A DEFEAT?

We will analyse this point of view.

In the first place, three preliminary remarks.

First: It is inaccurate to say of the Amsterdam leaders of the trade unions that they are shortsighted and that they are worse than the capitalists at taking international experience into account. This may be interpreted as meaning that only shortsightedness prevents the Amsterdammers from carrying out a proletarian policy. We consider that the Amsterdammers are not at all shortsighted and that they know how to utilise international experience as well as the capitalists. If the proletariat loses in its economic struggles under their leadership it is to be explained not by their errors or shortsightedness, but by their systematical betrayal of the interests of the working class. For the same reason it is unsound to say as does this article: "The German social-democratic leaders are blindly repeating the mistakes (or simply treachery) of their British colleagues." One of the two: either a mistake or else treachery.

Secondly: It is unsound to adduce an analogy between the lockout of the British miners in May, 1926, and the present lockout in Germany, and still more is it unsound to draw any conclusion on the basis of this analogy as to the inevitable defeat of the German proletariat. Of course, there are certain similarities between the two lockouts: both are lockouts, and in both cases the capitalists are attacking, and in both cases they are attacking the most important sections of the proletariat. But the similarities end there. Beyond that there are a number of big differences: in Britain the miners only defended themselves, in Germany the metal-workers have begun a counter-attack. In Britain the miners stood alone, despite the general strike of protest, which itself revealed that almost the entire organised British proletariat is in complete subjection to the perfidious traitors of the General Council. In Germany big lockouts are arising in other spheres of industry. The capitalists themselves are driving the workers of separate

spheres into separate attacks. In Britain the Communist Party's influence was weak, in Germany it is incomparably stronger. (This is already confirmed by the Ruhr experience). Finally, the international situation was also different, it was at another stage.

It is enough to cite only these differences in order to recognise that any deduction as to the inevitability of the defeat of the German metal workers and as to the further consequences of that defeat drawn from such an analogy is an unsound policy.

Thirdly: If the victory of the capitalists is ensured, as the first half of the article says, "and this victory will connote the complete defeat of the working class," as is said with complete justice in the same passage, how is it possible at the end of the article to say: "the victory or defeat of the German proletariat"?

After these remarks we pass to the fundamental question: what are the prospects of the struggle that has begun? Is the defeat of the Ruhr metal workers inevitable? Will that defeat also mean the defeat of the entire German proletariat for many years to come?

Only the ultra-left babblers can think that it is not decent for a Communist to speak of defeat, that the very talk of the possibility and still more of the inevitability of defeat is equivalent almost to the blackest treachery to the proletarian cause. In their view the proletarian may speak only of victory, and if he begins to stammer about defeat then obviously he is a defeatist. It would not hurt to remind such ultra-left phrasemongers that Marx in 1871 predicted the inevitability of the defeat of the French workers.

But is there any basis at the present moment for condemning the locked-out Ruhr miners to an inevitable defeat? There is no justification for this whatever. Of course, the possibility of defeat is not excluded, but the possibility of victory is also not excluded, and consequently there can be no talk of the inevitability of defeat. The whole course of the lock-out, the whole development of the struggle irrefutably demonstrates that the metal-workers' chances of victory are growing. Undoubtedly the capitalists entered the struggle more prepared and more organised than were the workers. But during the two weeks of lockout the proletariat under the

leadership of the Communist Party have performed marvels of organisation. During two weeks the German C.P., first applying the tactics of the united front, have gathered seventy thousand workers around the demands put forth by it. Such a swift emancipation from the influence of the social-democratic party, such a rise and such a revolt have not been observable in the German working class for many a long day.

The militant spirit of the masses is not only not broken, but on the contrary, their resolution to struggle is growing with every day. So far they are not even thinking of surrender. The masses are learning in the struggle, through the experience of the united front tactics, things the German workers' movement has never yet seen or known in the direct struggle with capital. The masses are learning new fruitful forms of struggle through experience. Through experience they are becoming convinced of their own power when they act as a compact united front. The masses see that the chief hindrance to the extension of the united front and the bringing of all the locked-out workers into it is the trade union bureaucracy. The masses are mastering the art of the swift organisation of their ranks. The masses are breaking with the legalist traditions and with their respect for the bourgeois laws.

Finally, the masses are beginning to understand the formula: "class against class." They are beginning to pass from the economic to the political struggle.

THE EFFECTS OF THE STRUGGLE

No matter how this present lockout ends—even in complete defeat—the enormous lesson of that struggle, begun under new conditions, will not pass in vain for the working masses. It will open the eyes of many of them, and they will see and understand the prerequisites of their further struggle and the conditions of their victory incomparably better than before.

The chances of the workers being successful have clearly increased during the two weeks of the lockout. But on the basis of our experience of this lockout we can now say on what depends the further increase in the chances of victory. It depends on the Communist Party. Before the lockout and even

during its first days no one would have been bold enough to say that. But now, on the basis of experience, that is proved irrefutably. The German C.P. is the weight which may depress the scales in favour of the proletariat. The result of the struggle depends on an enormous extent on the energy, resolution, daring and flexibility of the C.P. Why has this happened? It is because the working masses have moved leftward, because the leftward process is speeded up every day. The class perception of Dr. Max Wolff even before the lockout accurately told him from which direction the chief danger in the forthcoming struggles was to be expected, and the social-democrats accurately gauged the attitude of the workers on the third day of that lockout.

With such a course of development of the struggle, to speak of the inevitability of defeat involves seeing the whole prospect in a monstrously distorted form. To predict the defeat of the entire working class, and for long years at that, means the denial of the recently adopted decision of the Comintern Sixth Congress which speaks of the leftward movement of the working class, and of the growth of its will to fight, and finally it means the inability to see that in Germany class is being aligned against class and that a ruthless struggle is beginning between them.

The German capitalists consider that the forthcoming class battles will bring with them a "purifying crisis." They count on "cleansing" the working class from the Communist infection. We also consider the forthcoming crisis a "purifying" one. The German working class may be cleansed of the social-democratic infection. During two weeks the Communist Party has organised 70,000 workers in temporary strike organisations. That means that in the coming months of struggle they can organise a million. These newly organised workers will have to be carried into the trade unions and with their help the C.P. must throw out of them the social-democratic trade union bureaucracy and thus win the trade unions, while the best advance-guard of these newly organised workers must be poured into its own ranks. That is the minimum of what the German Communist Party can achieve in the now developing class battles.

A FORGOTTEN FACTOR

Whosoever predicts the defeat of the German proletariat is leaving the German Communist Party out of account; in other words, he is eliminating the decisive force in the present distribution and development of class forces.

Class against class connotes the organised capitalist class (including the social-democrats in this category) attacking the proletariat, on the one hand, and on the other the swiftly organising working class, driving the social-traitors out of its ranks and leading a counter-attack against the capitalist class under the direct leadership of the C.P. Such are the tendency and the prospect of the coming weeks and months.

Even if the conflict in the Ruhr were to end with the defeat of the workers, whether in consequence of the treachery of the social-democrats, which is probable, or in consequence of the weakening of their own ranks—the intensification of the class struggle, the intensification of the class battles, the consolidated, united attack of both struggling classes—class against class—is inevitable.

The defeat of the metal workers can only delay, but cannot completely check this revolutionary process.

Consequently there can be no talk of the complete defeat of the German proletariat, still less of a defeat lasting for many years.

§ ON SLOGANS

The intensification of the class struggle, the attack of the capitalists, the counter-attack and defence of the proletariat, the extension of the struggle, the new forms of organisation of enormous divisions of the proletariat in a united front, without distinction of religious and political convictions, the swift growth of the C.P. influence among the workers, the incipient transference of the struggle from the economic to the political field—all these factors make the question of the political slogans of the movement of paramount importance.

For the proletariat, which enters the struggle far from as well organised as the capitalist class, the political slogans which could unite the disintegrated attacks of its various sections, whether acting simultaneously or not in point of time, and could give them a unity of purpose, are of special importance.

Let us see what political slogans are being raised by the various groups participating in the struggle now begun.

We have already seen that in the name of the capitalists the following slogans are being raised: through struggle to peace and reconciliation with the workers (i.e., the reconciliation of the workers to the conditions which the capitalists have offered them). Taken by themselves these slogans are hardly political, for example when these demands put forward by one group of capitalists to a section of the working class. But in the Ruhr conflict these slogans are being put forward in the name of the entire capitalist class (and are supported by the entire class) and the capitalist ultimatum is presented through the metal workers to the entire working class. The device, "class against class," which was raised by the capitalists at the beginning of the lockout, means that the demands of the Ruhr lockout lords will be presented by other sections of the capitalists to their workers. In such a form such slogans as "not a pfennig on the pay," "no compromise," "through struggle to peace," and so on have a direct political significance. The political aim which the capitalists are acting themselves in this struggle is the suffocating of the will to struggle now being manifested among the proletariat, the humbling of the proletariat, the establishing of "economic peace." The slogan "through struggle to peace" is a political slogan. In the struggle with the working class the capitalists have no other political slogans. It is erroneous for instance to explain the capitalists' attack (as does the "Vorwaerts" and as certain Communists think) by the influence of the German nationalists, who are said to be striving to inflict a blow at the existing coalition government. It is a serious mistake to think so. In this struggle the nationalists have not put forward nor will they put forward the slogan of "Down with the coalition government." Of course, there are differences among them on the question of a coalition with the social-democrats and with the centre party. A number of political differences exist among various of the bourgeois parties (including the social-democratic party) but none of these differences has any importance in the struggle now unfolding. In an enormous lockout, which, according to the

intentions of the capitalists, has to embrace the entire working class (by means of a lock-out to force the workers to cut short all struggle and to work on terms dictated by the capitalists) the capitalists are also achieving a united front of the entire capitalist class (including the social-democrats) which is possible only through a general agreement of all the participants in that united front to cut short any internal disputes during the lock-out. This is an absolutely identical united capitalist front to that which we saw during the plebiscite on the question of the cruiser construction. The close association between German imperialism and militarism on the one hand and the Ruhr lockout with its further prospect of a general lockout of the entire German proletariat on the other, is clearly emphasised by the unity of the component forces of the united capitalist front in both cases.

The capitalist united front may be broken in connection with the lockout in consequence of the intensification of the differences among its participants. But so far there is nothing to testify to such a possibility; on the contrary the bourgeois parties are, in a united front with the social-democrats, attacking the locked-out workers in the Reichstag, and the interests of those workers are there represented only by the Communist Party. The nationalists are not such political fools as to break the united capitalist front, which at the moment is working for them, assisting them, supporting them against the workers, just because of internal differences. The social-democrats, who have entered this united front, find it absolutely necessary to represent the matter as though no united capitalist front exists at all, and as though the lockout capitalists want to overthrow the coalition government, to carry through an "economic counter-revolution" (the "Vorwaerts" has brought this scarecrow also into action), a State coup d'état, and so on. "The industrialists against the State"—such is the false political slogan which is being widely broadcast by the social democrats in order to conceal from the working class their own and the trade union bureaucracy's participation in the united capitalist front. "The industrialists against the State" is a false political slogan put forward in order to obtain the possibility of putting forward a second false political slogan:

"The workers are for the State," for the purpose of disorganising them, drawing their forces off from the real fighting front, and breaking up and disintegrating the workers' united front.

The characteristic peculiarity of the moment consists in the very fact that the capitalists are openly announcing their united front, while the social democrats are endeavouring to represent the position as though in the first place there is no united front at all (the nationalists against the bourgeois parties in the coalition) and secondly as though the lock-out lords, by acting against the coalition, are thus acting against the social-democracy also, by which the non-participation of the latter in the united front is demonstrated.

Consequently the basic tasks arising out of these characteristics of the present moment, are:

1. To unmask to all the workers the capitalists' organisation of a united front against the entire working class, and to prove this on the basis of their innumerable personal declarations, on the basis of arguments and facts.

2. To prove that the social-democrats and the trade union bureaucrats are participating in this united capitalist front, and to prove it on the basis of their actions during the lock-out.

3. To disclose the falseness of the slogan "the capitalists against the State," and to prove the participation of the State (the government) in the same united front, together with the capitalists and the social-democrats.

4. To unmask the profound falsity of the slogan: "The workers are for the State," revealing the capitalist nature of that State (and government) on the basis of their activities during the lockout.

5. To prove to the workers, facts in hand, that the united capitalist front is the same as the united capitalist anti-plebiscite (cruiser) front.

6. To place before the workers the necessity of a united front of the proletariat, in contradiction to the united front of the capitalists, the coalition bourgeois-social-democratic government and the trade union leaders. To explain the necessity of the organised formulation and consolidation of the workers' united

front (the organised working class against the organised capitalist class).

In accordance with these basic political tasks there have to be worked out the political slogans of the united proletarian front. Any other slogans cutting across these and clashing with them, weakening them, drawing the attention of the masses away from the basic slogans, are unsound.

We shall take by way of example the slogans put forward at the beginning by the Ruhr organisation of the German Communist Party: (1) Down with the social-democratic ministers, and (2) Down with the trade union social-democratic bosses.

UN SOUND SLOGANS

Both these slogans are unsound and may lead to a number of unsound conclusions and actions.

First the slogan: "Down with the social-democratic Ministers," is unsound first and foremost for the same reason that all slogans are unsound which separate the social-democrats and pick them out from the bourgeois parties in this incipient gigantic clash of classes. In this clash the social-democrats are joined in the united front with all the bourgeois parties, and their separation from the united capitalist front as occupying a kind of special position in this clash of classes will assist the social-democrats to maintain their deception concerning their non-participation in the united capitalist front.

Secondly: In regard to this slogan the question arises: But are the bourgeois Ministers better than the social-democratic Ministers? Why not raise the slogan: "Down with the bourgeois Ministers"?

Thirdly, the slogan: "Down with the social-democratic Ministers," puts the problem of the conquest of power inaccurately. The overthrow of the social-democratic Ministers will not mean a resolution of the problem of power; there are still the bourgeois Ministers left.

In general the unmasking of the social-democrats now may and must be carried on not by separating them from the united front but by incessantly disclosing the fact of their participation in that front.

The slogan: "Down with the trade union

(or social-democratic) bosses" is of no service for this same last reason.

But in addition, if this last slogan is raised as a political slogan, then it is quite unsound. Why? Because it may lead to a replacing of the revolutionary struggle for power by propaganda and agitation for the capture of the elected position in the trade unions, which will find the willing support of the right wing Communists, who necessarily put forward the same slogan.

It is one thing to say that without a conquest of the trade unions a seizure of power in Germany is impossible; in certain conditions this may prove to be accurate. It is another thing to say that the conquest of the trade unions is the same as the conquest of power. Such a statement would be highly erroneous.

Both these slogans: "Down with the social-democratic Ministers," and "Down with the trade union bosses," as well as a number of others specially directed against the social-democrats ("Down with the Hermann Müller Government," for instance, or, "Down with the Braun Gresinski cabinet in Prussia") may suggest a general "collective" slogan: "Down with the social-democrats," which may conceal the slogans directed against the capitalists, and this also would be unsound.

What are the basic proletarian slogans which are applicable to the correlation of forces and the developing struggle at the present time?

In our view the following are such slogans:

(1) The capitalists openly announce the organisation of their own united front against the proletariat for the attack on the working class. Workers, organise a united front of the entire proletariat for resistance to and a counter-attack against the entire capitalist class.

(2) Down with the capitalist lockout lords and the coalition bourgeois-social-democratic government which is in their hands.

(3) Down with the triple alliance of the capitalists, the bourgeois-social-democratic government and the trade union bosses.

(4) The one and the same united front of capitalists, bourgeois-social-democratic government and the trade union bosses is strangling the workers and building a cruiser to the glory of German imperialism.

(5) Class against class: a united front of the proletariat with the Communist Party at its head, against the united front of the coalition government and the capitalists and social-democrats.

(6) A workers'-peasants' government.

These six slogans should be made the basis of the other political slogans.

* * * *

The struggle in the Ruhr is developing into a gigantic clash of classes, which in the next few months will occupy the most prominent place in the field of history. The disposition of forces has already been elucidated. The

basic aims of both sides in the struggle are also clear. As the first two weeks of the lockout proved irrefutably, the final result of the struggle depends to an enormous extent on the Communist Party. That Party is now called upon to put forth a colossal exertion of all its forces, to mobilise its members and concentrate them on the most important sections of the fighting front.

The German proletariat is rising for the struggle. It is filled with determination, it is preparing for stubborn, ruthless struggles.

Consequently the German C.P. needs first and foremost to display revolutionary audacity.



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Reformism in the U.S.A. Presidential Elections

N. Nasonov

THE first summarised information on the results of the elections in the U.S.A. show that about 20,000,000 votes were given for the republicans, 15,000,000 to 16,000,000 for the democrats, 300,000 for the socialists and about 100,000 for the Communists. The figures for the socialists and Communists have not yet been checked by our own sources of information and are drawn from the "Daily Herald." The total figures, which show greater participation of the population in the elections as compared with previous elections, testify to the victory of one of the two capitalist parties, i.e., the Republican Party. About 36,000,000 to 40,000,000 persons took part in the elections—quite a large part of the population. Needless to say, there was a good deal of trickery, forgery and bribery during the elections. There was terror, pressure from the administration and from the State and economic machinery generally, and so the election cannot be regarded as a genuine democratic manifestation of the will of the American electors. None the less the elections are significant.

PARTIES OF "BIG BUSINESS"

A number of newspapers indicated that Hoover's election would connote the continuation and extension of the imperialist policy. Hoover's victory was regarded as the victory of Big Business. However, such a view is one-sided. Smith's election would have had essentially the same connotation. Smith is also bound closely with finance capital; in external and internal policy, like Hoover, he would carry on in the interests of finance capital. The position of finance capital is sufficiently strong to ensure that any president will carry out Wall Street's policy. Smith had no thought of being a revolutionary, nor was he such. He is the Governor of New York State, to which post he was elected by the votes of the city of New York. To be Governor

of New York it is necessary to have the approval of Wall Street.

One does not need the gift of prophecy to say that there will be an immediate intensification of the aggression of Yankee imperialism. But the aggression will be intensified not because Hoover has been elected, but because of deeper economic reasons. Hoover's election as such is merely a symptom of the intensification of imperialism's attack.

AMERICAN WORKERS' MOVE TO THE LEFT

But the recent election signalises something else. What does the election tell us of the attitude of the working class? The fact of the leftward trend of the American workers has been noted more than once. Did it reveal itself in this election, and if so, in what way? The figures tell of an increase in the votes cast for the Communist Party. The very fact that Communists were put forward not in sixteen States, as formerly, but in thirty-six, witnesses to this leftward trend. But this is direct testimony to the leftward movement of only a small section of the working class, a movement which is still insufficiently deep and stable to have any influence on the country's policy.

But the votes cast for the Communist Party are not the only indicator. Formerly the American working class in its entirety followed the bourgeois parties, their slogans and their election platforms; it is still following them, for very few votes were cast for the Communists by comparison with those cast for the capitalist parties. None the less, judging by certain facts, one may not draw the conclusion that the working class in the U.S.A. is completely inert politically. A testimony to the increase in the political activity of the workers and of their leftward trend is provided by the growth of the reformist attitude which was revealed during the past election. For reformism makes its

appearance when the class struggle grows acute. Compromising ideas are necessary to the bourgeoisie only when the class divisions begin to be highly marked. The very word "compromise" presupposes the presence of two tendencies which are not in agreement. The basis for reformism is the labour aristocracy, but the condition of an extensive conscious application of reformist methods of duping the proletariat is the intensification of class contradictions.

REFORMISM IN THE U.S.A.

Reformism has made its appearance in the U.S.A. on former occasions. The characteristic feature of American reformism was always the appearance of a third party as the result of the workers' abandoning the traditional system of two parties. It is worth while giving brief consideration to the manifestation of reformism at previous United States elections, so as to obtain a better understanding of the peculiarity of the reformism which made its appearance at the last elections.

The first "extraordinarily clear and distinct demonstration of bourgeois reformism as a means of struggle against socialism" (Lenin) in the U.S.A., was during the 1912 elections, when the Progressive Party obtained over 4,000,000 votes. The demonstration of reformism took the form of the organisation of a "third party."

The "two-party system," which had reigned in the U.S.A. and in Britain, was one of the strongest resources for hindering the development of an independent workers' party, i.e., of a really socialist party. And in the U.S.A., in the country where capitalism is most advanced, the two-party system suffered defeat! What caused that failure? "The strength of the workers' movement, the growth of socialism." (Lenin, the same article.)

The failure of the two-party system coincided with an industrial crisis in the U.S.A. None the less Lenin was mistaken when he considered that the two-party system had suffered a final defeat. The third party was later destroyed as the socialist party and an independent workers' movement generally was destroyed. For Lenin could not foresee the world war in its concrete form and the role

of the U.S.A. during the first years of the war. The war saved the U.S.A., it renewed its capitalism and preserved the two-party system. The American bourgeoisie bought a respite from the development of socialism out of its war-profits.

THE RED SPECTRE

None the less, in 1924 the U.S.A. again saw the spectre of Communism. The presidential elections of 1924 were carried on under conditions of an agricultural crisis and the ruin of the farmers, and very soon after the time when at every step the American bourgeoisie was afflicted with the spectre of the red danger. And bourgeois reformism again manifested itself in the form of a crisis in the two-party system and the appearance of a third party: the Lafollette party, which collected about five million votes. None the less the Lafollette movement also, although it collected so many votes, still did not mean the complete smash of the two-party system, since the total votes cast in elections had risen to more than double those cast in 1912.

The characteristic peculiarity of the Lafollette party was its farmer basis. The Lafollette movement everywhere developed first and foremost as a farmers' movement. Needless to say, such a reformist movement could not capture the industrial workers.

The Lafollette movement had some success among part of the workers, particularly among the labour aristocracy. It was not for nothing that the American Federation of Labour decided officially to support Lafollette's candidature.

But this time also American capitalism succeeded in consolidating certain of its positions and in saving the two-party system once more. The petty bourgeois rentiers were satisfied with the receipts from loans—this section of American society is swiftly growing as the U.S.A.'s role as a world usurer increases.

The support of the Lafollette movement—the farmers and the clamorous petty bourgeoisie—was taken from the third party. But reformism continues to gather strength in its own peculiar forms among the workers.

PROSPERITY AND POVERTY

For the American workers "prosperity" has its seamy sides. Five million unemployed, a fall in wages in a number of industries, the

smash-up of the miners' union, the shooting down of the demonstration in Colorado (the first for a decade), the execution of Sacco and Vanzetti—these are what the past year of "prosperity" has brought the workers.

Cut off by a high wall of protective tariffs, American industry can no longer live on its internal markets to such an extent as formerly. The U.S.A. is being more and more compelled to seek external markets, where "expensive American labour" has to compete with the "cheap European labour power."

The differential profit obtained by the American capitalists on the basis of their advanced technique and rationalisation is diminishing as rationalisation and technical improvements increase in Europe. The well-being of the States, based on the consumption demand of their own farmers, is beginning to be shaken as the farmers grow more indigent, and as agriculture become industrialised. Canada, the Argentine and other countries are beginning to compete strongly with the American farmers. America is being more and more transformed from a self-existent country into one closely bound up with the world market. Having become the leader of world capitalism, America has shared and must share all its travails.

That is why among the governing American bourgeoisie there is increasing discussion of the problem of the salvation of capitalism (as the democrats seek to raise the question), or, at the very least, of its insurance (as the republicans put it). "Prosperity" is on the wane. How soon it will set it is difficult to predict. But the consumptive flush on the face of "prosperity" is becoming more and more pronounced. When will the next crisis come?—that is what everyone in the U.S.A. is wondering at the present time. The panics of the Exchange during the past year, the questionnaires on the crisis, the discussions of that crisis, the issue of paper values which are "insured against any crisis whatever" (a practice which is growing common among the American banks of recent times), these are some of the superficial symptoms of the approaching crisis.

A THREATENED CRISIS

The crisis did not arrive, but it still continues to threaten the American bourgeoisie

The crisis is deferred, but its ghost continues to haunt the United States. And so present-day reformism is still half-hearted and is not so very stable. The business mustn't be spoilt by its too hurried appearance! Meantime the bourgeoisie have learnt the lessons of the past, and so consciously they do not want to permit the development of a third party.

Reformism did not appear as a "third party" at the last elections, but it revealed its existence in one of the two capitalist parties. In its candidate, Smith, the Democratic Party took on itself the fulfilment of part of the reformist functions. It is worth while reading the socialist and Liberal press comment on Smith in order immediately to perceive the reformist features of his candidature. The "Nation," the most widely distributed Liberal journal in the U.S.A., wrote: "We find it difficult to advise our readers to vote for Smith or Thomas [the socialist candidate.] There is so much that is common and uncertain in their platforms. Let every reader choose for himself." The journal which during the past year has conducted a campaign against both parties in favour of a third party now finds it difficult to see any difference between the socialist Thomas and the democrat Smith. Another Liberal journal, very well known in the U.S.A., the "New Republic," recognises Smith as a reformist and advises its readers to vote for him.

Finally, from the letters of socialist electors in the "New Leader," the organ of the Socialist Party, Smith's reformist features are visible. One such elector explains why he cannot vote for Smith, and writes: "If Smith desired to be a true reformist he would have to adopt all the socialist attire, and not separate items as he is doing at the moment, selecting first stockings and then his shirt from the socialist clothing."

The growth of reformism was reflected by Smith and the Democratic Party. A strange combination: the slave-owners' party in the role of reformers! Such then the democrats have been transformed into a pure capitalist party, in which capacity they have figured in elections for the last two decades. And the democrats' special position as the opposition of the present Government was deliberately exploited with the aim of transforming Smith into the patron of reformism.

THE NEW ROLE OF THE DEMOCRATS

Formerly there was essentially no difference whatever between the republicans and the democrats. "After the liberation of the negroes the difference between these two parties became less and less. The struggle between the two parties was predominantly carried on over the issue of a larger or smaller degree of customs duties. The struggle had no serious importance whatever to the masses of the people. They fooled the people, and drew them away from their real interests by means of effective and meaningless duels between two bourgeois parties." (Lenin). Now new features have been introduced into this duel by the Democratic Party. Of course it would be absurd to talk of any "regeneration" of the party, but the fact of importance to us is the arsenal from which this party selects its weapons at the present time. The fact is that the Democratic Party has for the first time endeavoured to use the reformist sword also in its duels. The choice was made quite deliberately. The Democratic Party wished to ensure itself all the dissatisfied elements among the workers, while striving to avoid the smash of the two-party system, which would have meant the destruction of discipline—bourgeois discipline—among the workers, which in turn would have facilitated the formation of a mass Communist Party. The Democratic Party did not use the reformist weapon in its entirety, although it was preparing to get it into action.

How were these travails of reformism expressed? What was the division of labour? The democrats and republicans no longer carry on mimic battles over the customs duties. The Democratic Party had to revise its attitude on the customs duties, since the former slave-owners, the landowners of the south—the basis of the Democratic Party—are becoming more and more fused with industry as the industrialisation of the south proceeds. The democrats have cast the disputes over customs duties out of their programme, since this demand is no longer a real one for the landowners of the new type. Moreover the agreement with the republicans on this point brings the democrats closer to part of the imperialist-minded workers of the south, who are interested in high protective tariffs for industry. Compromising on this point, the

democrats have now ceased to be a "specifically southern party." They have even begun to lose the south. The democratic instrument was not to the mind of the democrats of the Southern States of the U.S.A. As a result the republicans gained great victories in the south for the first time, for it had always been the fortress of the democrats.

The Democratic Party has changed its geography. Its reformist phraseology has assisted it to consolidate its position in the industrial centres of America. The democrats obtained a majority in New York, Chicago, Boston and so on, although they did not obtain majorities among the provincial population of these States. Moreover, the scenes of the recent strike struggle, such as New Bedford, gave their votes to the democrats, although previously they had voted for the republicans. The very fact that the Democratic Party has lost votes in the conservative south and collected majorities in such industrial centres as New York, Chicago, Boston and so on is eloquent of much.

The labour question occupies a prominent position in the programmes of both parties, and not so much in programmes as in the speeches and activities of the candidates.

Both Hoover and Smith call for "class peace." Both of them criticise the point of view which regards workers as "commodities." Both of them stand for "the improvement of the position of the workers."

SMITH AND HOOVER

But there are different shades in their approach to the workers. Hoover addresses himself to the workers with a picture of a flourishing United States and prosperous; he says nothing about the seamy side. Smith talks exclusively of the seamy sides of "prosperity." Smith even makes "prosperity" itself suspect. He is dissatisfied with the increase in unemployment, which he reckons to embrace four million persons. Hoover counts mainly on those who so far have not lost anything through American "well-being," who do not think of the future as a dark one. In his appeals Hoover is in favour of the continuation of the present policy in all respects. Hoover is against any changes whatever either in laws or in politics. Hoover stands for the present development

of American capitalism. Smith's position is rather different. His game is to collect the votes of those who are doubtful about capitalism. He addresses himself to those who think it is necessary to undertake supplementary measures for the maintenance of class peace.

Smith is more determined in his criticism of the "injunction" policy (the right of the courts to interfere in strikes). He is in favour of free trade between capital and labour. But Smith proposes to extend labour legislation. On the eve of his adoption as candidate Smith gets a number of important laws on labour accepted by the New York State, in particular laws concerning women, children and the aged, i.e., those sections of the community who suffer the most from the seamy side of "prosperity." In the same State Smith endeavoured to introduce a new housing policy. Occasionally Smith has been called a "red" and even a "Communist" because of his "reformist" activities. Smith lays open to doubt a number of the props on which the present-day order depends, the policy in regard to high-powered electric stations, transport, trusts, and so on, for instance. Finally, Smith is a "wet." This does not mean that Smith stands simply for the sale of drink—it is as easy to obtain in the U.S.A. as in any other country. In the eyes of the American citizens being a "wet" is at the present time the same as being a reformer. The "dry" laws have so corrupted and perverted the administration that the Liberals see one of the best means of cleaning up the administration and saving the prestige of the State authority in the eyes of the population in the demand for the repeal of the "dry" laws. And, finally, Smith has adopted the Wilson programme of foreign policy. Not in the form in which Wilson applied it, but as he preached it. Smith is for an active international policy, but a pacifist one. Smith is for a cessation of the war in Nicaragua and against the present policy in Latin America, and so on.

IMMIGRATION

Smith stands for the repeal of the immigration laws, but for the maintenance of the

restrictions on the entry of immigrants. Smith proposes to change the rate of immigration of each country, which at the present time is based on the immigration flood of 1890, when the majority of immigrants were English, German, and Irish. Smith goes halfway to meet the lowest paid workers, emigrants from the eastern countries of Europe, and wants to increase the rate for these countries at the cost of a reduction in the rate of other countries.

Smith's candidature was prepared and is still being prepared against the possibility of a crisis and depression, while Hoover's is for a good time. Smith did not get a majority but he might have got it. No one knows what would have happened in the elections if they had taken place in the winter-time, and so had coincided with the seasonal depression,—and the coming winter promises to extend that depression and carry it beyond the seasonal limits. Then Smith's chances would increase, just as the reformist content in his phraseology would increase.

SIGNIFICANCE OF THE ELECTIONS

In either case the bourgeoisie would win, since the two-party system ensures the impossibility of losing, given a sound distribution of labour. For us the fact of such a distribution of labour is not highly important. It is very characteristic of the present-day elections that Smith's propaganda has had success in the industrial centres. This success in the large towns witnesses to the growth of a critical attitude to "prosperity" among the American workers. The glitter of "prosperity" no longer blinds a large part of the workers to its shadows. "There are spots on the sun"—that fact can now be observed without any specially prepared glass. That is the significance of the present elections, which have shown the movements among the workers. They are of a reformist, or rather of a semi-reformist nature. In those movements are hidden the conditions of the growth of the Communist Party and of its influence. They indicate that the fear of Communism is continually increasing in the very fortress of imperialism—the United States of North America.

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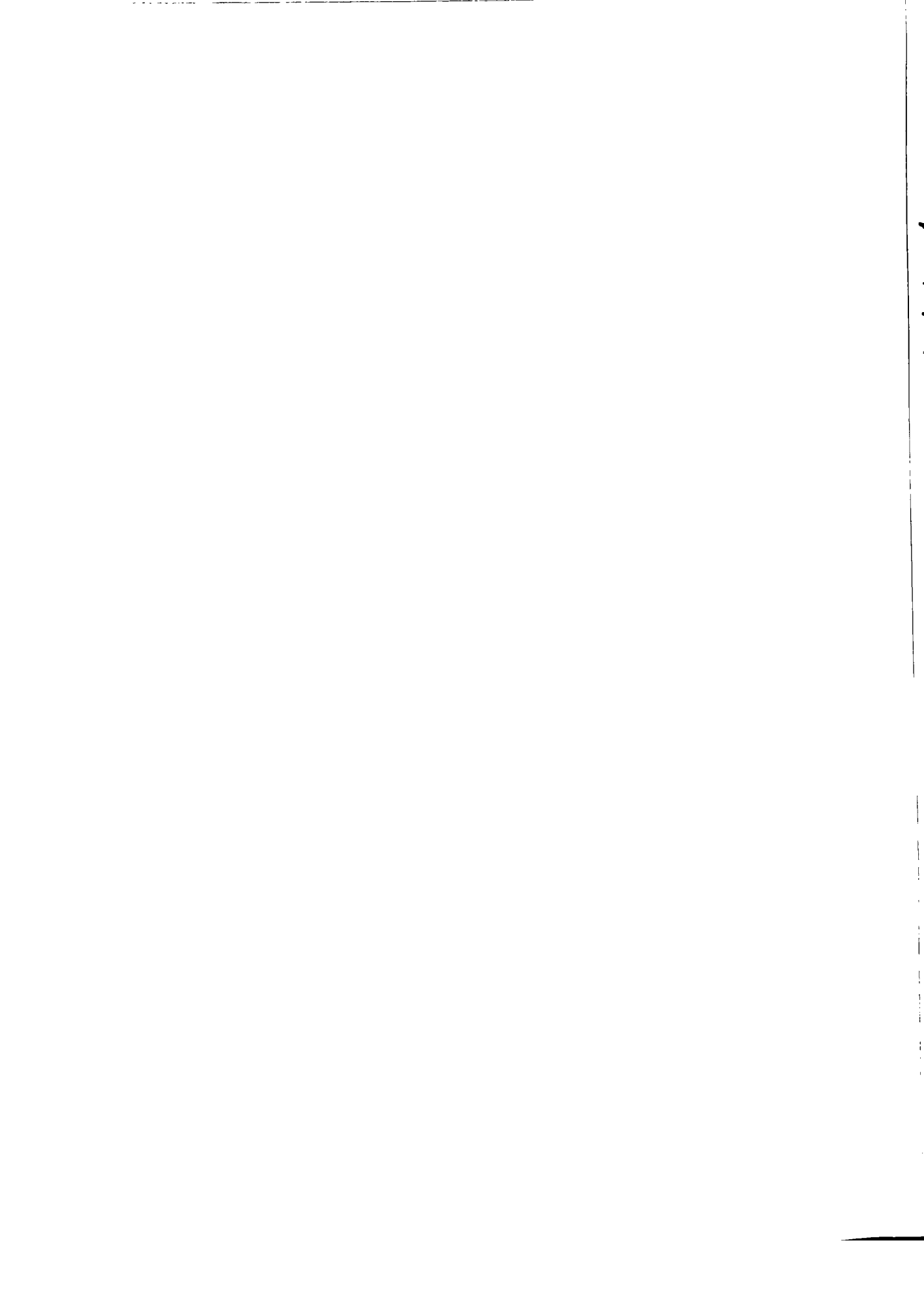
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The Problem of Agricultural Development in the U.S.S.R.

THE vigorous tempo of development of U.S.S.R. industry is an indubitable fact.

The annual increases in industrial production by 19, 23 and 22 per cent.—unheard of in the old conditions of Russian capitalism, even during years of exceptional development—have become normal and natural conditions of the Soviet system of economy.

Both the increase in production and the capital of the U.S.S.R. industry has far surpassed the customary tempo of development of production in the old industrial countries of capitalism. While in the U.S.S.R. industrial production increased by 23 per cent., the rise in industrial production of the U.S.A. was only 9 per cent., in Germany 6.6 per cent., and in Britain a certain fall (of 7.7 per cent.) occurred. As a result the proportionate relation of U.S.S.R. industry to world economy is growing from year to year. The U.S.S.R.'s share of the world output of coal has grown from 2.8 per cent. in pre-war days and 3 per cent. in 1927 to 3.5 per cent. for the seven months of 1928. The U.S.S.R.'s share of the

world production of pig-iron has grown from 4.1 per cent. in 1927 to 4.5 per cent. for the first seven months of 1928; for steel there has been a corresponding increase from 4.4 per cent. to 4.5 per cent.; for oil the U.S.S.R.'s share in world output has grown from 5.8 per cent. for eight months of 1927 to 7.5 per cent. for eight months of 1928. Simultaneously, taking industry as a whole the pre-war level of production has been greatly surpassed.

The Resolution of the November Plenum of the C.P.S.U. proposed to maintain this high rate of development in the forthcoming period also. The Plenum of the Central Committee, whilst stressing the necessity of overtaking and passing the capitalist countries technically and economically, points out that the accomplishment of this task is only possible if the rate of our industrial development is increased to the utmost, the industrialisation of the whole country accelerated, and the Party of the working and peasant masses mobilised to a maximum degree.

AFTER pointing to a number of weak spots in Soviet economy, to a number of backward elements in the economic life (the grain production, heavy metals, building materials and so on) which are rendering the industrialisation of the country extraordinarily difficult, the November Plenum of the Central Committee decided on a course of action not in the direction of planning everything on the level of those weak spots, not by reduction of the rate of industrialisation relatively to the standard of the backward elements, but on the contrary of a maximum development of the backward spheres of industry, even though it entails great financial tension.

The November Plenum recognised that the weakest spot in Soviet economy was agriculture, and especially grain production. Consequently it paid exceptional attention to the grain problem.

On this question the resolution of the November Plenum says: "The tremendous achievements of socialism during the last economic year have, however, been accompanied by great difficulties and signs of crisis, which must be overcome at all costs by the Party and the working class. The ultimate cause of these dangers is to be found in the extreme backwardness and low rate of development of agriculture in general and of grain cultivation in particular. The July Plenum of the Central Committee has already stated that the 'extremely low level of agriculture, especially of grain production, involves the danger of a breach between the socialist town and the petty bourgeois village, and therefore the danger that the fundamental prerequisite for the socialist reorganisation of our whole national economy may be destroyed.' And later on in the same resolution we read: 'Agriculture is the basis of industry. Its growth implies the extension of the food and raw materials basis of industrialisation. Unless agriculture grows correspondingly, the permanent growth of industry is an objective impossibility.' "

THE problem of speeding up the rate of development of agriculture and of its reconstruction was raised at the Fifteenth Congress of the C.P.S.U., which indicated the general line and direction of the reorganisa-

tion of agriculture on a large scale and collective basis, with a concomitant intensification of the attack on the capitalist elements of the countryside. Since then the problem has not diminished in importance for the Party. At the April and July Plenums of the Central Committee it was given primary importance owing to the crisis in grain collection, and at the November Plenum in connection with the ratification of the control figures for national economy during 1928-29.

The grain collections have become the centre of the developing class struggle in the villages. The very great difficulties experienced in grain collections last year, which difficulties are still not finally outlived, and the intensification of the class struggle bound up with them, have given birth to a panicky mood and a right deviation from the basic Leninist line among certain elements of the Party.

MORE than once already the basic causes of the difficulties in grain collection have been elucidated in the C.P.S.U. The Fifteenth Congress of the Party noted that "despite the undoubted growth in culture of our agriculture (machinery, tractors, electrification, a multi-field system, joint cattle-raising, improved seed, manure, etc.), the level of fertility of the U.S.S.R. is still extremely low, particularly by comparison with Europe and America; the tempo of development of agriculture is still slow, its dependence on natural factors (drought and harvest failure, etc.) is still very great." The resolution of the July Plenum of the Central Committee pronounced in the same sense: "Agriculture still remains at an extremely low level, and the rate of its development lags excessively behind the rate of industrial development." (The word "excessively" emphasises that to a certain extent this lagging is inevitable at the present stage, inasmuch as industry plays and ought to play a leading role in all agriculture.) How much agriculture lags behind industry is evident from the following figures for the gross production of agriculture during the last three years.

	<i>Industrial production (in roubles)</i>		<i>Agricultural production (in roubles)</i>
1925-26 ...	12.5 milliard	...	17.4 milliard
1928-29 ...	19.0 "	...	18.5 "

From these figures it is evident that indus-

trial production during these three years has grown by 6½ milliard roubles i.e., by more than 50 per cent.), overtaking agriculture, while agricultural production during the same period has grown rather more than by 1 milliard roubles, i.e., by a total of approximately 7 per cent.

The backwardness of agriculture in the U.S.S.R. finds expression not only in low productivity but in its lower commodity proportion, which is dependent partly on low productivity, and partly on other causes. The agrarian revolution had the effect of the parcelling out of landownership, which right down to the present time continues to be of a disintegrated nature whilst the population of the U.S.S.R. is growing swiftly (by two or three per cent. per annum) and whilst the consumption per head of the peasantry has also increased greatly by comparison with the pre-war level. Before the war the peasantry in many districts lived on orach (mountain spinach). Furthermore, in connection with the increase in stock-breeding the consumption of cattle food is also swiftly increasing. Consequently the villages are sending lower quantities of grain to market.

DURING the July Plenum comrade Stalin emphasised the fact that the main cause of the difficulties in grain collection in the U.S.S.R. is the extremely low commodity proportion of the disintegrated petty-peasant husbandry, and illustrated this by the following facts: Whilst before the war there were about sixteen million peasant husbandries in Russia, we now have more than twenty-four million, and the partitioning process is continuing. This explains the paradox that the area sown in the U.S.S.R. is now 95 per cent. of the pre-war area, whilst the amount of grain obtained from it (about five milliard poods) is only some two to three hundred million poods below the pre-war harvest of grain, yet the commodity section of the grain production hardly exceeds fifty per cent. of that of the pre-war period. Hence the almost complete decline in the export of grain, which before the war amounted to six or seven hundred million poods per annum.

Such are the real basic causes of the difficulties in grain collection in the U.S.S.R., out of which also arise the methods of overcoming these difficulties: the technical and organisa-

tional reconstruction of agriculture, its reorganisation on a large-scale basis, productional co-operation, and collectivisation. But the severe economic difficulties which arose last year in connection with the fact that the early frosts and the drought which followed ruined the crops over an area of five million dessiatines and the intensification of the class struggle resultant upon this, gave birth to a panicky mood among certain elements of the Party, and caused them to subject the established Party estimate of the grain problem to reconsideration. This over-estimation of the problem manifested itself in the form of a right deviation, and found a fairly complete written expression in comrade Frumkin's two letters addressed to the Central Committee of the C.P.S.U. As comrade Frumkin in his letters crystallised thoughts which evidently were troubling the minds of many comrades his letters attracted considerable attention. The Party and comrade Stalin gave adequate answer to them at the November Plenum.

Comrade Frumkin bases his "theory of the retrogression" of agriculture on the following control figures of the State Planning Commission and the grain and fodder balance of the Central Statistical Administration for 1928-29. It is worth while giving more attention to these figures. In accordance with them the situation of agriculture in the U.S.S.R. over the past four years is outlined thus:

1. Total Population	143.7	147.0	150.3	153.8
% Growth	100.0	102.3	104.5	107.0
2. Total area sown	97,035.0	102,835.7	105,361.0	105,252.0
in dessiatines.				
% Growth	100.0	105.9	108.3	108.1
3. Area of grain sowings.	81,539	87,336.0	88,975.0	86,673.0*
% Growth	100.0	107.1	109.0	106.4
4. Area under rye and oats.	50,138.0	53,616.0	55,343.0	49,966.0
% Growth	100.0	106.9	110.3	99.6
5. Average harvest of all grains per dessiatine.	55.6 (pds.)	64.6	50.4	52.4
6. Gross production of all grains.	4,512.4	4,747.4	4,464.4	4,535.4
7. Area under technical plants	6,546.1	6,186.2	6,576.0	7,780.0
% Growth.	100.0	94.5	100.4	120.5
8. Cattle (large horned cattle) in millions	76.0	80.9	84.9	86.9
% Growth.	100.0	106.4	111.7	114.3

* For 1928/29 about 1.2 million dessiatines were sown with winter crops which were lost, and the area not resown; in other words the gross area sown in 1928/29 is equal to 87.9 million dessiatines.

BEFORE we draw any conclusions from this table we must make a correction to it, one which for that matter is partially made by the author himself in his note to the table. As is well known, in 1928-29 about five million dessiatines of sowings in the Ukraine and the Northern Caucasus were lost through drought. Of these about four million dessiatines were resown, and 1,200,000 dessiatines remained unsown. In the table the figure for the area sown with grain in 1928-29 takes into account only the area in which the grain came up. In order to obtain the total area sown another 1.2 million dessiatines has to be added to the figure, when we obtain an area sown of not 86.673 million but 87.9 million dessiatines. In accordance with this the percentage in increase of area sown for 1928-29 will be not 106.4, but 107.85. In reality, if the winter crops had not been lost the area under cultivation this year would have been still larger, for it is clear that the necessity of resowing four million dessiatines of winter crops diminished the possibility of extending the spring sowings.

If we take this correction into account, and study the table, we see that the area under spring sowings has grown systematically during the past four years, while the percentage increase is overtaking the percentage growth of the population. In exactly the same way the percentage increase of animals is overtaking the percentage growth of population. And the percentage increase in the area sown with technical plants has made a very big jump forward during the last two years. It is now 58.5 per cent. higher than the pre-war area, whilst in regard to animals (excluding horses) we have already exceeded the pre-war number. All that is true is that the rate of increase in sown area has greatly declined of recent years. Under such conditions can one speak of a decline in agriculture, of its "retrogression"? Of course not.

Nor does the development of fertility testify to any retrogression in agriculture in the U.S.S.R. Of course, the result of the agrarian revolution and the partitioning of the landowners' estates, and afterwards of the civil war and the tremendous loss of horses, was at first to lower the fertility greatly. But as we see from the above table, of recent years, especially on comparison of the figures with the

average yield of 54.9 poods per dessiatine for the five years from 1909 to 1913, the harvest yield is stabilised at an amount close to that of the pre-war period. Of course that amount is extremely low and quite inadequate. But there have been several achievements in the Soviet Republic of recent years which it is true have not yet effected any revolutionary change in the yield, but have established the prerequisites of such a change.

CONCERNING these achievements the resolution of the November Plenum says: "The percentage of winter sowing has increased, from 29.1 per cent in 1926 to 32.1 per cent in 1927. The area cultivated on the multiple course system increased from 3,664,000 hectares in 1925 to 9,429,000 hectares in 1927. The middle and poor peasant farms are growing more corn, and are therefore gaining in economic importance. The socialised section of agriculture is beginning to play a conspicuous role. Agriculture is being better furnished with draught animals and machinery. In 1926-27 an average of 25.6 head of draught animals fell to every 100 hectares, while for 1928-29 this figure will be 27.4. For agricultural machinery the equivalent figures (expressed in monetary values) are 9.90 roubles and 11.94 roubles (1928-29). The value of the agricultural machinery manufactured in 1926-27 was 93 million roubles. In 1928-29 this sum will increase to 190 million roubles (on the pre-war price basis) so that the production of agricultural machinery will reach the figure of 280 per cent. of pre-war."

AMONG the achievements one has to note the following three: first, the Soviet Government has begun the establishment of enormous grain factories, on the Soviet farms. Secondly, a swift increase in collective holdings has set in. Despite the active opposition of the kulaks and the inadequate organisational service of the collective farms being established, the number of collective farms has increased more than two and a half times during the past year. (In the R.S.F.S.R. the percentage of collective farms on May 1st, 1928, was 229.2 per cent. compared with June 1st, 1927.) According to the preliminary estimates of the U.S.S.R. Central Statistical Administration the total of collective farms in the

U.S.S.R. was 32,506 on May 1st, 1928. They included 375,377 families and had a sown area of 1,180,723 dessiatines. (The last two figures do not include Uzbekistan and the Transcaucasus.) It is particularly noteworthy that the harvest yield in these collective farms is already higher than the average yield of land for the whole mass of peasantry, despite the fact that the collective farms are preponderantly unions of the poor peasantry, and despite the fact that their lands are still of poor quality and that the farms are badly equipped. For example, according to the investigations of the Workers' and Peasants' Inspection in the Urals district, if the average yield of all the peasant farms be represented by the figure 100, the yield of the collective farms has to be represented by 118, whilst in regard to wheat yield it is 141.18. The rye yield is considerably lower than that of the most advanced individual peasant farms, the figure for the latter being 74.3 per cent. more than the average for all farms! The yield of spring wheat is now almost level with the most advanced farms. The third important achievement is the swift development of the contract system for grain, which is not only guaranteeing the State purchase of a certain quantity of the harvest, but is conducing to the increase of sown areas, the introduction of first quality grain to the peasantry, and better methods of working the land, and also new agricultural plants, and which simultaneously is one of the most important forms of assistance to the poor and of squeezing out the kulak sales. By comparison with last year the plan for grain harvest contracts provides for the enormous area of fifteen million hectares. Together with the production already contracted for during the winter campaign, the contracts for the spring sowings of 1928 will in the coming campaign guarantee the planned transfer to the State's disposition of more than one third of the total expected from the planned collection of grain.

Thus we see that the theory of the "retrogression" of agriculture in the U.S.S.R. is the direct product of panic and is a gross distortion of the picture of Soviet economy.

WHAT are the social roots of this theory? Comrade Molotov provided the answer to this question in his report at the Moscow Party active workers' con-

ference on November 30th. After specifying the conditions set up by the Soviet Government for a more resolute restriction of the growth of capitalist elements in the countryside, he said: "Despite the still continuing growth of capitalist elements in the countryside, the circumstances I have mentioned are already in certain instances resulting in a restraint of that development and even at times a reduction in the sowings of the kulak elements. Consequently, with the continuing rise in the level of the poor and middle farms in the villages in some places the growth of the kulak farms is coming to a halt. Taken in conjunction with the Party policy of a more resolute attack on the kulak (15th Party Congress) this fact cannot but result in an intensification of the struggle waged by the kulak elements against the Soviet Government. It is also easy to realise that the howls about the retrogression of agriculture come and come increasingly from this quarter."

In his report at the Leningrad party active workers' conference, comrade Rykov also noted the tendency which in some places has already begun, towards the reduction of the sown areas of the affluent peasants, concomitantly with the swift increase in sowings of the poor and the lower groups of middle peasants. "From these figures" (the Spring questionnaire of the Central Statistical Administration) he said, "it is obvious that the village poor are extending their sown areas, increasing them even in those districts where the total dimensions of the sown areas remain stable or are even declining somewhat. The lower groups of the middle peasants are doing the same. But other groups, beginning with those with two horses in certain areas and three in others, are stabilising or reducing their sown areas."

Thus we see the social roots of the theory of the "retrogression" of Soviet agriculture. Getting the wind up under the influence of a crisis in grain collection, and so losing a true perception of the dynamic of the modern Soviet village, characterised by the tendency of the poor and middle peasant masses to extend their sowings and improve their farms and also by the strengthened tendency of the poor peasants towards collectivisation, the "right" have come to the absurd conclusion that the "direction recently taken has reduced the basic

masses of the middle peasantry to complete inability to advance, to a hopeless prospect." (comrade Frumkin's letter). They have believed the kulaks' wails concerning the "retrogression" of agriculture and have begun to wear the kulaks' spectacles when considering the state of agriculture in the U.S.S.R.

IN correspondence with this, in discussing the immediate prospects, they indicate a disposition of class forces which is in sharp distinction from the Party line. Despite the temporary vacillation of part of the middle peasantry and their temporary subjection to the influence of the kulaks, the Party quite justly places the entire middle and poor peasant masses in opposition to the kulaks, whilst the right deviators throw the higher groups of middle peasantry into the arms of the kulaks, and thence draw the conclusion that in order to obtain grain we must pin all our hopes to this kulak-middle-peasant bloc. In his second letter comrade Frumkin writes:

"According to the preliminary figures for the aggregate estimate of the agricultural tax yield in 1927-28, the higher groups occupy the following position in regard to sown areas:

	% of Total Farms	Area Sown
1. Assessed with incomes of over 600 rs.	3.17	12.34
2. " " " from 500 to 600 rs.	2.71	6.70
3. " " " from 500	6.00	11.69
Total	11.88	30.73

"Here you have the kulak, and the 'semi-kulak,' and the ordinary affluent middle peasant group. . . . The development of their farms particularly those of the upper group, of course, represents all the dangers of the development of capitalist elements; but now we are faced with the great danger of inadequate supply of grain. With their increased harvests in the affluent farms . . . with their increased commodity proportion, these groups provide about 45 per cent. of the total amount of grain marketed, and the kulak farms alone provide about twenty per cent. of the total grain marketed.

"It goes without saying that we must increase the production and the commodity proportion of the basic mass of peasant husband-

ries, but so long as we are experiencing the greatest difficulties owing to the lack of grain, so long as we are badly supplied with raw materials, we ought not to interfere with production in the kulak farms, whilst simultaneously struggling with their methods of serf-exploitation of labour." (In other words, struggling only with their pre-capitalist, and not with their capitalist exploitation.)

COMING face to face with the kulak in the search for grain, comrade Frumkin has consequently turned his back on the socialist elements of the Soviet countryside: the collective and Soviet farms. In his second letter he says:

"In his letter dated July 15th the writer of these lines objected not to the establishment of the Soviet farms, but to the carrying on of this work 'in shock order.' The expenditure of such enormous resources as are represented by 350 million roubles, . . . in reality 400 to 500 millions, on an experimental business cannot but evoke a certain anxiety.

"The organisation of the collective farms will in future proceed under more healthy conditions, but not along shock lines. . . . One has to take into consideration the fact that in view of the perfectly sound policy of our party to organise collective farms from preponderantly the poor peasants, the collective farms will not stand out from the general mass of all peasant farms by reason of any increased commodity output." (Yet, as we have seen, they do already stand out.)

IN defending himself from his critics, comrade Frumkin declares that in regard to the further prospect he is quite in agreement with the general line of the Party, that his plan has only importance arising out of the present conjuncture, that it is drawn up only for the period during which we shall experience difficulties in grain collection. But as we shall have those difficulties for several years to come it is quite obvious that if the Party listened to the counsels of the "right," if it transferred from the Leninist to the "Frumkinist" line, it would give a still stronger impulse to the development of capitalist at the expense of the socialist elements, and thus would prepare the ground for the restoration of capitalism. Con-

sequently, no matter what benevolent intentions the "right" may have in regard to the future, in fact their plan cannot be called other than capitulation.

It is interesting to compare the position of the "right" on the grain problem with that of the Trotskyists, which found a clear reflection in the illegal article by Smilga which was hand-circulated; "On the anniversary of the platform of the Bolshevik Leninists." If we compare this article by the Trotskyist Smilga with comrade Frumkin's letters we shall be convinced that they have very many points of contact. Smilga also finds that the U.S.S.R. is passing through a "heavy crisis." But while the "rights" see the causes of this crisis in a "retrogression" of agriculture the "super-industrialist" Smilga sees them in the "lag of our industry," and not in the backwardness only, but in the lag: in other words, in a too slow a rate of growth. In the article we have mentioned Smilga writes: "Our general deduction amounts to this, that the U.S.S.R. economy has entered a period of protracted and serious crisis. At the basis of this crisis lie the difficulties of socialist construction in one technically and economically backward country. These difficulties have their root first and foremost in the lag of our industry behind the demands made of it by the national economy as a whole. . . . The more our industry develops the more it will come up against the growing opposition of the village bourgeoisie (agrarian capitalism) the significance and power of which is growing more swiftly in the countryside than the position of socialism. . . . The decision of the July Plenum that the basic cause of our difficulties lies in the backwardness of agriculture turns the actual position of things upside down. Never before has the Plenum formulated the programme of the agrarianisation of the country with such apparent frankness."

After charging the Central Committee of the C.P.S.U., which despite all the difficulties is unswervingly holding its course for industrialisation, with the insane accusation that it has "formulated a programme of agrarianisation," Smilga further provides his view of the disposition of class forces in the villages,* And the picture he draws coincides with that drawn by the "right" deviators. He also sees no prospects of the growth

and the socialist re-education of the central figure of the countryside, the middle peasant; he, like the "right", also lumps together the kulaks and the more advanced but non-exploiting middle-peasants. And he also talks of the "growth of the kulak and the affluent section of the countryside," which hold in their hands a good half of the commodity grain.

Of course he differs from the right deviators in his deductions. While the latter proposed to make concessions to the kulaks, the Trotskyist Smilga proposes to resort to the measures of war communism, in order to frighten the affluent peasantry. His basic slogans amount to (a) a compulsory grain loan of 150 million poods, distributed among the million and half of large farms; (b) the freeing of a further ten per cent. of the weakest holdings from the agricultural tax (this will mean the release of 45 per cent. altogether from the tax). (c) A union of peasant poor is to be organised; (d) the tasks of the union of poor peasants at the present moment amount essentially to ensuring the success of the grain loan, the assistance of the Soviet authorities in grain collections, the ensurance of cheap grain to the poor and so on.

In a word, in the eleventh year of the existence of the Soviet power the Trotskyists propose to return to the methods of war communism as applied in 1919. But this "left" proposal arises from a purely Menshevik distrust of the Leninist plan of attracting the basic masses of the peasantry into socialist economy. Consequently it is not surprising that in regard to collective farms and Soviet farms the "left" Smilga entirely shares comrade Frumkin's views. On this subject he writes literally the same in his article as Frumkin writes in his letters: "We are in favour of an extensive establishment of collective and Soviet farms, but we are against

* That the C.C. of the C.P.S.U. has "formulated a programme of agrarianisation" is evident from the following passage of the resolution of the November Plenum: "This revolutionising influence on agriculture can only be exercised by the proletariat when industry develops rapidly and when the leading and reorganising influence of socialised industry is further strengthened. In this regard heavy industry and the production of the means of production are the key to the socialist transformation of our whole national economy, including agriculture."

these fulcrums of socialism in agriculture being established by shock tactics. A definite plan for their establishment ought to be drawn up, one which would take into account all the class, economic, and financial side of this construction."

Thus, despite their "left" phrases, the Trotskyists do not believe in socialist construction in the village (just as they do not believe for that matter in the possibility of building socialism in the backward Soviet Republic at all). Apart from their "left" phraseology, they are differentiated from the openly opportunist "right" deviators by the fact that they are outside the Party and openly fight against it.

THE C.C. November Plenum did not allow itself to be carried away by the panicky mood of the right deviators. More than that. It recognised the "right" deviation as being at the present time the greatest danger inasmuch as it is still inadequately unmasked in the Party. Starting from a sound, realist estimate of the causes of the difficulties in grain collection, from the fact that they arise out of an excessive lag in the rate of agricultural development behind the rate of development of industry, and standing resolutely on the position which the party formulated at its Fifteenth Congress, the November Plenum made a great step forward by indicating a number of practical measures for putting the decisions of the Fifteenth Congress into force. All these measures are based on the following thesis, formulated in the November Plenum resolution. "The strict pursuance of the course towards industrialisation, by means of ensuring increased investments in fixed capital as provided for in the decisions of the Government, in the course of the present year, renders it necessary at the same time to take every measure for attracting agriculture in general, and the production of grain and bread corn in particular, by means of promoting the productive forces of the village and at the same time placing severer restrictions on the exploiting capitalist elements, by organising Soviet farms, by lending general support to the collective forms of agriculture (collective farms, communes, artels, etc.), and by increasing the economic incentive of the masses of poor and middle peasantry."

Concomitantly with this general direction the November Plenum stated that "the tension in the food and raw material balance of the country makes the extension of the cultivated area by seven per cent. and the increase of production per land unit by three per cent. in 1929, one of the most important and urgent tasks of our economic plan."

IN order to achieve these ends the Plenum drew up a number of measures for the strengthening of the economic incentive of the poor and middle masses of peasantry on the one hand, on the other to ensure the further growth of production co-operatives and the collectivisation of agriculture, whilst simultaneously strengthening the attack on the kulak.

On the latter issue, comrade Rykov in his report at the Leningrad active workers' conference stated that "one of the immediate practical measures directed to the defence of the interests of the poor sections of the peasantry is the necessity of passing a law applying the Labour Code to the kulak farms."

In order to strengthen the economic incentive among the poor and middle peasantry the Plenum proposed the following measures: (1) the strict application of revolutionary legality, "ensuring to the individual producer the possibility of a certain economic credit." (2) While retaining the present principles of the agricultural tax, to rearrange it so that it does not conduce to the disintegration of economy, so that in its assessment not only shall the total sum of receipts of the holding be taken into account, but also the number of mouths to feed, so that the agricultural tax shall be lightened for the middle group of peasantry, so that the co-called individual assessment (over and beyond the single agricultural tax) shall be applied "only on the exact basis of the law and only in regard to the richest section of the kulak farms and even so not to more than three per cent. of all holdings."

This last decision is for that matter no new one. The introduction of a special individual assessment on the richer kulaks following on the release of the poor peasants from taxation (35 per cent. of all holdings) and the restriction of this individual assessment to three per

cent. of all holdings was introduced last April and was given legal fixation in a government decree. The November Plenum considered it necessary to recall this restriction since in practice this law had been unjustly applied to a certain extent, and had so caused dissatisfaction among the middle peasantry. Altogether there are reckoned to be about five per cent kulak out of the total holdings in the U.S.S.R., and the law restricts the individual assessment to three per cent. on the ground that the basis on which the individual assessment is made are inadequately definite, and that the local Soviet machinery is still insufficiently developed to ensure that the application of this law should not affect the middle peasant farms. Experience has shown that among the various bases taken for individual assessment have been such as the following: the production of valuable agricultural plants, a large number of youths in the family, the presence of cattle belonging to relatives, and so on. It is clear that thus distorted, the law for individual assessment hits not only the kulak but also the non-exploiting advanced farm, whilst the Soviet Government has as its object the all-round support of any rise in agricultural culture. Consequently at the present time the Soviet Government does not consider it possible to extend the application of the law, even although the percentage of kulak farms is considerably greater.

WHILST planning a number of measures for stimulating the growth of individual peasant farming, which still embraces the enormous majority of the peasants, the November Plenum at the same time emphasised that in the task of developing the collective forms of agriculture only the first steps have so far been taken, and that in consequence that development has to be assisted with extraordinary energy and along shock lines. "At the same time the Plenum points out that in spite of the initial successes achieved in the organisation of Soviet farms and collective undertakings, our achievements in this direction are obviously still insufficient. Not only must new Soviet farms be established in larger numbers and the old ones improved, but much effort should be bestowed on the continued numerical and qualitative advance of the collective undertakings. The Plenum

of the C.C. approves the measures provided by the control figures for the increased support of the social section of agricultural undertakings."

In complete agreement with the movement for the enhanced development of agriculture proposed at the November Plenum, the recently concluded session of the Central Committee of the U.S.S.R. had on its agenda the consideration of the decree passed by the Soviet of People's Commissars dealing with measures for increasing the harvest yield: a decree which sets all the Soviet organisations working in the countryside the task of raising crop yield by a minimum of thirty to thirty-five per cent. by the end of five years. This decree has as its basis the work of the People's Commissariat for Workers' and Peasants' Inspection, which was carried out thus: (1) 222 land societies, 944 individual farms with harvest above the average, and 77 collective farms were investigated in the area under consideration; (2) about two hundred questionnaires were sent to distinguished professors, directors of experimental stations, and the most outstanding practical agronomists with the request to indicate what in their opinion were the economic and organisational technical measures which must necessarily be undertaken in order to speed up the rate of intensive increase of crop yield; (3) the activities of Soviet organisations, chiefly land organisations, were subjected to examination in the field of measures directed to the raising of crop yield; (4) an extensive discussion was started in a number of scientific institutions; (5) competitions for the best harvest were organised through the agency of the peasants' newspapers; (6) collation was made of the achievements of the experimental stations in the application of various forms of simple agricultural measures for the raising of the crop yield. As the result of this general, scientifically organised investigation the Workers' and Peasants' Inspection came to the conclusion that the achievement of a rise in the crop yield by thirty to thirty-five per cent. by the end of five years is quite a realist task. According to estimates the universal sorting and cleaning of seed grain will give a minimum rise of ten per cent. in the harvest over the next two or three years; the universal substitution of pure sorts of seed for the unfertile

peasants' seed in all other branches of agriculture will give a supplementary rise in yield of twenty per cent. The organisation of the struggle against injurious pests, which in the U.S.S.R. destroy a minimum of one milliard poods of grain, will at the very least cut down this loss by one-fourth at the end of the five years: the simplest of measures, based on the continually increasing production of agricultural machinery, will in their turn give an increase of not less than 22 per cent. in the yield by the end of the period; the introduction of crop rotation, the application of mineral manures, and improved methods of working the land can give a minimum rise in yield of six to seven per per cent. The rest has to be achieved by the collective and Soviet farms, which under conditions of development on the scale indicated by the decisions of the Party and the Government, can give a rise of crop yield which will represent an increase of approximately $4\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. over the total sown area.

THE characteristic feature of this decree, which if it is realised in practice promises to effect an increase in the quantity of marketed grain by more than $2\frac{1}{2}$ times by the end of the five years period* is that it is based on measures completely accessible to the poor and middle peasant farms. And in this regard it is profoundly different in principle from the agricultural reforms which are now being planned or carried out in capitalist countries. Britain, for instance, is at the present time also drawing up a program for extensive agronomic reforms in India, and an Anglophile government is doing the same for Egypt. But agronomic reforms drawn up by the Soviet Government have as their object the improvement of the state of farms belonging to the great masses of peasantry, simultaneously directing the

* 35 per cent. addition to the 1928/29 harvest would comprise 1,586.4 million poods of grain. If the peasant reserves also be included in the presumed commodity grain for 1928/29 the latter will comprise 1,045.3 million poods, and in that case an addition of 1,586 millions would increase the commodity fund by $2\frac{1}{2}$ times. But if the peasant reserves be excluded from the grain fund and only the planned fund be reckoned as commodity grain for the supply of the town population, for visible reserves and for export, it will comprise 469 million poods, and the addition arising from increased yield will increase the amount of commodity grain by $4\frac{1}{2}$

development towards collectivisation; owing to which these reforms come into conflict in their very inception with the desperate opposition of the kulak, capitalist elements in the countryside; whereas the agrarian reforms proposed by the British in India are pursuing the contrary aim: the transformation of the feudal into capitalist estates and the consolidation of the kulaks at the expense of the ruin of millions of peasants and their relegation to famine. The agricultural reforms planned by the Soviet Government have as their object the industrialisation of the countryside and the elimination of the gulf between town and village which from time immemorial has been the cause of what has been called "village idiocy," whereas the agrarian reforms planned by Britain in India and by the Anglophile government in Egypt have as their aim the perpetuation of the situation of these countries as colonial raw material bases for British imperialism.

THE task of industrialising the countryside and of gradually reconstructing peasant husbandry on the basis of large-scale collective husbandry is undoubtedly a task of great difficulty. It demands the intense application of the energy of the entire Party, of the entire proletariat, of the entire poor and middle peasant active elements and of the entire Soviet organisation. But the Bolsheviks have already shown that they know how to clear the most difficult of barriers. When the slogan "Learn to trade" was raised, it also at first appeared to be extraordinarily difficult. None the less, in the work of squeezing out private commodity turnover by the aid of the co-operatives, the Soviet Government has already achieved enormous results. In this task the most difficult part is now behind us. And now, setting itself a new militant task; the productive co-operation of the village and the technical-agronomical reconstruction of agriculture, in association with its gradual collectivisation, the Soviet Government will need to overcome still greater difficulties, arising out of the peasant routine and out of the peasant individualism. But one can be assured that this barrier also will be surmounted by the Party, which with Bolshevik resolution will cleanse itself of all oppor-

Tendencies in the British Party

By R. Page Arnot

THE closeness of the war danger, the nearing clash of British and American imperialism, the formation of a new Triple Entente of Paris, London and Tokyo, all signs of the fearfully rapid rate of growth of capitalist contradiction in this new period; the hunt for markets, the process of rationalisation, the growth of huge reserves of unemployed; the intensified fight against the world revolution, either in the form of the U.S.S.R., of colonial revolt (especially the great awakening strikes in India) and proletarian struggle at home (resistance to increased exploitation); the move to industrial peace, the attempted transformation of the trade unions into peace and war organs of the bourgeoisie, linked up with the State and the employers' organisations or both; all these things are at the present time brought to a focus in Great Britain.

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Rationalisation in Britain, hampered by the peculiar historical conditions of the growth of industry, but stimulated by the enormous propaganda of Conservative, Liberal and Labour Parties, by the legislation and administration of the bourgeois States and by the banks, is proceeding chiefly along the line of increased exploitation, lower wages, longer hours and more unemployed. This means that the problem of problems for the rationalisers is to break the working-class resistance; and since the core of that resistance is the Communist Party (together with the Minority Movement and other allied bodies), the Government, the employers, the trade union officials and the Labour Party chiefs are concentrating upon it the whole fury of their attack, with the aim of isolating it from the working class. This is the situation in which the Tenth Congress of the Communist Party takes place.

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The Labour Party in the months since the

February Plenum has adopted a new programme compact of rationalisation and class harmony, has tightened up still further its disciplinary rules so as to exclude all militant elements, made full preparations for coalition with the Liberals, signalled its complete solidarity (beyond even that traditionally shown by His Majesty's Opposition) with the Baldwin Government on questions of foreign policy (MacDonald's visit to Paris to reassure Poincaré) and of India (the Simon Commission); while at the same time the General Council of the Trades Union Congress, acting in concert with the Labour Party, has followed up the part it played in imperialist policy a year or more ago, in its breach with the Soviet trade unions (war preparations) with a new endeavour to bring India into the orbit of "European trade unionism," and so not to bridge but to widen the isolation of the revolutionary proletariat of Britain from the toiling masses of India. The trade union bureaucracy which betrayed the working class in the General Strike has now, within a twelvemonth, proved its usefulness as part of the bourgeois apparatus by its attitude to war with the U.S.S.R., its attempt to cripple the Indian trade union movement and its propaganda of industrial peace.

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Thus, on the one hand, the conditions are objectively revolutionary and must more and more cause a leftward mood of the masses, already shown by a series of events; while, on the other hand, an organisation of bourgeois State, of trusts, and trade union bureaucracy completer by far than anything ever experienced or projected, thrusts down and stifles the struggle of the proletariat, isolates it from its Indian and colonial brothers and strives to annihilate the natural leader of the struggle, the Communist Party. The task of the Communist Party is generally to help to develop the subjective revolutionary conditions corresponding with the realities of the situation,

to break down the barriers that clamp down the revolutionary movement, and, above all, to defeat the attack specifically directed against itself by the bourgeoisie, of which the trade union bureaucracy, with its weapon of expulsion and suppression, is the leading column.

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WEAKNESS OF THE PARTY—AND ERRORS

Meeting within a few months of the end of the Sixth Congress of the Communist International, the Congress of the Communist Party of Great Britain has a double function; in the light of these collective examinations and decisions to solve the difficulties of its main task, and also to find why the membership of the Party has been dropping for so long, why the circulation of the paper has fallen and why its influence is on the decline. As is rightly noted by comrade Rust,* these latter difficulties are only obscured "by tracing the weakness to organisational shortcomings, by attributing the reduced membership solely to employers' victimisation, and by ascribing the reduced circulation of the Party press to the increasing poverty of the workers." When full allowance is made for these things his conclusion remains correct that "the basic causes of the unsatisfactory position of the Party are the political errors of the Party itself."

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To correct the political errors of the Party requires the applying of self-criticism by every organ and member of the Party. For the responsibility for these errors, which the writer fully shares, has been mainly a joint one. This self-criticism, sadly to seek hitherto, has now for the first time found an opportunity of expression in the Party discussion (the first full discussion ever held in the Party) preceding the Congress. But just because it is the first discussion it has been at any rate in its earlier weeks, illuminating rather than

useful; that is to say, it has served to throw a light on the "ideological and political narrowness of outlook" stigmatised by the Sixth Congress rather than to find and destroy the errors of the past.

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For the Party controversy of this winter has its roots in the inner Party events of last spring. Seeds were then sown which are now sprouting as errors of policy or tendencies thereto: to recount those events will serve to clarify the present discussion, as well as being the indispensable preliminary to any effective self-criticism. We must know our mistakes before we can get rid of them.

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The discussion of the British Question at the Plenum of the E.C.C.I. had been preceded by a single Executive discussion in the C.P.G.B. whereat (without any broad Party discussion) a majority thesis, called the January Thesis, was prepared, justifying a retention of the old line. After the February Plenum decision had reached England the sharpness of the turn in policy was concealed by a series of happenings: the editorial of "Workers' Life," welcoming the Plenum resolution as a continuation of the old line; the decision not to open up a controversy in "Workers' Life," but to confine it to the monthly "Communist" (this at a moment when the bourgeois and social-democratic press was daily discussing the Plenum resolution and giving its own interpretation thereof); the complete silence for a crucial week of "Workers' Life" in face of the virulent attack on the C.I.; the carrying through the Scottish District Party Conference by the Political Bureau representative of a resolution accepting both the January Thesis and the February Plenum decision (*i.e.*, accepting both the old line and the new—the very acme of confusionism); and finally, the conduct of the necessary discussion in such a way (as evinced by the diversity of views later expressed in the Comintern delegation and in the present belated full discussion) that the working class generally, and perhaps a very large section of

* See article in this number

our Party, eventually failed to understand the full meaning of the change. For instead of every opposing or doubtful point of view being brought out with the utmost clarity and sharpness (you must apply the poultice before you can hope to lance the gumboil), instead of the members of the Party arguing with one another fiercely enough to sharpen their wits for subsequent arguments against their mates in the workshop, the discussion took the very restricted and formal shape of "enlightenment" conferences.

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The sharpness of the turn thus concealed, and the Party members left unenlightened by the pseudo-discussion, it is not surprising that confusion was bred in our ranks. Amid the confusion two tendencies showed themselves, one appearing straightway in practical questions of carrying out the new policy, while the other was revealed more as proposals, "ways out of the difficulties."

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THE RELUCTANCE TENDENCY

The first tendency arising in an atmosphere of incomplete comprehension of the essential force of the Plenum resolution was shown in a reluctance to apply the new line. Linlithgow and Holborn parliamentary bye-elections were cases in point. In the first case a Communist candidate against the Labour Party candidate was first announced, and later, after a fusillade of abuse from the social-democrats, withdrawn; in the second, the voting support given by the Party to an extremely reactionary Labour candidate accorded ill with the final Linlithgow tactics of not voting at all. It may be that the circumstances in each case made it hard for the Party to do otherwise. But undoubtedly the effect on the workers was that of a wavering Party attitude, just at the moment when it was particularly needful to have the clearest definition of our line. When in the summer bye-election at Aberdeen we were able to put up a Communist candidate, and to gain over two thousand votes, and to come out as third party on the list above the Liberals, the splendid results were marred by the Party manifesto, the equivocal terms of

which failed on some most important point to carry out the new line or to make it clear to the working class. Similarly, a month or two earlier, when the South Wales Miners' Federation Conference were induced to pass a resolution (never acted upon) supporting Communist Party affiliation to the Labour Party, this "success" was accompanied, so it was reported, by arguments from left-wingers (not repudiated by Party members present) to the effect that if the Communist Party affiliation were accepted the new policy would not be insisted upon; by which arguments, if accepted by the miners, the supposed "victory" for the Communist Party became actually a serious setback for the new policy.

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But these and other similar happenings, though indicative of a continuing reluctance to apply the new line, were of small account compared to the Hicks-Maxton episode of the early summer, wherein as it developed it began to appear that the essential feature of the new line, the independent leadership of the Communist Party as the sole effective challenge to the Mondist bureaucracy, was in danger of being submerged. The full implication of this, however, did not appear till later.

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THE HICKS-MAXTON PRONUNCIAMENTO

Here we approach the most difficult question of the Party's policy during the months that follow the Plenum. In a general situation of crucial importance for the future development of the struggle in Britain, the pivotal point of the new line was to be found, not so much in electoral policy as in the trade union conflict. Mondist capitulation and absorption or revolutionary struggle—this was the issue. Month after month the Communist Party and the Minority Movement, followed amongst the well-known figures by Cook alone, cut and hacked at the network of lies, until in the spring, in spite of the terrible defeats of 1926-27, there were already definite signs of an awakening to their peril amongst the workers. A leftward move began to be felt, whereupon

the "left" I.L.P., the "left" of the General Council, the Maxtons and the Hicks, sensing the feeling, began to move towards opposition to the Mondist drive. Presently a Manifesto signed by Cook and Maxton was issued. Catholic Wheatley gave his support, the "Times" regarded it a serious portent that the Chairman of the I.L.P. should join himself to Cook, and the meetings and conferences announced attracted large masses of workers. During the course of the summer there took place what was to be expected. Maxton proved to be a cock that would not fight. The announced fireworks fizzled out like the dampest of squibs; and the workers who had been stirred by the move subsided, discouraged and disillusioned. Had there been only a question of causing a flutter in the doves-cots, and at the same time of demonstrating once more the qualities of the "left," it would be an entirely satisfactory issue. The workers, disillusioned with the I.L.P., would turn to the Communist Party. But have they? And was this the only point at issue,

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Here it is only possible to formulate some of the questions to which an answer must be found at the Party Congress. Clearly the intervention of Maxton and Co. was comparable to the Vienna Union in 1921, to the Two-and-a-half International. Nevertheless, it cannot be settled simply by establishing that comparison. Here, because the question is crucial, we are bound to ask :

- (a) What is the general Communist line to "Left" social-democrats, to alliances, etc.?
- (b) Under the circumstances, what was the difference between the necessary attitude towards Hicks-Maxton in 1925-26 and Hicks-Maxton in 1928?
- (c) Was the Party line towards the Hicks-Maxton episode correct?
- (d) If correct at the beginning, was the correct line maintained?
- (e) On what conditions should we have them as allies, and were those conditions kept?
- (f) Who benefited most in the end, the Party or the I.L.P.?

To the writer it seems that we must answer that while the Hicks-Maxton episode had its surface inconveniences for the Labour Party chiefs, its deeper significance was to hold up the development of the issues and to hide the leadership of the Communist Party. Therefore we should have attacked it fiercely and unceasingly from the first moment it presented a surface to attack, we should have told the workers that after the General Strike betrayal—breach or no breach in the surface of the bureaucratic ranks—it was now on the Communist Party alone that they must rely to carry on the working-class struggle against the Labour Party right, left and centre; and that if Maxton and Company meant anything they must take their stand on one side or other. But what the Party did, at any rate for a period, was in effect to transfer to the left social-democrats the critical support previously extended to MacDonald, and by this critical support helped to provide the pseudo-lefts with a programme and a policy. It was perhaps more the comic-opera futility of Maxton than the policy of the Party which prevented the effective growth of a third party. Even as it was, the members of the old governing class families who are now kindly helping to lead the Labour Party, were able to view the whole business as advantageous to themselves, as, for example, in Mr. Oswald Mosley's shameless comment :

"So far from losing elections, different appeals to different sections helped to win them. MacDonald made an appeal to one section of the community with incomparable skill, and Maxton and Cook appealed to the working class as no one else could."

This episode may teach us more exactly what is meant by the saying that the left social-democrats are the most dangerous enemies of the working class.

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COMMUNISM AND COOKISM

Heretofore one has spoken of Hicks-Maxton and not of the Cook-Hicks-Maxton movement in order to avoid confusion and also because the difference in this consisted essentially in the advent of Maxton and Hicks. But without

Cook it is doubtful if anything would have taken place; and in any case the relation between Cook and the Communist Party remains as a question continuing before, during and after the Hicks-Maxton episode. A belief common in the Labour movement is that there exists an ideological and organisational chain leading step by step from the Communist Party to Cook, from Cook to Maxton, from Maxton to Hicks and Brockway, from Hicks and Brockway to the old "left" of the General Council and the N.A.C. of the I.L.P. And certainly, from his speeches it is clear that Cook likes to feel that he is a centre link in a chain which exists to both sides of him.

But for the purpose of examining the situation it is best to deal simply with the relations of Cook and the C.P.G.B. Until these are cleared up, and cleared up in the minds of every Party member, and in the widest circles of the working class, not only the British working class, but the international working class, there will be continual difficulties arising. Therefore, it is a duty of the Tenth Party Congress to clear this matter up. It is not enough to say that Cook is to be classed as a left social-democrat; equally not enough to leave relations unexamined. For it is precisely the good points in Cook's record, the extent to which at times he has fought wonderfully well, as well as the mistakes, retreats and renegations of which he has shown himself capable that made the essence of this problem. Therefore, the questions must be asked:

- (a) What is the fundamental relation between the Communist Party and A. J. Cook?
- (b) Has the Party maintained a continuous criticism of Cook?
- (c) Have we criticised him on the wider grounds of his political outlook as well as on day-to-day questions?

These questions are necessary because of the danger that the section of the working class which gives ear to Cook but is deaf as yet to the voice of the Party may never grow out of their present stage. Of course, the Party has criticised Cook when he adopted a right-wing policy or when he went back on his word. But without *continued* explanation to the masses

of where Cook stands (be the criticism as temperate as you please, if the occasion allows it—provided it is just as sharp when need be) confusion may be built up in the minds of sincere workers that Communism and Cookism, if not one and the same, are just as good as one another; and that the leadership of Cook is an alternative to that of the Communist Party. Has he not called himself a disciple of Lenin? Here we have fertile soil for confusion, especially if the Party, aware of the hold of Cook on the masses and with a strong reluctance to believe in our strength, endeavours, above all, not to break with Cook. Not that it should set itself to break with Cook, which would be just the opposite fault, whereas the *main* attention should be devoted to developing our own line of independent leadership, independent, too, of any calculations as to what Cook will or will not do—which has indeed to be considered, but only afterwards.

What actually happened in this case? There was little enough criticism of Cook during the summer; then when he withdrew his signature to the Llandudno protest document against the expelling of Communists and for a worthless guarantee induced the other leftists on the Miners' Executive to withdraw also, he was immediately criticised in an open letter from the Party, which as it had not been preceded by minor important criticism could not fully rise to the height and sharpness of criticism necessary, without giving the impression of a greater breach than had actually occurred. Thus, while the tone of our criticism was a little bit damped down by the previous absence of any critical action whatsoever, Cook was able the next week to put forward a clever, but, to the minds of many readers, a disingenuous reply (he avoided the main issue of Llandudno altogether). The "Workers' Life," by no means taken in by this, put forward the issue once more in its accompanying editorial. But thereafter in the succeeding weeks the criticism of Cook again disappeared from the Party press. It was almost as if it had been forgotten that "left leaders" genuinely working with us must, nevertheless, be criticised continuously, and not only when they show a tendency to go over to the right-wing.

If these questions, in what is perhaps the most difficult and complicated question of our Party policy, are answered in one way, namely, that we leaned too much upon Cook, that we fostered Hicks-Maxton as a means to break an isolation, then this would mean that the reluctance-tendency already described was becoming something more, was failing to apply the new line just at the point where it was most needed. But even without this it is clear that the reluctance-tendency, if prolonged, would become a tendency to opportunism.

§

THE BREAKNECK TENDENCY

Meantime it is necessary to consider the second tendency which ran up its colours on entering the sea of Executive discussions. This tendency, while not differing appreciably from the already described reluctance-tendency on practical day-to-day questions, insisted that the Communist International Executive decision at the Ninth Plenum was wrong, or at any rate imperfect, in that it did not go far enough. Thus the arena of criticism was transferred from the concrete daily tasks of the Party set forth in the new policy to necessarily abstract "left" criticism of the new policy itself. This tendency displayed itself over the questions of Affiliation, Political Levy, Left-wing and Abstentionism.

§

THE AFFILIATION ISSUE

The February Plenum resolution, clause 8, ran as follows :

"It is inexpedient as yet to abandon the slogan of affiliation to the Labour Party, as the latter has not yet definitely and completely transformed into a social-democratic party in organisational structure. The fight for affiliation, however, must be converted into an *offensive fight* against the treacherous leadership of the Labour Party."

Instead of criticising the Party for OUR conspicuous failure to convert the fight for affiliation into an offensive fight (hardly any tangible sign of the carrying out of this clause appears in the Party publications), the second tendency criticised the International for not

having dropped affiliation straightaway. The International, it now appeared, was the hesitating factor, was the faithful supporter of the Labour Party as compared with its "Breakneck" critics; THEY were willing to drop it like a hot brick. Under these circumstances, with a section of the Party unconvinced of the correctness of the new line and the vast masses of the working class completely without an understanding of the new line, this seemingly contrary tendency was only too effective in preventing the Party members from carrying through the policy of the Ninth Plenum on this point.

§

THE POLITICAL LEVY

Clause 9 of the February Plenum Resolution runs :

"An energetic campaign must be organised in the local trade union branches for local control of the expenditure of the political levy, in order that it may be possible to finance any candidates the rank and file of the branch may approve."

and the implication was clear that the Party members must pay the political levy. To this it was contended by the "Breakneck" tendency, that the International was wrong, in thus desiring to "support" the Labour Party; and it was said that the workers would not understand a tactic which combined a fight on two fronts (against Baldwin and against MacDonald) with a fight for the right of the unions to levy their members and so build up a political fund for the Labour Party. It is perhaps unnecessary to quote Lenin's advice in Left-Wing "Communism" beginning: "Do not ascribe to the masses your own prejudices . . . etc." Nevertheless it may be necessary to recall here why the E.C.C.I. took this decision, a decision based not only on the present situation, but on the historic struggles of the working class in England.

§

The political levy grew as a traditional right of the trade unions as working class organisations to finance the working class candidates for Parliament and to take part in politics. The actual candidates selected might

be Liberals or right-wing Labour. This is for the moment of lesser importance compared to the principle (anti-bourgeois democratic) of class representation. This levy was compulsory like every other trade union levy; and any member who did not pay it was liable to run out of the union just as much as one who refused to pay a strike levy. Against this political levy, the bourgeoisie have carried on an unceasing struggle by every device in their power, getting more and more keen as the class-consciousness grew in the movement, beginning some twenty years ago with legal judgments, especially the famous Osborn Judgment of 1911, and passing into the crippling Trade Union Act of 1913, by which a serious breach was made in working class traditional rights in this matter (severe restrictions were placed both on the use of union funds for political purposes and on the method of collecting these funds, individuals being allowed to claim to be exempt or, as the saying is, "to contract out"); and then finally in 1927, by the Trade Disputes and Trade Unions Act, whereby the unions were permitted only to call for a voluntary levy, and all individuals had to claim to be liable to this tax, had, as it were, "to contract in." Against this Act of 1927, against the Act of 1913, against every legal judgment the working class and every working-class organisation must assert the full right of the working-class organisations to levy their members for political purposes, and must never cease the struggle to smash the bourgeois tyranny, which would deprive the working class of self-expression.

§

At the same time it is true that the political levy, though applicable to any political purpose or party, and actually used in the past to finance non-Labour Party candidates (*e.g.*, Miners' Federation candidates before that body joined the Labour Party 20 years ago), has in the main been devoted to support the Labour Party—from which it follows clearly that while we struggle firmly against the attempt of the bourgeoisie to deprive the working-class organisations of the right to the political levy, we equally struggle against the application of those funds to support the Labour Party, for it is a political embezzlement and nothing less

that funds raised in the teeth of bourgeois opposition for working-class representatives should be devoted instead to misrepresentation of the working class by a third capitalist party. But this is precisely the premise on which our general line is based: "that the C.P. has to contend not with one camp of enemies, but with two camps" (it is to be noted that in the text of the Plenum resolution this sentence stands in the closest and most consequent conclusion with the political levy clause).

Again it will be understood that misunderstanding and mistrust of the political line of the Communist International meant an inability, amongst the adherents of mistrust, to carry through in the trade union branches the "energetic campaign" which it had been stipulated should be organised. Again, the two tendencies, the combination of inertia and of seeming "independence" availed to hamper our Party's fight throughout the spring and summer.

§

THE LEFT WING

The attitude, or rather the attitudes, of the Breakneck tendency towards the Left-Wing Question varied so much as to make it difficult to track down the course of their criticism.* Since, however, in one form or another it was brought forward by the adherents of this tendency, it may best be treated here—but as a danger of the Hicks-Maxton and Cook kind. The National Left-Wing Movement (originating as a resistance to the "Liverpool decisions" of the Labour Party 1925 Conference) remained as a bridge to the Communist Party, consisting of a dozen or

* The Breakneck tendency first took up the line that the National Left-Wing Movement should be developed into a new "Socialist" Labour Party. This, a definite right deviation (the creation of a third party, though expressly reprobated in the discussion in the Ninth Plenum), was insistently put forward by comrade Murphy during the first half of 1928 till it was decisively defeated in the British delegation at the Sixth Congress. Thereafter by the same comrades it was urged on the contrary that the National Left-Wing Movement should be done away with and its place taken by Workers' Electoral Committees. Now the Breakneck tendency certainly strove for a change; but the fact that one day they wanted a change to the east and the next day a change to the west, rather robs their case of its value for either change. By their own chopping and changing about they made confusion just where clear definition was most required.

more disaffiliated parties plus left-wing groups within local Labour Parties. This in itself has never been a danger, and need never be, given an active Party fraction therein, *if only the Party line is correct*. The danger lies in allowing the growth of a third party idea (again part of the reluctance tendency!), in making it possible for militant workers, fed-up with the Labour Party, to think that there is a "true socialist" or "militant class-conscious standpoint" intermediate between the Labour Party and the Communist Party, in which half-way house they may find an abiding place. The danger of this emerges in certain formulations of the pre-Plenum "National Left-Wing Programme" (a programme is the garment of a party), and in a host of smaller incidents, but most of all whenever this conception is allowed to appear unchallenged in the columns of the "Sunday Worker." The remedy, of course, is not the scrapping of the Left-Wing Movement, but a clearer definition of its purpose. But the sort of notion that now and again appears uncontroverted in the "Sunday Worker" that there is a possibility for some "true socialism" of the 1904 brand to exist a quarter of a century later, standing between developed Communism and developed social-democracy or social-imperialism is historically nonsensical and of about as much value as romances relating to the discovery in the Gran Chaco of a living ichthyosaurus.

There remains the "Abstentionism" discussion. About this all that needs to be said is that on the barren question of abstention from voting a real debating society atmosphere was generated. Not concrete difficulties of the new line, but new "principles" of Abstentionism and Non-Abstentionism were discussed and found their respective champions. While the sides taken in the academic controversy did not coincide with the groupings on the other subjects, the new fact that such a controversy could take place in the form it did must be taken as part of the evidence of a sectarian tendency in the Party.

Thus when the belated Party discussion began preliminary to the Congress, it had already behind it a pseudo-discussion and the emergence during these eight months of two tendencies: the tendency of which comrade Murphy now emerged as chief representative, which had latterly concentrated on the drop-

ping of the political levy was able to make this proposal the main subject of discussion. It was eagerly taken up by its opponents, amongst whom comrade J. R. Campbell was most to the fore. And forthwith all the tremendously difficult tasks, needing our utmost thought and discussion, were forgotten while all, or nearly all, joined in on one side or another in discussing whether or not to pay the political levy, and similar supposed "logical" deductions from the new line of the Party. I mention "logical" in inverted commas because this word has been much to the fore in the discussion; and in general anyone, after a perusal of several numbers of "Workers' Life" containing the discussion, would be bound to conclude that the Party membership was eaten up by formal logic. Dialectical treatment was absent.

§

But neither the events of the spring, the lack of discussion, the failure to carry through the new line, the international situation, the colonial situation, the war danger, the Hicks-Maxton danger, the question of Cook, the fight against the grafting of the trade unions on to the bourgeois State machine and on to the trusts, the fight for the masses by the united front from below, the work in factories, the position of the working class and the approaching struggles, received more than a passing mention. Each subject, as the discussion proceeded, was taken in discussion. On the other hand, all the ghosts of infantile leftism that had been thought to have been buried eight years ago, now began to "squeak and gibber" in the open columns of "Workers' Life."

§

Thus the first impression that would be derived from the controversy would be that it was a mistake to open the columns of "Workers' Life" only in order to expose our nakedness, and that a wide discussion was a luxury in which only parties richer in experience than the C.P.G.B. could indulge with safety. But such a view would be shortsighted. It is precisely our inexperience of discussions which made it difficult for our first Party discussion to be effective as a preparation for the Congress, and the conclusion is not

that we were too soon, but rather too late in indulging in this "luxury."

§

Why has there been this recrudescence of infantile leftism? ("Parliamentarism breeds corruption," etc.). Whence come the ghosts? This question I believe must be split into three:

- (i) What caused the particular form taken by the leftist ideas?
- (ii) Was healthy discontent canalised into leftist channels?
- (iii) What are the real roots of the Break-neck tendency?

§

ANIMATED CORPSES OF LEFTISM

The clue to the sudden outburst of leftism in these curious phenomenal shapes (historically outworn) is to be found in the history of the British Party. *This is the first full discussion in the British Party.* That is to say, when the Party was formed amid discussions eight years and more ago, the various amalgamating sects with a history behind them of splits and schisms following upon discussions were firmly resolved that this particular way of leading to schisms should be avoided. Possibly the path to a mass Party was also avoided by this resolve. Be that as it may, the sectarian and infantile leftist ideas in the Party were suppressed rather than annihilated, for only complete and full inner Party discussion, only an ideological struggle, can lead erroneous tendencies to annihilation.

§

A healthy tendency to dissatisfaction among the members of the Party, dissatisfaction because the Party membership is decreasing, dissatisfaction with mistakes, political and organisational, dissatisfaction with the failure to carry out the Plenum policy, does not necessarily find expression straightway as a fight for the correct line. Much thought is often needed before the correct line can be found, and in the meantime the dissatisfaction, healthy in origin, can easily be canalised into

perverse channels. Certainly it can be said that in the case of such a Party membership as this, overwhelmingly proletarian in its social composition, close to its trade union tasks, and recruited mainly from just those industries where the most desperate struggle has been carried on for more than seven years against the employers' offensive, in such a case the existence of dissatisfaction cannot simply be dismissed as "the product of petty-bourgeois anarchist elements, etc., even though its expression may be distorted into wrong shapes. For the distortion may very well come as a reaction to the excesses of the Reluctance tendency (as, for instance, its trade union legalism), which is basically much more dangerous.

This brings us to the question what were the real roots of the Breakneck tendency in itself? Clearly the failure to carry out the line of the Ninth Plenum because, as they said, *it did not go far enough* is twin brother to the other tendency with its refusal to carry it out *because it went too far*. Of course, it is not surprising that there should be this fundamental similarity between the two tendencies, though their superficial expression may vary; it has more than once been said, "The pseudo-left is the shadow of the right." But really remarkable is the extent to which the likeness goes when we dig down to the roots. In each case there is a despair at the magnitude of the task, at the multitude of the enemy forces, a feeling of overwhelmedness in sight of the seeming tremendous odds against the Party, a doubt in the response of the proletariat to the Party stand. Only in the Breakneck tendency this despair presently seeks refuge in the desire for desperate remedies, for some spectacular or magical change which will bring a miraculous easing of our load.

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Here before we return to the more dangerous Reluctance tendency it is needful to deal with *new unions*. It is understandable that one of the counsels of despair amongst the Breakneckers is for an indiscriminate formation of new *Red unions*. But against this, on the other hand, there may be a tendency amongst Party trade unionists of long standing to react to the suggestion as something horrifying, and

to attack it with arguments indistinguishable from those employed by centrists in a difficulty. Now while any indiscriminate formation of new unions under present existing circumstances in Britain would be completely wrong, there is no Communist dogma condemning new unions as such. At certain times and in certain places the working class may be driven to form a new union, and to meet any mistaken vague drift toward new unions by refusal to discuss the question will only prevent that ideological clarity amongst the Party membership which is one of the surest guarantees of strength.

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Clearly, the most dangerous tendency is that which shows itself as a reluctant, hesitating, slow or belated response to the new situation and events, which at bottom comes from an under-estimation of the ripeness of capitalist development, of the driving forces of the revolution and of the power and possibilities of the Party itself. It takes two forms, the first of failing to react to new situations, the second, of continuing to "react" to situations which no longer exist. Of the first form several examples have already been cited: the lack of response to the international situation was marked this autumn in the strike wave; and of course it must be realised that the failure to carry out clauses 8 and 9 of the February Plenum resolution (the offensive affiliation campaign and the campaign for rank-and-file control of the political levy) arises also mainly from this tendency. An even more flagrant example is in relation to Clause 15, viz., "It is necessary to start immediately a broad mass campaign for the creation of a daily paper and the collection of the necessary funds." It is not as though this question had arisen for the first time. The inaction of the Party in this matter had already called forth the severest strictures. At the Ninth Plenum it was cited as an example of an opportunist attitude on the part of the leading members by comrade Bukharin viz.:

"When during the last elections we spoke with the British comrades of the necessity of publishing a daily paper, they were against it, and wanted to know why it was necessary. They opposed de-

cidning in favour of a daily Communist paper. It is quite clear why they thus acted. The issue of a paper meant a sharpening of the struggle against the Labour Party and the trade unions throughout the line."*

Yet, in spite of this, it has to be recorded that after specific instructions were thus included in the British resolution of February 18th, not a single sign is seen of the "broad mass campaign" from that day to this. In this matter the Party has not stood still, but has definitely gone back. Five years ago, with our slogan for the "Workers' Weekly," the forerunner of the "Workers' Daily," we were nearer to that aim, to that intenser, sharper fight, than we are at present.

Of the latter form of reacting to non-existing situations, a good example is to be found in the belated retention of the slogan, "All Power to the General Council," long after it had ceased to be of use to the struggle; and even now in the Trade Union Thesis to be presented to the Party Congress are to be found remnants and reminiscences of this slogan. How far the constitutional line followed in the Scottish coalfields is also an example of this it is difficult to say. But sufficient has happened to cause disquiet, and to make it necessary for the Party Congress to be given both the reasons (based on facts and figures) to show whether the line was there obsolete or not.

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Finally, what, then, are the basic weaknesses revealed by this history of ten months, wherein one has cited a series of actual errors of commission and omission, and has shown the existence of definite tendencies in the Party. Is there a right danger? If so, how exactly is it revealed? Not as comrade Murphy thinks in the "errors" or "insufficiencies" of the Plenum Resolution of February. No, they are revealed in the lack of faith in the Party, in a disbelief in the efficacy of the new policy, in hanging on to the old policy (see the Trade Union Thesis above cited) in "forgetfulness" of main issues, in the failure to put forward in sharp and concrete form the policy that will meet the needs of the workers.

* "Communist Policy in Great Britain," C.P.G.B. 2s. 6d. (p. 56.)

One of the philosophers of antiquity said it was impossible to conceive a beast seven miles long. The same applies to slogans seven miles long. For instance, the thesis on the International Battle Front, with all its verbiage, is largely a needless vulgarisation of the quite fresh decisions of the Sixth Congress of the E.C.C.I., which should be made available for every delegate in the original shape. No, main slogans should be short, sharp, clear and strong, and should have subordinate slogans attached.

Our hardest fight is against Mondism, against expulsions. For this we have to hang on to every position we possess, to hang on with the skin of our teeth, to strive for class unity against the splitters and strike-breakers, to fight desperately to loosen the grip of the bureaucracy upon the organised workers, a grip that is tightening and tightening up to the moment when they will be able to turn the workers right about and march them into another imperialist slaughter. Our business is to loosen this grip not only by propaganda and agitation, but also by unofficial strikes, which may by good leadership, if we have prepared well and are quick enough to seize the right moment, turn into movements of gigantic proportions. But in order to fight hard in this way it is necessary to put forward

the exact programme in each industry which the working-class most needs (not abstract phrases, but direct fighting programmes), and to back up the programme by establishing ourselves in each workshop, the centre and leading elements of each factory committee.

§

Lastly, the question arises how are we to lead ourselves "to abandon the narrowness from which the Party has suffered somewhat in its ideological and political outlook." For this the recipe is, along with better discipline, the strengthening of inner Party democracy, and therewith the infusion of new life into the body of our Party. Therefore, it is not simply as one of a terrible heap of tasks that are set forth in the International Battle Front Thesis, tasks so numerous, so unrelayedly piled on one another as to make the ordinary Party member feel himself a weary Titan after he has only once read it—not as one of all this multitude, but as a really fundamental task must we now undertake what has been neglected for seven years—the raising of the ideological level of the Party by dint of a strenuous self-criticism, by dint of analysis of all our problems, of all our organisation, of all our victories and defeats. This must be done side by side with the drive forward of our struggle.

The Struggle on Two Fronts

The Coming Convention of the Workers' Party of America

By A. J. Bennett

A NEW Trotskyist faction has made its appearance in the United States. Its leader is Cannon, who for some considerable time has been vacillating between the two major factions in the Workers' Party, and who has now picked up the tarnished yellow flag of Trotskyism. Intellectuals who have been expelled at different times from the Communist Party for fighting against Leninism and the Communist International are now rallying to this banner. The newly-fledged Trotskyist group repeats the tenets of the old Trotskyist platforms which have long since been exposed in the course of the class struggle and condemned by the individual Sections of the Communist International and the Comintern as a whole. These intellectuals, who have long since lost every connection with the working class and the harsh class struggle, think that the most important task of the Communist International, and especially the Workers' Party, at the present time is to start a discussion on the fate of the Anglo-Russian Committee and the outcome of the Chinese revolution.

Of course, the leader of the new Trotskyist group in America is trying to introduce some new elements in defence of Trotskyism. He is trying, for example, to convince the American workers that Trotsky fought for an alliance with the middle peasants. The idea of reliance on the poor peasants and an agreement with the mass of peasants for a struggle against the rich peasants is regarded by Cannon, this ignoramus on questions of Leninism, as one of the main tenets of the Trotskyist opposition. In Cannon's platform submitted to the Central Executive Committee of the Workers' Party there are other gems besides. That platform describes the Communist Party of the Soviet Union as a bloc of factions, and

advises the Workers' Party to support the left against the right and centrist factions.

In the decision on Trotsky, Sapronov, etc., *unanimously* adopted by the Sixth Congress, it is said :

"In its views on questions of the programme, policy and organisation the Trotskyist group has sunk to the position of Menshevism, and objectively has become an organ of struggle against the Soviet Power."

Of course, Cannon's action will not force us to abandon the main line of the Comintern as formulated in the resolution just mentioned, which says :

"The Congress considers it superfluous to discuss with the enemies of the C.I. the counter-revolutionary political content of the Trotskyist platform, after the mass of membership of all the Communist Parties has repeatedly and resolutely rejected their point of view."

Refusing to start a discussion on the substance of the Trotskyist platform laid down by Cannon, we shall, nevertheless, try to understand the origin and nature of the new Trotskyist group in the United States.

AMERICAN IMPERIALISM AND A.F. OF L.

The recent elections in America, which resulted in a victory for Hoover, the outstanding representative of finance capital, have once more demonstrated the strength of American imperialism, which does not hide its aggressive intentions with regard to the rest of the world, and especially on Central and South America, and the Eastern countries. The elections have simultaneously revealed the enormous role of American reformism, chiefly represented by the American Federation of

Labour, which is acting as an agency of imperialism within the working class. The American Federation of Labour Convention, which took place immediately after the election, has shown once again that the Labour aristocracy and trade union bureaucracy constitute a true pillar of finance.

On the other hand, we witness a constantly sharpening class struggle in the United States. The almighty dollar, in the process of its further imperialist expansion, is more and more coming up against the post-war development of capitalism, expressions of which are the disproportion between the development of capitalist production and the capacity of the world market, the struggle between the two systems in contemporary world economy (the capitalist and socialist systems), the growing conflicts between the colonies and the imperialist Powers. The further rationalisation of American industry leads to growing unemployment and more intensive exploitation of the proletariat. American imperialism is still strong and powerful enough to corrupt and keep under its sway the upper sections of the working class, and to intensify with their help the exploitation of millions and millions of workers. The antagonisms arising on the basis of capitalist rationalisation in the United States are inevitably reflected in the differentiation of the working class (radicalisation of the rank and file on the one hand, and the further Fascist development of the trade union bureaucracy on the other), and in the development of gigantic class struggles involving great masses of organised and, especially, unorganised workers.

The strength of American capitalism is the source of strength of Gompersism and of American reformism of a European type, which oppresses the minds of the working masses. Under these conditions it is no wonder that some sections of the Communist Party succumb to the influence of reformism. The chief manifestation of the strength of reformism in the ranks of the Workers' Party are the right errors which have been clearly pointed out by the Sixth Congress of the Comintern in the *Theses on the International Situation and the Tasks of the Communist International* (attitude towards the Socialist Party, insufficiently energetic work in organ-

ising the unorganised and in organising the movement among the negroes, insufficiently clear struggle against the aggressive policy of the United States in Latin-America). The so-called left (Trotskyist) deviation is, as it were, a "shadow" of the right errors of which the Sixth Congress of the Comintern spoke.

TASKS OF THE AMERICANS

The American Party is thus faced with the serious, difficult and responsible task of waging a systematic and determined struggle on two fronts—against the right opportunist errors which reflect the strength of reformism, and against the "left" deviations which are the shadows of the right errors arising on that soil. From the declaration of the Central Executive Committee of the Workers' Party (see *Daily Worker*, December 16th) it is clear that the whole Party, regardless of factional adherence, is ready to close its ranks for a struggle both against the newly fledged Trotskyist faction as well as against the outspoken right errors outlined by the Sixth Congress. In that declaration we find an announcement to the effect that the Political Bureau of the Central Executive Committee of the Workers' Party of America has *unanimously* expelled the leaders of the Trotskyist group. The declaration also states that the minority to which Cannon belonged has definitely dissociated itself from Cannon and from those who defend his position. Finally, the concluding part of the declaration contains the general programme of struggle against the right danger in all its forms. There can thus be no doubt that there is absolute unanimity in the Party on the question of the necessity to wage an unconditional, vigorous struggle against the Trotskyists and Trotskyism on the one hand, and against the right danger on the other. Our task is only to analyse the methods of that struggle so as to establish to what extent they may really be able to cope with the clearly formulated tasks.

STRUGGLE WITH THE RIGHT

It is obvious that the struggle against the right deviations, as well as against the so-called lefts, signifies primarily a clear and

sound Leninist struggle against reformism in all its forms. From this angle we shall take up, firstly, the analysis of the decision of the Sixth Congress given in an editorial of *The Communist*. That editorial says :

"We are now in the period of decisive clashes between socialist reformism and Communism for the leadership of the majority of the working class. This is so in all countries of high capitalist development with the exception of the United States, *where we have peculiar specific conditions in which the Labour movement on the whole is very weak and especially politically backward.*" (My italics.—A. J. B.)

The editorial writer concludes that :

"In America we are fighting the republican and democratic parties for the majority of the working class."

The author of the editorial has reduced to naught the role of the Socialist Party, and has kept silent on the existence of the American Federation of Labour. That forgetfulness is the less pardonable considering that the programme of the Comintern adopted at the Sixth Congress of the Communist International very clearly defined the role of this worst agency of capitalism in the general system of international reformism. We will take the liberty to quote this point from the Programme of the Communist International. The Programme says :

"The 'ideological' dictatorship of the American servile trade union bureaucracy, which in its turn is the expression of the 'ideological' dictatorship of the American dollar, has become through the medium of British reformism and His Majesty's Socialists of the British Labour Party, the most important composite part of the theory and practice of the whole of international social-democracy and the leaders of the Amsterdam International. Moreover, the leaders of the German and Austrian social-democracy embellish these theories with Marxian phraseology, and in this way mask their utter betrayal of Marxism."

But the national organ of the Workers' Party forgot this "ideological dictatorship" not only from the point of view of inter-

national reformism, but also from the point of view of its immediate influence on the working class. It is true that the American Federation of Labour embraces only a small number of American workers. That is exactly why the question of organising the unorganised stands out in America more sharply than in the other highly developed capitalist countries. But no one has so far expressed any doubt as to the American Federation of Labour serving as an important stronghold inside the working class in the hands of American capital.

This effort to exclude the United States from the general rule in the struggle against the agents of capitalism in the Labour movement must be most seriously examined also because similar, although less flagrant, attempts were made also after the Ninth Plenum. It is quite obvious that the resolution on the struggle against reformism cannot be mechanically applied with the same methods in all countries. Social-reformism in Germany sharply differs, as far as forms and methods are concerned, from social reformism in Great Britain or Gomerism in America. There is no doubt, however, that we must wage a relentless struggle in all countries against social reformism in all its shades and variations in our ranks, and that we must make a thorough study if we are to understand the given concrete situation in every case. Without an energetic struggle against reformism we shall be unable successfully and profitably to fight against the open opportunist as well as against the so-called left deviations in the Communist Party.

ERRORS OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE

The struggle on two fronts also demands a clear understanding not only of the general foundation of the outspoken rights and so-called lefts, but also a clear characterisation of their different methods and attitude. From this viewpoint the declaration of the Central Executive Committee of November 16th, not only fails to help the Party, but sows confusion in its ranks. In that declaration we find a description of the different forms and manifestations of the right danger. But the last two points of the part of the declaration de-

voted to the right danger absolutely confuse the deviations and mistakes committed by the different groups and different members of the Party. Let us quote these two points in full :

"9. Wrong attitude toward the Communist International. This is one of the worst manifestations of right-wing danger in our Party. On the part of certain comrades there is a tendency to accept the C.I. decisions only with reservations. The tendency to attack the leadership of the C.I. as a right-wing leadership, to attack the C.E.C. of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, to speculate on alleged differences within the leading group of the Russian Party, undermining thereby the prestige of the leadership of the C.I. (Cannon). The substitution for the Leninist conception of the Communist Party the theory of permanent factionalism, disregarding openly or covertly all instructions of the Comintern.

"10. Trotskyism is the most comprehensively developed system of opportunism with an international basis still seeking to hide its social-democratic character by covering itself with left phrases."

The first objection to be made to point 9 is that it is remarkably unclear. It considers any reservation on the decision of the Comintern as a manifestation of the right danger. We have just cited an example of a reservation—a most vital reservation—made concerning the resolutions of the Sixth Congress. The author of that reservation was comrade Lovestone. On the other hand, comrades Foster and Bittelman also make their reservations on the analysis of the economic situation of the United States. The C.E.C. should have clearly stated what reservations it is referring to. The charges against the factionalists will hardly help to clear up the essence of the right deviation. It is obvious that factionalism is the worst enemy of the Workers' Party. That enemy must be overcome and liquidated. The complete liquidation of factionalism in the Workers' Party is the most vital task of to-day. But it is at the same time necessary to state very clearly that the comrades who are very, very much inclined to make right mistakes suffer from the factional malady. A

successful struggle against deviations depends first on formulating clearly the political substance of the deviations and our tasks in the struggle against them. If we classify all sins of the Party as right deviations, all cats will look grey, and it will be impossible to carry on a vigorous and fruitful struggle.

Matters are even worse with regard to point 10. In essence point 10 means that the Workers' Party of America must fight only against one enemy—against Trotskyism. The importance of the Trotskyist opposition is obviously exaggerated by this formulation, and, what is worse, the struggle against the open right danger is entirely forgotten.

The question of the two deviations was also a subject of serious study at the November Plenum of the C.P.S.U. In discussing that question comrade Stalin clearly formulated the difference between the open right and so-called left deviations, showing that the struggle on two fronts is not a figment, but a very serious and very difficult political task. Comrade Stalin said that "wherever there is a right deviation there must also be a 'left' deviation—the 'left' deviation is but a shadow of the right deviation." Anticipating confusion of the two fronts, Stalin said: "People may say that if the 'left' deviation is essentially the same old right deviation, where, then, is the difference between them, and where are your two fronts?" To this question Stalin replies: "The difference between them is that their platforms are different, their demands are different, their approach and methods are different."

A CLEAR ANALYSIS NECESSARY

From this it is obvious that in our concrete struggle against deviations we must correctly analyse the different platforms, different demands and different methods of approach. If we put all platforms in one bag and classify them as Trotskyism we thereby weaken the struggle against the open right danger and exaggerate the Trotskyist danger.

The coming convention of the Workers' Party of America is called upon unconditionally to fulfil the main task formulated by the Sixth Congress of the Comintern as follows :

"The most important task confronting the Party is to put an end to the factional

strife—which is not based on any serious differences of principles—and at the same time to increase the recruiting of workers into the Party and to give a definite stimulus to the promotion of workers to leading posts in the Party.”

The two tasks are closely related and interconnected. The proletarianisation of the Executive Committee of the Workers' Party will help to cure the greatest evil—factionalism—and give the Party the necessary weapon for a persistent and systematic struggle against the open right opportunist tendencies and the groups of intellectuals which are now

rallying to the banner of Trotskyism for a struggle against the Workers' Party and the Communist International. The convention will be able to fulfil this two-fold and difficult task of increasing the proletarian elements on the Executive and liquidating factionalism if the problems now confronting the Party are clearly formulated now, during the discussion before the Convention. The discussion before the Convention must take the form of a courageous and Leninist self-criticism which will prepare the Party for carrying out of the great tasks placed before it by the course of the class struggle in the United States.



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The Coming Congress of the Communist Party of Great Britain

By W. Rust

THE Tenth Congress of the Communist Party of Great Britain will take place on January 19th-22nd, and may be regarded as the most important Congress in the history of the Party. It will be faced with the task of estimating the work of the Party since the adoption of the new policy in February last. A year of "independence" will lie behind the Party. The Congress is also of great importance in view of the approaching General Election, in which the Communist Party will, for the first time, take part as an independent political Party, with candidates opposing all three capitalist parties — Conservative, Liberal and Labour.

The situation in Great Britain is favourable for the development of the Communist Party. The decline of British capitalism continues in spite of measures of partial rationalisation which have been introduced in several industries.

Unemployment is again increasing, and now the Government figures total 1,348,200 (December, 1928). From April 23rd and October 22nd unemployment increased by 281,902. Wages continue to go down. The boom in "new" industries (chemicals, artificial silk, motors and electrical engineering) is in now way a substitute for the declining basic industries. The following percentages give the *decrease* of the number of insured persons on 1923 in the basic industries :

	Percentage
Coke ovens and by-products works ...	28.1
Shipbuilding and ship repairing ...	22.3
Iron ore mining	21.8
Pig iron manufacture	18.2
Marine engineering, etc.	14.2
Steel smelting, etc.	12.4
General engineering	9.3
Coal mining	7.5
Woollen and worsted	6.4
Cotton	1.0

The problem before the British bourgeoisie is the speedy rationalisation of the basic industries (mining, iron and steel, shipbuilding, cotton and woollen textiles). Is this possible?

The limited measures so far recorded and the rising revenue from foreign and colonial investments indicate favourable possibilities for the carrying through of rationalisation. The "Theses on Trade Union Policy" prepared for the Party Congress declares :

"Accumulation of capital (from foreign investments and from domestic and luxury industries) is going on steadily. British capitalism possesses the necessary capital resources to carry through the rationalisation of its basic industries without foreign assistance (as was necessary in Germany). So far, however, the new capitalist resources tend to go into speculative investments in luxury and amusement trades (the boom in gramophone, greyhound racing and cinema shares), British colonial and foreign government loans,* public utilities (*e.g.*, electricity supply industry, etc.), investment corporations, and to give the depressed industries a wide berth. The increase of profit secured through lower wages is, from the standpoint of capitalist interests, a necessary preliminary to the attraction of capital to those depressed industries.

"The prospects before the workers, therefore, are immediate rationalisation in the prosperous industries leading to greater exploitation, declining share of the workers in the product of industry and greater unemployment. In the depressed industries, increasing attacks on wages and conditions of labour to enable the capitalist class to restore these industries to a profitable basis again, as a pre-

* This indicates the growing "rentier" (share, coupon-clipping) role of the British bourgeoisie.

liminary to more extensive rationalisation than they are yet able to undertake."

These facts point to the development of a large-scale capitalist offensive against the working class in the immediate future. The railwaymen have already suffered a 2½ per cent. wage-cut, the mine-owners carry on a constant attack district by district, wage reductions are threatened in the cotton and wool textiles. We stand before the prospect of bitter mass struggles, for just as the rationalisation of German industry was made possible by the defeat of the working class in 1923 so will the British bourgeoisie endeavour to defeat and demoralise the British workers as an essential pre-requisite for successful rationalisation.

The sharpening pressure of capitalist rationalisation and war preparations intensify the differentiation of the British working class. This is shown by a series of important facts. Firstly, the highly successful conference of the Minority Movement in August, which was attended by 844 delegates. This was the biggest and most representative conference in the history of the Minority Movement, and was achieved in the face of an unprecedented campaign of expulsions, threats and misrepresentations on the part of the bureaucracy. Secondly, the Communist poll in the North Aberdeen by-election. Despite the fact that the constituency is not exclusively industrial and the Party local was small, the Communist candidate obtained 25 per cent. of the Labour vote in the first open fight against Liberal, Conservative and Labour since the adoption of the new policy. Thirdly, the sham left campaign of Cook and Maxton for a "socialist revival" was an expression of the leftward swing of the masses which compelled the "left" leaders to make a pretence of fighting against MacDonaldism and Mondism. Other facts could be enumerated, for example, the increased Labour vote in the municipal elections and in by elections, the miners' marches, and the enthusiastic support for the Women's Delegation to the Soviet Union.

On the other hand, the swing to the right on the part of the reformist leaders becomes more and more marked. The only limit to the open co-operation of the reformist leaders with the bourgeoisie is the necessity to carry

on a sham opposition in order to retain their influence over the working class. The new programme of the Labour Party is intended to provide the basis for coalition, in one form or another, with the Liberals. Many prominent Labour leaders, *e.g.*, Snowden and Brailsford, are frankly advocating a Liberal-Labour coalition. The Programme is a promise that the next Labour Government will make capitalist rationalisation and war preparations its chief task. In the sphere of foreign politics MacDonald warmly defends the Kellogg Pact, and now dismisses the Soviet disarmament proposals with contempt, and makes no attempt to conceal his hatred of the Workers' Republic. On the industrial side the General Council has completed the first stage of its negotiations with Lord Melchett (Mond), and has on its own initiative presented a plan for a National Industrial Council, which in effect means the prevention of strikes by compulsory arbitration. The attack on the revolutionary opposition has quickly developed. The decisions of the Trades Union Congress promises an intensification of this attack. The hitherto sluggish life of the trade unions is now disturbed by fierce disputes. In many unions Communists have been expelled, in almost every union Communists, Minority Movement members and known sympathisers, have been deprived of office, even the lowest posts. Democracy in the British trade unions is now a thing of the past. In Scotland the bureaucrats have split the miners' union in one district, and in Scotland as a whole their sabotage has almost completely wrecked the union. The British students of the Continental splitters of the Labour movement promise to surpass their masters.

The events of the last months have confirmed the estimation of the Ninth Plenum:

"Ideologically the reformist leaders of the Labour Party and the trade unions are coming out more avowedly and cynically in favour of industrial peace and active collaboration with the capitalists against the revolutionary proletariat. Organisationally, they are endeavouring to convert the formally independent Labour organisations into auxiliary apparatuses of the bourgeoisie by merging their upper strata with the capitalist organisations."

What progress is the Communist Party making in this situation? Despite the favourable objective conditions the Party is not making headway. A heavy fall in membership took place after the defeat of the miners and continued throughout 1927. Although the decline may have been arrested, the membership, nevertheless, shows no tendency to rise. The circulation of "Workers' Life" has decreased in 1928, and is now back to the pre-General Strike period.

Such a situation demands the sharpest self-criticism on the part of the leadership, and every member when preparing for the Party Congress.

The problems of the Party are not clarified but only obscured by tracing the weakness to organisational short-comings, by attributing the reduced membership, solely to employers' victimisation and by ascribing the reduced circulation of the Party press to the increasing poverty of the workers.

It is self-evident that these are not the real causes. This type of "explanation" leads only to self-satisfaction, and consequently to an accentuation of the errors which must be ruthlessly overcome. We know that workers will loyally support our press, however much their wages may be reduced if the Party is really responding to the necessities of the every-day struggle. This is particularly true when a Party works under legal conditions at a time when the spirit of the workers is rising. Although victimisation is a tremendous difficulty, it is a normal condition of Communist work in every capitalist country. The Party enjoys legality, and is not subjected to a White Terror. Under such circumstances an exaggeration of the effects of victimisation is a bad example of passivity. We have no desire to minimise the organisational short-comings, particularly the failure to penetrate into the factories and mines, the weakness of the apparatus and the unsatisfactory relations between the membership and the Central Committee. But such shortcomings cannot be solved mechanically, the solution lies only in the galvanising of the political life of the Party by the vigorous application of the new policy.

The basic causes of the unsatisfactory position of the Party are the political errors of the Party itself. The events of 1928 demonstrated

that the new policy, although unanimously adopted, has not found expression in the day-to-day activities on many important issues. It is hardly necessary to add that this is because the new line has not been fully understood and has been hesitatingly operated.

Before dealing concretely with certain of this year's experiences it is well to emphasise that the sharpened tactics of the Communist International in the struggle against social-democracy, which arose out of the changes in the objective situation, meant for the British Party a sharp break not only in the organisational relations towards the Labour Party but also a far-reaching tactical change in the methods and forms of struggle against reformism in general.

The C.P.G.B. has in the past, because of the historical conditions of its development, carried out its policy as a kind of revolutionary left-wing in the Labour Party. The leadership of the masses has been approached from the standpoint of bringing mass pressure on the trade unions and Labour Party, nationally and locally, for our policy. The independent leadership of the masses over the heads of the reformist bureaucracy, and in the face of their violent opposition, was not undertaken by the Party except in a few cases when the historical conditions presented such opportunities, e.g., the mining struggle of 1926 and the miners' march of 1927.

The basis of the new policy is the recognition of a changed political and economic situation in Great Britain as compared to the situation in 1920, when Lenin gave his famous advice to the British Communists to push the Labour Party into office. To-day the Party works no longer for the return of the Labour Government, but for a Revolutionary Workers' Government, participating in elections as an independent Party with its own candidates and programme against both the Labour and open capitalist candidates. But it is also clear that this change is not merely a question of parliamentary tactics. There can be no talk of a sharpened struggle against reformism unless the Party comes out "more boldly and more clearly as an independent political Party," and brings out "more clearly and sharply its own political line, which radically differs from the reformist line on all

general political questions (wars, relations with the U.S.S.R., China, India, Egypt), and on the every-day struggle of the working class." (My italics.)—Ninth Plenum.

The central task of the Party is to establish its direct independent leadership of the masses in the teeth of the opposition of the reformist bureaucracy. This is not an academic question. Continuation of the old line means that the heavy blows of the reformist leaders and the bourgeoisie will completely isolate us from the masses.

A Party discussion is now taking place on the new policy preparatory to the Congress. (The fact that an organised discussion only commences eight months after the adoption of the new line is in itself an example of the under-estimation of its importance.) The content of the discussion is very disquieting.

It is exclusively taking the form of regarding the new policy as beginning and ending with a changed tactic towards the Labour Party. The contributions to the columns of the Party organ deal only with certain problems arising from the application of the new line, namely, payment of the political levy in the trade unions, affiliation to the Labour Party and the future of the National Left-Wing.

Although many useful contributions have been made none of the letters so far published in "Workers' Life" betray any concern over the tasks of the Party as a whole; none of them show the slightest appreciation of the necessity for fighting resolutely and independently in all spheres and approaching all questions from the standpoint of what *we* can do to lead the workers and win them for revolutionary action. *All are concentrated on the above-mentioned concrete problems.*

The fact that this is an artificial discussion, with a marked absence of all-round *self-criticism*, shows how deep-rooted the passivity is within the Party. The passivity is due to the failure to adapt the day-to-day work of the Party to the new situation.

The discussions show that there is a marked tendency to interpret the Ninth Plenum decisions not as a call to action but as a justification of sectarian passivity.

It should also be mentioned that the decisions of the Sixth Congress play no part in

this discussion, and, in fact, have not even been mentioned.

This discussion shows how the unanimous acceptance of the Ninth Plenum resolution without discussion and self-criticism signified no deep-rooted change in the every-day activity of the Party and is a mistake for which we are now paying heavily.

The question of invigorating the inner life of the Party by frank discussion and self criticism is a real problem for the British Party. There has never yet been a thorough discussion in the Party. A discussion has always been regarded as an unnecessary interference with the carrying on of the daily work and the tremendous value of the weapon of self-criticism has never been realised.

The discussion shows that the prevalent idea that we have only changed our Parliamentary tactics and that consequently the only problems are our relations to the Labour Party, must be ruthlessly combated.

We will discuss two questions. The struggle in the Scottish Miners Union and the Cook-Maxton Campaign.

It is not necessary to recount the whole history of the Scottish struggle. Briefly the facts are as follows. Communists and Minority Movement members were elected to the official positions in the federal Scottish Mineworkers' Union in 1927 but the displaced reformist officials refused to give up office. Thereupon commenced a struggle within the autonomous district unions, the biggest of which are Fife and Lanark. In Fife the union was in the hands of the revolutionary opposition. The tactics were to win Lanarkshire and then try to take over the national posts. The opposition actually secured a strong position on the Lanark E.C. but this never operated because of the legal injunction secured by the defeated right wing. The opposition replied with legal action. Every move of the opposition was sabotaged by the reformists with the result that the union has been reduced to a shadow of its former self and the income is not sufficient to meet the expenditure. The members who voted Communists into office are leaving the union disheartened at the failure to overcome the right wing. Now the right wing are taking the offensive and are taking steps to suspend the Communist sec-

retary. In Fife the right wing minority has broken away and formed a new union.

Yet in face of this situation the Party still refuses to break the bonds of trade union constitutionalism and to take over the posts in the in the Scottish Union and Lanarkshire Union and to re-organise them whether the dismissed reformists are willing to go or not. A "Save the Union Conference" called by the opposition decided not for action but for pressure on the officials. The reply of the Lanarkshire "old gang" was to take a ballot proposing the suspension of the four E.C. members who participated in the Conference. Even as late as November 16th the line of "Workers' Life" was to call on the miners all over the country to pass protest resolutions against the refusal of the "old gang" to give up office!

It is argued that decisive action by the militants in Scotland will result in the intensification of the reformist attack throughout the country in all trade unions. This is undoubtedly true. But will conciliatory tactics on our part mollify the bureaucracy? The Scottish experience gives the answer. Our hesitancy and conciliation has encouraged the reformists to take the offensive against us and has driven a large number of workers away from us.

Comrade Gallacher writes as follows in *The Labour Monthly*: "It is a common thing when men are asked to come back into the unions to hear them say 'We are not going to pay another penny till Graham and his pals are cleared out.'"

Our position in Scotland is much weaker than it was a few months ago. But to argue that our weakness, caused by delay, is a reason for further postponement of decisive action means nothing else than to argue for the liquidation of the struggle. The longer we delay the weaker becomes our influence and the smaller the possibilities of success.

The clearing out of Graham and his pals will embitter the fight in the unions, in any case this cannot be avoided, but will do it under circumstances favourable for us because our offensive will draw masses behind us.

This weak, hesitating policy in Scotland, this fear to break through the web of the trade union constitution, this refusal to take inde-

pendent action regardless of the reformist bureaucracy is not only the carrying over into a new situation of our out-of-date tactics, it is also the expression of a passive and hesitant spirit. It has resulted in the weakening of our influence amongst the masses, a reduction in the Party membership, a decreased circulation of the Party press.

Our impotence in the Scottish struggle has weakened our Party throughout Britain. The Scottish struggle is the nerve centre against the reformist bureaucracy. Our weakness is an encouragement to the bureaucracy to intensify their attacks throughout the trade union movement.

The attitude towards the Cook-Maxton campaign is an expression of the same policy and displays moreover no recognition of the left leaders as "the most pernicious fraction" of the social democrats. This campaign was initiated by the so-called left Clyde group because of the pressure of the masses. It was the reply of the left leaders to the new Party policy, an attempt to grasp the leadership of the left wave before the Communist Party.

The whole course of the campaign and its final ignominious collapse has shown it to be a sham left manoeuvre calculated to deceive the masses that the "lefts" were really fighting MacDonald. Cook was drawn into this manoeuvre because the prestige he had secured in the fight against Mondism helped to cover up the tarnished records of the parliamentarians.

The Party took up an attitude of critical support and treated the "lefts" as well meaning but unreliable friends. It endeavoured to mobilise mass support around the movement thinking that the workers would come to us via Maxton-Cook. This movement was supplied with a programme and developed with the assistance of the Party.

The essential political lesson of the Cook-Maxton move, was ignored. The Party failed to see that this campaign was an expression of the new left wave and that the chief political conclusion to be drawn from it was the necessity for direct leadership of these moving masses. The Party ignored the lessons of the last three years and acted as if we were still in the conditions of 1925 which led up to the General Strike when the leadership of the

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revival was in the hands of the left leaders, when we were still too weak to lead independent of them and when the reformist leadership had not so completely gone over to the services of the capitalist rationalisation.

The Party should have utilised this manoeuvre in order to widen the mass opposition to MacDonald whilst at the same time exposing the "lefts." The failure to expose the "lefts" enabled them to influence left wing workers and to lead them back into MacDonald's camp. It is not to be expected that workers will join the Communist Party when that Party is offering them other leaders.

The failure to sharply expose Maxton and Co. is all the more inexcusable when we consider the fact that Maxton publicly capitulated to MacDonald at the very outset. This is shown by the assurances that Maxton gave the N.A.C. of the I.L.P. that he intended to express only the policy of the I.L.P. The refusal to put forward a definite programme, the refusal to allow Communists on the platform because this would be a breach of Labour Party discipline. (George Hicks was invited to speak at the first demonstration but the demand from the body of the hall that Gallacher be heard was rejected by the platform.)

The issue of *Workers' Life* (July 13th) following this Glasgow Congress is a clear expression of the incorrect Party line.

The leading article says :—

"Maxton should speedily correct the mistake of the initial meeting of the campaign, if he does not, the workers, stimulated by the Cook-Maxton manifesto, will demand other and more vigorous leadership."

Maxton's lead is criticised because it is not sufficiently vigorous. He is asked to correct the "mistake" of doing MacDonald's work.

The article concludes by offering not the Communist Party, but the Minority Movement and the National Left Wing as the "more vigorous leadership."

Reporting on the meeting in the same issue comrade Gallacher writes :

"The lead will be given by Cook and the Communist Party, but unless Maxton can make a stronger stand than he did last Sunday he might as well drop out of the picture."

Since when has the Communist Party shared the leadership of the masses with Cook? Here

again the criticism is that Maxton did not make a strong enough stand.

The Maxton-Cook movement suddenly disappeared from the Communist press without explanation, and then suddenly bobbed up again just before the Labour Party Conference. Maxton was again full of fight and loudly declared his intention to fight to the last ditch. As is well known he collapsed in the most cowardly manner at the Birmingham Conference amidst the sneers and jeers of the bureaucracy.

Maxton was criticised in *Workers' Life* for his antics at Birmingham but the Party still hesitates to expose him and decisively break with him. It fails to draw for the masses the lessons on the role of the "left" leaders. It remains silent because it hopes that Maxton will make another left flutter, or if he is worn out by his exertions perhaps some other influential left leader will come forward.

Only in this light can we understand the decision of the Politbureau in favour of a "Socialist Revival" campaign and for the formation of left wing committees throughout the country. This is not a united front move. The Conferences are to be called under the leadership of the *Left Wing*, not the Communist Party.

The Committees are to have the following programme :—

(1) Against Liberal-Labour Coalition Programme.

(2) Against Mondism, against splitters.

(3) For 100 per cent. trade unionism, trade union democracy, for a general wage attack by the workers.

(4) Support for unemployed march and demands.

Such a proposal means the skeleton of a new Party, which can be nothing else than a basis for the sham-left leaders (our chief enemies) and a rival to the Communist Party. This represents nothing more or less than a liquidatory tendency within the Party.

A week after Maxton's capitulation at the Labour Party Conference, Cook followed suit within the E.C. of the Miners' Federation. Like Maxton he preceded his collapse by strong declarations of militancy. Although Cook gave way for different reasons and on a

different date the causes were basically the same and it was no accident that Cook quickly followed in Maxton's footsteps. The reformist bureaucracy compelled them both to toe the line. The sharpness of the struggle within the working class movement compelled them to choose between the Communists and complete capitulation to the bureaucracy. As "left" leaders they chose the latter. (This does not mean that they have given up trying to appear "left.")

Cook capitulated before the energetic offensive of the right wing at a decisive moment in the struggle between the bureaucracy and the revolutionary opposition in the M.F.G.B., when the splitting of the miners' unions has already commenced. In the face of this situation our Party was faced with the necessity of sharply exposing Cook in order to undermine his influence with the masses, to bring mass pressure on him and to show the correctness of our line.

This situation demanded sharp independent action on the part of the Party. But because the Party still has illusions on the possibilities of these honest left leaders, and thinks that the "mistaken" comrade can be won back, because the Party regards Cook as a road to the masses and because the Party still fails to understand that independent action will bring us closer to the masses and not isolate us, it tempers its criticisms of Cook and this enables him to strengthen his position.

Cook has already taken two left wing members of the E.C. with him and divided the militant workers in the localities. Every conciliatory word we utter, every soft word in our criticism is helping Cook to win over to his banner waverers among the active workers.

It is bad enough that the Party has offered merely a friendly criticism that, e.g., it fails to demand from Cook a plain straightforward answer to the question "Do you support the revolutionary opposition in Scotland?" But it is a thousand times worse when the Party, in spite of Cook's capitulation, continues to exalt him as the standard-bearer of revolutionary politics within the union. *Workers' Life* for November 16th, puts forward a five-point proposal for submission to a national ballot of the miners. In this proposal the

miners are asked to choose between A. J. Cook and Herbert Smith.

In the present circumstances we may as well ask the miners to choose between the devil and the deep blue sea. It is the giving of Communist support to the "left" leaders at the very time when he is committing acts which are leading to abject treachery and renegadism. It will not only strengthen him personally and extend his influence over the masses but will undermine the influence of the Party and drive masses away from us.

It is clear that such mistakes as those outlined have been committed because the Party has not orientated itself to the new situation in Great Britain and has not carried out the letter and the spirit of the decisions of the Ninth Plenum and Sixth World Congress.

The popularisation of the decisions of the Sixth World Congress is an urgent task in the British Party as so far very little has been done in this connection. A clear understanding of the decisions will enable the Party to grasp the imperative necessity for the new policy and all that it implies. The Sixth Congress declared that the war danger is the decisive factor in the present situation and that the under-estimation of the war danger is the most serious danger threatening the Comintern.

The struggle against the war danger is a question of our daily work. Mondism, the expulsion of Communists from the trade unions, the Trade Union Act, the attempt to isolate the Party from the masses are all part of the war preparations. We can only talk about a real fight against them in so far as the Party vigorously struggles for the independent leadership of the workers. In the light of the imminent war danger the hesitancy displayed by the British Party acquires a tremendous significance. These facts and the experience of the other sections of the Communist International which led the Sixth Congress to emphasise the necessity for the sharpest struggle against the right wing danger as the chief danger, show that the British Party is faced with the tasks of vigorously combatting right wing tendencies.

Its Tenth Congress will have a great significance for the entire Communist International.

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The Curtain Raised

THE summer and autumn of 1928 occupy a special and very essential place in the history of the period between two wars through which we are now passing. During this interval of time the leading imperialist powers have directed their attention to the problems of direct preparation for war with intensified energy and unusual frankness. The preparation has found expression not only in activity in military and naval construction, but also in the essential regroupings which have occurred in the imperialists' camp.

These regroupings have inevitably been accompanied by a more open manifestation of the aims and tasks which the individual capitalist States are setting themselves. The autumn saw the final crystallisation and conclusion of a new military alliance, a new "entente cordiale" between Britain and France; simultaneously the United States increased its international political activity, its economic expansion, its imperialist armaments; the European States pretending to the role of Great Powers, such as Germany, Italy and Poland, in their turn did all they could to show their

readiness to participate in the measure of their powers in the competition. Whilst Germany and Poland intensified their open war propaganda, their chauvinist attacks and their more business-like activities in this sphere, Germany demonstratively began the construction of a new war fleet with the cruiser "A," and expressed its expectations in the form of a passive protest against the restriction of its imperialist rights. For in the last resort, the German cavilling over the decline of the spirit of Locarno and the postponement of disarmament and so on, is only the obverse of its own imperialist plans, which at the moment cannot be realised.

IT is quite natural that the intensification of the direct preparation for war should presuppose simultaneous measures in internal policy in the direction of the bourgeois attack on the working class. One of the essential forms of that attack consisted in the active co-operation of the employers and reformists in Germany, Poland and France in conjunction with the suppression of the strike move-

ment in these countries, and the liquidation of colossal economic battles to the detriment of the proletariat. These tactics are accompanied by more open forms of class terror, such for example as the latest measures of the Berlin social-democratic police-president Zor-giebel, having as their aim the prohibition of the activities of the proletarian "Red Front Fighters." However, the imperialist governments would not be faithful to their customary tactics if they did not take certain steps to hide their traces and to accompany their imperialist activities with certain pacifist gestures. The League of Nations is the predestined stage for such demonstrations, and corresponding attempts were made at the last session of the Council of the League at Lugano. Simultaneously the tendency to effect a certain "peace" diversion manifested itself outside the sessions of the League.

IT is not altogether off the cards that certain "peace" initiatives will be continued after Lugano also. Consequently one needs to establish quite clearly at this juncture what section of international policy the bourgeoisie is now proposing to wrap in a smoke-screen of pacifism. The first matter deserving of attention is the project for summoning a session of the preparatory commission for disarmament. After the discussions in Lugano the world press announced that the question of calling the commission for disarmament in February or March had been unofficially considered. According to one version the initiative came from France, according to another, from Britain. In the last resort it is of no essential importance whether it was Briand or Chamberlain who first raised the pleasant subject of arranging a session of the commission for disarmament. On this question Britain and France are faced with the common task of neutralising the dissatisfaction aroused in the United States, Germany and Italy by the conclusion of the Anglo-French compromise, which has formally been abandoned, and the Anglo-French entente, the existence of which cannot be concealed.

The aims pursued by the British and French governments in considering the question of the disarmament commission are revealed by the programme of work indicated for the commission. Judging by a number

of bourgeois newspapers' reports from Lugano, Britain and France hope to carry two decisions at the next session of the commission: the first, the rejection of the Soviet project for the restriction of armaments; the second, the acceptance of the German desires for the publication of reports concerning armaments. There is no need to discuss the results of the rejection of the U.S.S.R. project. It would connote the elimination from the agenda of the only essentially concrete proposal on the question of disarmament, and would be a final, an exhaustive, and one may say official disclosure of the pointlessness of the League of Nations' peace activities.

THE second proposed decision of the new session of the disarmament commission would make an excellent anecdote. The German demands concern the compulsory publication of information on the conditions of armaments of the separate countries in one of the League of Nations' yearbooks. There is no need to explain that absolutely no change whatever would result in the business of imperialist armaments through the League of Nations publishing tables containing the official and indubitably inaccurate statistics of armaments of one or the other capitalist country. But in pressing this plan Britain and France not unjustifiably expect that the German delegation will be afforded the possibility of representing the fact of the acceptance of their proposal as indicating progress in the work of disarmament, and so will be enabled to sanction the elimination of the Soviet proposals with great ease.

That is the essence of the most important pacifist measure mentioned for strategic purposes at Lugano.

THERE is no doubt that Britain is especially interested in seeing that the proposed peace gestures should be successful to some extent at least. The approach of the parliamentary elections is creating an increasingly nervous mood among the Conservative Cabinet. This explains a second manoeuvre, or rather a timid attempt at a second manoeuvre on the part of the British imperialists. We have in mind the peculiar demonstration of "disposition" to renew relations with the U.S.S.R., which the recent speech of Chur-

chill's parliamentary secretary, the young British politician Boothby, represents. The main feature of one speech he made in Parliament is the attempt to represent the situation as though "His Majesty's government" were making a step to meet the Soviet government. The hints at the possibility of granting credits for trade with the U.S.S.R., etc., which are scattered through the speech have the deluding of the British elector as their aim. In addition to his benevolent nods and winks, Boothby also put forward the familiar demands of British imperialism on the U.S.S.R.: the cessation of propaganda and the recognition of debts. Thus a gesture is made but the situation remains essentially the same.

It is to be expected that as the date of the parliamentary elections approaches, in view of the possibility of the Conservative adventurers suffering defeat the British government will attempt to make further steps with a view to demonstrate their peace-loving nature. This renders it all the more expedient to analyse the international situation betimes, especially as it appears at the present moment after the conclusion of the conference of Great Powers at Lugano. The necessity for this also arises because the tendency to veil the forces of the imperialist antagonisms is to be observed in another quarter of international politics: in the sphere of Anglo-American relations.

THESE tendencies are revealed in the at the importance of the Anglo-American attempts of the bourgeois press to diminish antagonisms not only in the purely political, but in the economic sphere also. It is not a fortuitous coincidence that in the pages of the European press of recent times one finds mention of the growth in importance of the London financial market, the growth in influence of the London credit institutions, which ostensibly is affording the latter the opportunity of again raising the problem of the delimitation of spheres of influence as between the City and Wall Street. We consider it advantageous to cite certain recently published figures on the credit expansion of the United States and Britain, for this question is of cardinal importance in any analysis of the growth in Anglo-American antagonism, and consequently in the general analysis of the international situation.

The world export of capital* was reckoned in pre-war days as approximately seven to eight milliard marks (= 1 shilling); the British export of capital constituted half of this, one to one-and-a-half milliards fell to the share of France and Germany, and the remainder to the petty European States. The situation at the present time is as follows: American capital export constitutes four to six milliard marks, and British export two to two-and-a-half milliards. It is interesting to note that if a growth in the share of European in the total of world export of capital has occurred it is through the increase of French, and by no means of British exports; the latter according to German statistics constitutes about a quarter of the pre-war export of capital. It is worth noticing in which sections of the world market the United States is supplanting Britain. The States' export of capital to Canada is twice as large as the pre-war British export and is still larger by comparison with the present British export. The processes summarised in the foregoing figures are of decisive importance to the development of inter-relationships of the two imperialist colossi of the present day. British imperialism cannot reconcile itself to such a situation so long as it is not forced completely to abdicate the role of hegemonist in the imperialist field. And for this reason it is necessary to keep these figures very much in mind at a time when attempts to veil the antagonism between the United States and Britain are to be observed.

Since this is the situation it is quite natural that one of Britain's fundamental tasks is the assembling of forces against its mighty transatlantic rival. And it is this trend of British policy that was given unmistakable expression in the recent conference at Lugano.

WE have already indicated that the imperialists attempted to exploit the fifty-third session of the council of the League of Nations for pacifying gestures as they had done with previous sessions. However, the international situation is so tense that they were much less successful in realising such plans at Lugano than at, for instance,

* The figures are taken from German sources; American official statistics for the export of capital are regarded as inaccurate and understated.

the Geneva session held the previous September. As we know, the September decisions of the League of Nations were crowned with the resolution of the powers, dated September 16th, dealing with the negotiations for the evacuation of the Rhine and the reconsideration of the Dawes plan. The social-democratic Reichs-Chancellor Müller returned from Geneva with a proof of the possibilities a Social-democratic government has in regard to the pacification of Europe and the realisation of the hopes of the German people. In reality Müller's activities at Geneva only revealed yet once more with what great possibilities for veiling the actual state of affairs the social-democrats provide the bourgeoisie.

In an article devoted to the hopeless prospects of the discussions at Lugano, the German capitalist newspaper, "Deutsche Allgemeine Zeitung" unmasked Müller, by pointing out that the agreement reached at Geneva in September was the result of Germany's agreement to attempt to throw a cloak over the political antagonisms that had been revealed. That attempt was unsuccessful at Lugano. On the contrary, the characteristic feature of the discussions at Lugano was the fact that it was impossible to conceal quite a number of unpleasant moments of the negotiations from the outside observers. One has but to recall the scandalous scene which occurred at the close of the conference, when Zaleski made a menacing and insulting speech on the subject of the national minorities in Poland, and Stresemann, forgetting the "rules of etiquette," answered with still more sharp words, declaring at the close the necessity of raising the question of protection to national minorities in all its ramifications as a matter of principle. As we know, when the German government entered the League of Nations it declared that in this way Germany would be afforded the possibility of defending the interests of the German minorities wrested away from Germany after the war. We also know that Germany has been able to do nothing in this direction.

ON studying the basic problems considered by the representatives of the "Great Powers" at Lugano—the problems of reparations and that of the evacuation of the Rhine area—one has to note that the decisions

of these problems, if they can be called decisions at all, have as their main task the reservation to Britain and France of complete freedom of action in realising their common plans. At Lugano it was decided not to carry on negotiations for the evacuation of the Rhine and reconsideration of the Dawes plan simultaneously (which Germany opposed) but to carry on these negotiations parallel. It is obvious that from the political aspect there is no difference whatever between a simultaneous and a parallel conduct of negotiations. It is quite possible to establish the connection between the reparations and the Rhine problem which France is interested in establishing during parallel, no less than during simultaneous negotiations.

Meantime, the separation of negotiations for the evacuation of the Rhine has even a particularly favourable aspect for British and French imperialism. In the first place Germany's very agreement to carry on negotiations directly on the Rhine problem connotes the German government's formal renunciation of the right to consider evacuation of the Rhine as a German demand based on indisputable German rights. Once the question comes within the bounds of negotiations it is quite obvious that any concessions made to Germany involve compensations from Germany. In all probability one of these compensations will be the acceptance of some form of military control over the present occupied zones. Germany has already indirectly agreed to the establishment of certain control institutions until 1935, until the period of occupation established by the Versailles treaty is terminated. But France of course is interested in the establishment of a general military control after 1935, when there can be no question of any military occupation. Evidently it is on this question that Germany will be disposed to make concessions, the more so as the French position has the complete support of Britain at the present time.

HOWEVER, the essential compensations that will be demanded from Germany in exchange for the evacuation of the Rhine lie in a different sphere. That sphere is that of the relations between Germany and the Soviet Union. On the question of the lines Britain's attempt to draw Germany into the anti-Soviet front will take, we have the authoritative state-

ment of the well-informed German bourgeois semi-official newspaper, the "Kölnische Zeitung." As we know, on the first day of the session of the League of Nations Council this newspaper stated in a very circumstantial article that Chamberlain was intending to link up the negotiations for the evacuation of the Rhine with the question of German policy in regard to the U.S.S.R. That which the Communist press has more than once indicated is now beginning to be admitted by certain influential organs of the German bourgeois press. As the "Kölnische Zeitung" now expresses it, Britain intends to "cut out of Germany the whip with which Russia is to be tamed." It is quite obvious at the same time that in the imperialists' view it is not the backs of the German capitalists, but those of the German proletarians which have to serve as hides for the provision of lashes for the U.S.S.R.

Attracted on the one hand by the possibility of trade with Britain, and on the other by the possibility of blackmail in regard to the U.S.S.R., with which economic negotiations were conducted, this German bourgeois newspaper made a number of interesting admissions. It confirmed the anti-Soviet object of the journeys of the French general Lerond, who is director of the military works of the Warsaw, Bucharest, and to-day probably also the Budapest general staffs. We may mention in passing that general Lerond was an active participant in the Polish war on the U.S.S.R. in 1920.

THE "Kölnische Zeitung" was not satisfied with Chamberlain's proposal, and consequently condemned his plans. As we know, a noble indignation is the frequent companion of unsatisfied appetites. The organ of the German great bourgeoisie is indignant that Chamberlain should so frivolously demand Germany's renunciation of the essential Soviet market, whilst France and Britain are not prepared to reduce the reparation payments in return, are not disposed to pay the wages of the workers now occupied in enterprises supplying the U.S.S.R. with goods, have no intention of lowering the customs barriers which hinder the development of German exports to countries other than the U.S.S.R. The specification of these points comprises a complete programme. Logically the newspaper's attitude has to be

understood as that if Britain and France were to make concessions on the reparations question, if they were to facilitate Germany's export to other countries, and if they were to credit German industry in the event of a crisis, the German bourgeoisie would agree to the lashes being cut from the hides of the German proletariat to supply the whip which British imperialism is preparing against the U.S.S.R.

At the present moment no agreement has been reached between the powers on this question. But the separation of the Rhine problem as the subject of special independent negotiations indicates that the statement of the issue as the "Kölnische Zeitung" describes it remains in full force. The great importance of the now unmasked new British anti-Soviet plans is further added to by the attention which the German bourgeoisie now pays to London generally. Stresemann's last speech in the Reichstag was characterised by its formulation of proposals unacceptable to France and its simultaneous elucidation of disputed problems frequently in a spirit favourable to Britain.

IF to the above-mentioned attempts to bring pressure on Germany with a view to a rupture in her relations with the U.S.S.R. be added the strong pressure being exerted on Germany for a satisfactory settlement of her relations with Poland, one gets a very expressive picture of the struggle for Germany's participation in the anti-Soviet bloc.

In passing one has to note that a favourable ground is presented for the drawing of Germany into the anti-Soviet bloc by a slogan now being defended by the German press which at first sight would appear to reflect their dissatisfaction with the present policy of the Entente. That slogan reads: "From Versailles to Locarno, but not from Locarno to Versailles." Thus the German object is to maintain the Locarno tendencies in force. But as we know, it was the Locarno agreement which served as the starting point for the new development of anti-Soviet tendencies in international policy.

WE shall not stop to consider in more detail the military activities going on along the frontiers of the Soviet Union, the activities of the Rumanian and Polish mili-

tary cliques, the attraction of Hungary into the Rumano-Polish combination, which by the way is mentioned in the "Kölnische Zeitung" article we have already quoted. That theme demands special consideration, and it has already been treated more than once.

But in summarising the results of the Lugano conference it is necessary to consider one further essential circumstance which is characteristic of the activity of the resurrected Entente in strengthening its position, partially against German and particularly against the U.S.S.R. At the beginning of the Lugano conference the representative of Italy, a trusted friend of Mussolini, Grandi, would appear to have gone to meet Stresemann in the latter's attempts to cavil at the Entente. None the less at the close of the conference the matter took a completely contrary turn. In the decision of the questions discussed at Lugano Italy attached herself to the Anglo-French combination. According to certain newspapers this was bound up with an Anglo-Italian rapprochement, according to others, it was also the result of the favourable course of negotiations between Italy and France. One doubts whether much importance has to be attached to the latter circumstances, for the antagonisms dividing Italy and France in the Mediterranean are too great to regard seriously any agreement between these countries. However, there are certain questions in regard to which a unity of views as between Britain, France and Italy is possible. Among these are the problem of the struggle against the U.S.S.R., and also opposition to the expansion of the United States. Britain proposes to further an at least temporary amelioration of the Franco-Italian antagonisms, hoping thus to draw Italy into a combination, the chief object of which would be, according to the expression of the German bourgeois newspaper "Germania," "the creation of a western-European united front against the U.S.S.R., and possibly against America also."

SUCH is the international situation as it presents itself after the close of the session of the League of Nations council at Lugano. The attempts to throw a cloak over the international antagonisms were not successful on this occasion. The main reason for this is that the Anglo-French agreement once

for all raised the curtain behind which the political game of the imperialist governments was being played. The resurrection of the Entente is a fact which has set its imprint on the consideration of all the international problems discussed at the Lugano conference of capitalist governments. In Germany, despite the disillusionment prevailing among the bourgeois politicians, attempts are being made to diminish the importance of the Anglo-French agreement. On the other hand, the United States has made the fact of the Anglo-French agreement the central point of its diplomatic tactics and its armaments policy. Owing to the exigencies of its external political manoeuvres dictated by Germany's general weakness, the German bourgeoisie finds more advantageous the "working hypothesis" according to which the Entente in the full sense of the word does not exist. On the contrary, North American imperialism is disposed in justification of its expansion to emphasise the growth of anti-American tendencies in international policy.

THE international proletariat is chiefly interested in the achievement of absolute clarity in regard to the basic facts characteristic of imperialist policy. The results of the conference at Lugano permit of the following points being included among those facts: a growth of Anglo-French influence on the European continent, an intensification of the tendency to form a bloc of European capitalist powers against the United States, and first and foremost a feverishly swift development of anti-Soviet activity on the part of British and French imperialism.

All these facts witness to one further fact: the growth of activity of the imperialist governments, the intensification of the war danger. These deductions necessitate a fresh intensification of activities on the part of the Communist Parties in the struggle against the war danger, against imperialism and against the international social democracy, which is striving by all means to paralyse the vigilance of the working class, to conceal from it the criminal designs of the imperialists, and thus to disarm the proletariat at a moment when it ought to be assembling all its forces for resistance to the imminent intervention against the Soviet Republic.

The Anniversary of the Canton Rising

By V. Lominadze

ON December 10th last, twelve months had passed since the Canton rising. The interval separating us from those great days in Canton now allows us quite objectively to estimate the importance and the character of that rising, its place in the development of the Chinese revolution, its strong and its weak sides. In its time the question of the lessons and particularly among the workers in the Chinese Communist movement, and that discussion was brought to a close only at the Sixth Congress of the Comintern. Now we possess authoritative decisions on all the basic questions bound up with the analysis of the Canton events. On the other hand, all that was or seemed to be doubtful the day after the rising has now been weighed and tested on the objective scales of history. This makes it possible for us now to make final summaries of the disputes which went on for so long inside the Comintern around the question of Canton.

It is true that even at the present day we still do not have any full and systematic materials at our disposition concerning the course of the events in Canton day by day, hour by hour. The Canton rising still awaits its historian. One may hope that the first anniversary of the Soviet revolutionary rising in Canton will serve as a reminder to the comrades studying the history of the Chinese revolution of the pressing necessity of collecting, working over, and publishing all the materials for the historic days of December 10th to 13th, 1927. Further procrastination in the fulfilment of this task is quite unpardonable. But whilst we still do not possess a full and exact historical description of the Canton events, quite sufficient material has been accumulated for their political and their final political estimation.

LESSONS OF THE RISING

The Soviet power in Canton did not last three whole days. The rising of the revolu-

tionary workers and soldiers of Canton was suppressed by the united forces of the Chinese bourgeois-militarist reaction and the imperialists within 58 hours. But those 58 hours achieved a truly universally historical importance. They represent a higher stage and simultaneously a complete historical break in the development of the Chinese revolution. During the Canton days through the tremendous historical activity of the masses, the Chinese revolution came for the first time, by a number of intervening and transitional steps, to the new, Soviet stage of its development. After December 10th to 13th, 1927, the revolution in China can develop only as a Soviet revolution, or it will not develop further at all. After Canton the slogan of soviets has ceased to be a merely "theoretical" slogan in the Chinese revolution. For the great masses of the Chinese toiling classes, it has now become a slogan which has been tested and applied in practice. The Chinese revolution cannot now go back from Canton. It can only advance from Canton, only go further than Canton. In this above all consists the universally historical importance of the Canton rising. The events of December, 1927, confirmed the genius of the theoretical position advanced by Lenin at the Second Comintern Congress, namely that the Soviets are the basic and historically inevitable form in which alone can be accomplished the revolutionary emancipation both of the proletariat of the leading capitalist countries and of the toiling masses of the backward and imperialistically oppressed countries. The Canton rising showed that China has now grown up, has matured to the Soviet form of development, that for the hundreds of millions of the Chinese people the Soviet system is not only in the historical sense of the words the only way out from under the pressure of triple serfdom and extreme indigence, but a decisive practical necessity at the first further rise of the revolution. The Canton rising has placed the question of the Soviet power in China as the

next item on the historical agenda. It showed that in the Chinese toiling masses, there is already historically adequate strength for the resolution of this question. And now there is no power on earth which could remove that question from the agenda.

The events of December 10th to 13th, 1927 added the final touch to that period of the Chinese revolution during which the proletariat was still politically immature for independent historical action, and was not in a condition to effect its hegemony in the all-national revolutionary movement. It is true that the Chinese working class had carried on the struggle for hegemony from the very first days of the growth of the mass movement; it had carried on that struggle even during its alliance with the national bourgeoisie and after its rupture with the latter. But it is one thing to struggle for the leadership of a revolutionary movement, and another to have the mastery of that leadership. Even the final defection of the national bourgeoisie from the revolutionary camp (the Shanghai and Wuhan risings) could not of itself automatically decide the question of proletarian hegemony in China's revolutionary mass movement. History never decides such questions automatically. In order to resolve this question the Chinese working class had in practice to demonstrate their capability of independent revolutionary mass action, and an action at that sufficiently strong to shatter or break down the dominance of the bourgeois militarist reaction. The Canton rising proved to be that activity. It was a decisive historical test, in which the Chinese proletariat finally assured to itself the role of the sole leader and director of the Chinese revolution. After Canton the hegemony of the proletariat was transformed from a historical possibility into the actuality of the Chinese revolution.

AFTER THE RISING

But after the Canton revolution we witnessed a strong ebb in the revolutionary wave in China. The peasant risings which broke out in the winter and spring of last year quickly died down. In any case, they to-day do not have that force and that sweep which they had several months back, and the workers' movement in all the large centres of China, Canton

included, still cannot rise out of the depression. Can our estimate of the importance of the Canton events be reconciled with these indisputable facts? Has not the very revolution ceased to be a reality of the present day in China, has it not been transformed into merely one of the possibilities, and a distant possibility at that, along which the further development of China may proceed? Would it not be more sound to consider the Canton rising not as a transfer to a new stage of the Chinese revolution, but as the end of that revolution?

This conclusion, which we have deliberately set in an interrogative form, is openly insisted on by the Trotskyists. Not so very long since a letter by Trotsky on the Comintern Sixth Congress was published in the German "ultra-left" press. In this letter Trotsky pokes "fun" at the congress decisions which laid on all Communist parties the prime obligation of defending the Chinese revolution. What is there to defend, Trotsky venomously asks, when there is nothing left of the revolution? However, in a less open form this idea that the Canton rising was the last outbreak of the accomplished Chinese revolution is shared even in the ranks of the Communist movement by a certain circle of comrades. And this makes it all the more necessary to consider this question first of all. The manner of its decision will predetermine a number of further political conclusions of secondary importance.

THE REVOLUTION CONTINUES

At the moment no one can deny the fact that the growth in the mass revolutionary struggle was broken off sharply after the suppression of the Canton rising, that from that date began a period of protracted decline of the revolutionary struggle in China. In the conditions of a revolutionary situation one year is an extraordinarily long period. At the present moment there can be dispute only over whether the very lowest point has been reached in this process of decline in the revolutionary struggle. The actual fact of an ebb in the revolutionary wave can be disputed by no one. The greatest political mistake of a number of Chinese and non-Chinese Communists (and of the author of the present article

in the first place) consisted in their continuing for several months after the suppression of the Canton rising to regard it as the direct beginning of a new revolutionary rise throughout China, and in correspondence with this view insisting upon an orientation of the Chinese C.P. tactics around the direct organisation of an armed rising on as large a scale as possible. This profoundly inaccurate estimate of the situation arising after Canton was conditioned by indications of a growth of the elemental peasant risings in Central and Southern China. Moreover, the dimensions of the peasant insurgent movement at this stage of its development were greatly exaggerated, whilst the extent and depths of the defeat of the working class were still more underestimated.

The great service of the Ninth Plenum of the E.C.C.I. consisted in the fact that it resolutely rejected this erroneous opinion and with determination changed the tactical course of the Chinese C.P., recalling the general slogan of an immediate armed rising (in the post-Canton conditions this slogan would inevitably have condemned the Chinese Communists to hopeless adventures and complete break up) and replacing it by the slogan of the organisation of the masses and their preparation for the new, imminent revolutionary rise. The Ninth Plenum quite soundly evaluated the Canton rising as a rear-guard struggle marking the end of the first revolutionary wave in China. But, of course, this evaluation has nothing in common with the Trotskyist theory anent the end of the Chinese revolution. After Canton the period of rise was replaced by a period, and even a prolonged period, of depression. But the revolution has not come to a halt in China. The revolution is continuing. This was, and this remains the starting point for all the decisions of the Comintern on the Chinese question.

The long series of heavy defeats and failures which overtook the workers' and peasants' revolution in 1927, would undoubtedly have interrupted the development of the Chinese revolution for many years (and then it would indeed have marked the end of the revolution) if the bourgeois-militarist counter-revolution had proved capable of ensuring the country any way out whatever, whether reactionary or

reformist, from the gigantic antagonisms which engendered and which nourish the Chinese revolution. But a year has now passed since the defeat of the Canton rising—a period extraordinarily long in the conditions of a revolutionary epoch—and all the experience of this year witnesses to the fact that the bourgeois-militarist reaction has no power to resolve the problems upon the settlement of which the further development of China is bound up. Nor does the growing activity of the imperialists in China ensure such a sequel to the Chinese revolution. It was still possible to carry on theoretical discussions on these questions in 1927. But now the theoretical discussion is settled by the very development of the objective reality. Not a single step forward has been taken towards the decision of the basic social problems of China—the agrarian and social problems.* And this signifies that the antagonisms have in this regard grown enormously. From the aspect of China's struggle for independence her international situation has not improved during the past year. The fact of America's recognition of the Nanking government, and equally Britain's recognition, does not in the least connote a weakening of China's national oppression, but on the contrary, implies a further growth of actual oppression. The fact of increased aggression of foreign capital in China in all spheres is quite indisputable. This past year has led to a further intensification of the crisis in the agriculture of China, and it now has reached the extreme limits (one of the expressions of this fact is the condemnation of not less than twenty millions of the population to famine this year). A certain animation in industry, of a purely circumstantial nature, and also the increase in foreign trade, cannot, of course, resolve the severe economic crisis through which the country is now passing. The formal union of all China under the "single" government of the Kuomintang has made no essential changes in China's political system; the struggle between the cliques of generals, the very character of the government and so on, have all remained as they were a year ago. The entire practice, and the entire experience

* At the present time one feels even a little constraint in recalling that a year ago we still had to discuss the possibilities of realising an agrarian reform of the Stolypin type in China.

of the past year demonstrate that the conditions for a stabilisation of the bourgeois-militarist regime in China do not exist, that at the present moment stabilisation is objectively impossible, that there are at the moment no indications of that stabilisation. Owing to this circumstance the defeat of the revolution in 1927 was not transformed and could not be transformed into the end of the revolution. Owing to this circumstance the revolution in China must inevitably continue.

A TRANSITION TO A HIGHER STAGE

Thus viewed, the Canton rising, despite the fact that it was immediately followed by a long period of depression in the revolutionary struggle of the Chinese toiling masses, cannot but connote a transition to a new, higher, Soviet stage of the revolution, in which the Chinese proletariat will become the leader of the whole revolutionary movement. This deduction is often objected to on the ground of the naive, abstractly schematic argument that it is impossible for it to mean a transition to a higher stage, when it is admitted that immediately after Canton a long period of triumph of reaction set in. That argument sounds convincing only at its first hearing. In reality where has it ever been proved that the transition from one stage of the revolution to another, higher stage must necessarily occur immediately without any interval in time? The rising line of revolution cannot be described as though it were geometrically straight. The Canton rising connotes a transition to a higher stage of the revolution, first and most of all owing to the form of revolutionary government which it established (the Soviet Government), then owing to the new disposition of class forces (the proletarian hegemony in the struggle of the masses against the bloc of bourgeoisie, landowners and imperialists), and finally owing to the historical initiative of the proletariat in organising a mass revolutionary struggle, which is the prototype of imminent revolutionary battles on a much greater scale than that of December 10th to 13th, 1927.

So much for the general significance of the Canton rising and its place in the development of the Chinese revolution.

CONDITIONS OF THE RISING

In the discussion which developed in the Comintern on the question of the lessons of the Canton events, certain of the comrades attempted to prove that the rising in Canton was untimely organised by the Chinese Communist Party. Some of them held to the thesis that the rising had been started prematurely, whilst others argued that it was historically late. The adherents of the latter view based it on the assumption that the failure of the Canton rising was predetermined by the exhaustion of the forces of the revolutionary movement before the rising; the tendency to an ebb in the revolutionary wave was quite definitely indicated long before the Canton rising. The depression in the workers' movement in China's main industrial centres (Shanghai, Wuhan) a number of heavy defeats of the peasant risings (including the rising of Ho-Lung and Wei-Tin's soldiers) on the very eve of the Canton rising predetermined the failure of any armed attack, and under such conditions the organisation of the Canton rising was a highly serious political error. "It would have been better not to take to arms." (Plekhanov, after 1905.)

It is characteristic that this viewpoint, which produced Plekhanov's estimate of the December armed rising of 1905 (Plekhanov also argued the untimeliness, the lateness of the Moscow rising) was in complete agreement with Trotsky's views on the character of the Canton rising. Trotsky declared that rising to be a putsch, a consciously hopeless adventure, previously condemned to a cruel smash owing to the very fact that the revolution in China had clearly been on the ebb long before the Canton events. This coincidence in the view of the extreme right elements of the Comintern and the "left" Trotskyist opposition on a highly important political question is, of course, no fortuitous one. It shows how closely the two extreme deviations from the Leninist line of the Comintern coincide, and on a social-democratic platform at that.

It is not necessary to go into extensive demonstrations of the extreme inaccuracy of this essentially Menshevik "theory" of the "destiny" of the Canton rising. It is, to start with, contrary to the facts. And the facts

declare that 'whilst by the date of the Canton rising the working class and peasantry of a number of Chinese provinces were actually rendered impotent by their defeats during the previous stages, in the Kwantung province, with its forty million population, and in the adjacent areas, the peasant revolution rose very swiftly during November and December, 1927. The mass revolutionary movement of the peasantry in Kwantung province itself was particularly extensively developed (the establishment of soviets in a number of Kwantung districts). In Canton itself there was a rapid growth in the revolutionary agitation of both the working masses (the demonstrations and strikes of October 14th, November 7th, and so on), and among the garrison divisions. The elemental mass movement in Kwantung was on the rise. To deny this proved and confirmed fact is now quite impossible. Under such conditions the Canton Communist Party was bound not to constrain and hinder the elemental movement, but organisedly to carry it on, forward to the decisive struggle: decisive because its result was to determine the further development of the revolutionary struggle throughout China, and its success would undoubtedly have raised the forces of the all-China revolution to an enormous degree. A struggle and only a struggle could determine the question whether a real turn in the development of the revolution had now come. Any other decision of this question would have been a fatal capitulation and the self-destruction of the Chinese Communist movement.

MARXISM AND REVOLUTION

"A Marxist," said Lenin, "is the first to foresee the arrival of a revolutionary epoch, and begins to arouse the people and to sound the alarm while the philistines are still sleeping the slavish sleep of the faithful. Consequently the Marxist is the first to take the road of direct revolutionary struggle, he moves towards the direct struggle, towards the revolutionary seizure of power, unmasking the reconciliatory delusions of all the social and political mediocrities. Consequently the Marxist is the last to abandon the road of direct revolutionary struggle, and abandons it only when all possibilities are exhausted, when there is not the faintest shadow of hope of a shorter

road, when the call to prepare for mass strikes, for a rising and so on has clearly lost all basis. Consequently the Marxist replies with contempt to all those innumerable renegades of the revolution who cry that 'we are more progressive than you, we gave up the revolution earlier.' "

These words of Lenin are a blow between the eyes to those opportunists and "ultra-left" Mensheviks who scream of the predetermined destiny of the Canton rising, and who are proud of the fact that they either before or after that rising considered that "it would have been better not to take to arms." In December, 1927, the working class of Canton and the Chinese Communists were, in Marx's words, faced with the following alternative: "either to accept the challenge to struggle, or to yield without struggle. In the latter case the demoralisation of the working class would be a much greater misfortune than the loss of any number of leaders."

The heroic proletariat of Canton accepted the challenge to struggle and suffered defeat. The struggle cost the Canton workers enormous sacrifices. But even the shattered Canton rising has taken on a universal historical importance and was a great achievement of the Chinese revolution. Capitulation without a battle would not in the least have protected revolutionary China from the horrors of the white terror, and would simultaneously have been the greatest misfortune for the entire revolutionary movement of China.

We shall not stop to consider in detail the arguments of those who consider the Canton rising was premature. The advocates of this view, wise after the event, start with the assumption that the Canton Communists ought to have waited a few more weeks, in order to allow the cliques of generals fighting for Canton time to fight among themselves, and only then to have raised the revolt. These "sage" politicians leave out of account "only" the fact that any postponement of the rising would have left the Canton workers without the aid of the garrison (the order for the disarmament of the revolutionary divisions was issued on December 10th, and this circumstance forced a precipitation of the Communists' attack by a day or two), i.e., it would have condemned them to defeat in the very first hours of the rising. These "strategists"

also do not realise that in a revolutionary situation the conditions of struggle change from day to day and sometimes from hour to hour, that any neglect of the favourable moment for an armed rising may prove to be fatal. Nothing can be made of the stupid view that it would have been better if the Canton Communists had waited a few weeks with their attack. The date of the rising was forced on the Canton Communists by the objective conditions (the growth in the elemental movement of the masses, the threat of disarming the revolutionary garrison for their persistence in the question of an armed rising, and so on), and, of course, the cause of the defeat of the Canton rising cannot be attributed to the choice of dates.

ERRORS OF THE LEADERS

In addition to the objective causes, which had enormous importance but none the less did not necessarily predetermine the unsuccessful result of the rising, the defeat of the Canton workers was conditioned by the great errors committed by the leaders of the rising. To the honour of the Chinese Communist Party it has to be said that these errors were not in the fundamental political line, which was absolutely sound during the Canton days. The slogans of a rising, the establishment of a Canton Soviet, the Soviet Government's decrees on the power, on the land, etc., the policy in relation to the imperialists, the bourgeoisie and the petty bourgeoisie, were all unimpeachably sound during the days of the rising. In this the Canton rising is an excellent example of how the Chinese Communists ought to proceed in future. The errors of the Canton Communists lie in another direction. In the first place, the political preparation of the masses for the rising was inadequate. The revolutionary work among the soldiers was developed only in the town of Canton. No attempts were made to carry it on among the divisions situated outside the town. And this mistake brought its own retribution. A still greater political error consisted in the Canton Communists continually regarding the workers united in the yellow, fascist "mechanics' union" as a "solid reactionary mass." By so doing the Communists completely isolated themselves from an albeit not numerically,

but qualitatively important part of the industrial workers of Canton, and afforded the reactionary leaders of this union the possibility of exploiting its forces in the struggle against the insurgents. The military tactics employed at the very moment of the rising were also quite unsatisfactory. Instead of concentrating all their forces and inflicting a powerful, crushing blow on the main base of reaction, the island of Honan, on which a large part of the Kuomintang forces was situated, the leaders of the rising scattered their armed forces over separate operations, which had no decisive significance, inside the town; they let pass the moment for a surprise attack and allowed the enemy to take the offensive. This is perhaps the greatest and the most fatal mistake of all that the Canton workers committed during the rising. As one had to expect, defence instead of a decisive attack connoted the end of the rising, despite all the heroism of the defenders of Soviet Canton. Such are the chief mistakes from which the Chinese ought to and will learn, so as in future to know not only how to seize, but how to retain power. And these mistakes afforded the Canton revolutionary workers no opportunity of holding out for even a few days longer, when help from the peasantry, risen at Canton's signal in a number of areas of Kwantung, could have been expected. As it was, the peasants were unable to throw forces towards the town in time to repulse the blows of the Kuomintang soldiers, who by the third day of the rising had completely surrounded Canton.

THE QUESTION OF SUPPORT BY THE MASSES

In all the discussions over the lessons of the Canton events the most doubtful question of all was that of the participation of the masses in the rising. This discussion was settled finally at the Comintern Sixth Congress, in whose labours the question of the Canton rising occupied no small place. The statements of a number of Chinese comrades, participants in and organisers of the rising, did not dispel the legend of the Blanquist character of the Canton rising, of a putsch, and so on. Now it has been finally demonstrated that December 10th to 13th was the

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work of the masses of Canton themselves, that any talk of the non-participation of the masses in the rising has not the least basis. Of course, given a sounder political preparation of the rising it would have had more of a mass character; of course the errors of the leaders hindered the maximum mobilisation of all the revolutionary forces for the immediate armed struggle. But the discussion did not circle around this, but around the question whether the masses participated in the Canton rising at all, and whether it was not an adventurist conspiracy, organised only by an upper group of the Communists. The Sixth Comintern Congress put an end to this discussion once for all. But to what monstrous absurdities individual comrades who gave themselves over to the "criticism" of the Canton rising descended, are evident from the following passages by Comrade Reyberg:

"When we turn to a consideration of the causes of the defeat of Red Canton we have quite categorically to lay down the following position: the Canton rising suffered, and could not but suffer, defeat, in consequence of the fact that the social bases of the rising in Canton and the Kwantung province were insufficiently mature that the real inter-relationships between the military forces of the revolution and the counter-revolution were not sufficiently favourable to the rising, that the moment of the rising (i.e., the 11th December specifically) was a bad choice. . . .

"The rising was suppressed by the superior forces of the enemy. It is this circumstance plus the absence of an adequately wide mass movement both in Canton itself and especially in the peasant areas closest to the town, that was the decisive cause of the crushing of Red Canton.

"The military and organisational-technical errors committed by the leaders of the rising unquestionably also had great influence on the

result of the Canton struggle, but none the less, by comparison with the above specified objective conditions they were only of a secondary, and not of a decisive importance."

After all that we have already said, comment on these views which represent the Canton rising as a putsch (without mentioning the word, which, however, is quite unimportant) is absolutely superfluous.

The greatness of the Canton rising consists in the fact that it was a mighty revolutionary activity of the masses. This is to us Bolsheviks the clearest of all that occurred during 1927. This aspect was always given the highest estimate by Marxism in the revolutionary struggle. Concerning Marx, Lenin wrote the following penetrating words, with which we will conclude our article:

"When the masses have risen, Marx wishes to move with them, to learn together with them, in the course of the struggle, and not to read office instructions. He places highest of all the fact that the working class is heroically, devotedly, initiatively making world history. Marx looked at that history from the viewpoint of those who are making it without having the possibility of previously infallibly estimating the chances, and not from the viewpoint of an intelligent suburban, who moralises. 'it is easy to foresee . . . it would have been better not to take arms.' Marx knew how to estimate also the fact that there are moments in history when the desperate struggle of the masses even for a hopeless cause is indispensable in the name of the education of those masses and their preparation for the succeeding struggle."

The Communist International has been and remains faithful to this revolutionary spirit of Marxism. Consequently the Communist International proudly takes on itself all the responsibility for the great Canton Commune.

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Stalin's Speech

at the Presidium Meeting of the E.C.C.I., held on Dec. 19, 1928

COMRADES, in view of the fact that comrade Molotov has already explained the point of view of the C.P.S.U. delegation, I have only a few remarks to make. I want to touch lightly upon three points that came out in the course of the debate. These points are—the problem of capitalist stabilisation; the problem of the proletarian class struggles that arise in connection with the precariousness of stabilisation, and the problem of the Communist Party of Germany.

It is with regret that I have to say that on all these three questions comrades Humbert-Droz and Serra have fallen into the mire of pusillanimous opportunism. It is true that, so far, comrade Humbert-Droz has spoken only on formal questions. But I have in mind the speech on the question of principles he delivered at the meeting of the Politsecretariat of the E.C.C.I. at which the question of the "rights" and the conciliators in the Communist Party of Germany was discussed. I think that very speech represents the ideological foundation of the position the minority of the Presidium of the E.C.C.I. took up at that meeting. I think, therefore, that the speech on the question of principles that comrade Humbert-Droz delivered at the meeting of the Politsecretariat of the E.C.C.I. must not be ignored. I said that comrades Humbert-Droz and Serra have fallen into the mire of pusillanimous opportunism. What does that mean? It means that in addition to avowed opportunism, there is also tacit opportunism, which dares not display its real features. That is precisely the opportunism of conciliation with the right deviation. Conciliation is pusillanimous opportunism. I repeat that, to my regret, I must declare that both these comrades have fallen into the mire of pusillanimous opportunism.

Permit me to demonstrate this by a few facts.

THE PROBLEM OF CAPITALIST STABILISATION.

The Comintern starts out with the assumption that present-day capitalist stabilisation is

a temporary, transient, precarious decaying sort of stabilisation that will break up more and more as the capitalist crisis develops. This does not in the least contradict the generally known fact about the growth of capitalist technique and rationalisation. Indeed it is on the basis of this very growth of capitalist technique and rationalisation that the internal unsoundness and decay of stabilisation is developing. What did Humbert-Droz say in his speech at the Politsecretariat of the E.C.C.I.? He flatly denied that stabilisation was precarious and transient. He bluntly stated in his speech that "the Sixth World Congress in fact condemned the loose and general description of stabilisation as—decaying, shaky, etc., stabilisation." He bluntly declared that the thesis of the Sixth Congress regarding the Third Period does not say a word about stabilisation being precarious. Can comrade Humbert-Droz' contention be regarded as correct? No, it cannot; because the Sixth Congress of the Comintern said the very opposite to what comrade Humbert-Droz said in his speech. In the paragraph on the Third Period, the Sixth Congress of the Comintern stated:

"This period [i.e., the third period.—J.S.] will inevitably lead—through the further development of the contradictions of capitalist stabilisation—to capitalist stabilisation becoming still more precarious and the severe intensification of the general crisis of capitalism."

Did you hear that? "Capitalist stabilisation becoming more precarious." What does that mean? It means that stabilisation is already precarious and transient, that it will become still more precarious as a result of the conditions prevailing in the third period. And comrade Humbert-Droz has the effrontery to sneer at everybody, including the German Party, who says that stabilisation is a precarious and decaying stabilisation, who says that the present struggle of the working class undermines and disintegrates capitalist stabilisation. Whom is comrade Humbert-Droz sneering at?

Obviously he is sneering at the decisions of the Sixth Congress.

It follows, therefore, that comrade Humbert-Droz, while ostensibly defending the decisions of the Sixth Congress of the Comintern, is actually revising them, and is thus sliding into the opportunist conception of stabilisation.

That is how the matter stands in regard to the formal side of the question. Let us now examine the material aspect of the question. If present-day stabilisation cannot be described as precarious, decaying or transient, what kind of a stabilisation is it then? The only thing that can be said about it then is that it is durable, or at all events, that it is becoming more durable. But if capitalist stabilisation, what is becoming more durable, what is the use of talking about the crisis of world capitalism becoming more acute and profound? Obviously, this leaves no room for the deepening of the capitalist crisis. Obviously, comrade Humbert-Droz has got himself entangled in his own contradictions.

To proceed, Lenin said that capitalist development under imperialism is a two-sided process: (1) the growth of capitalism in some countries, and (2) the decay of capitalism in other countries. Is this thesis correct? If it is correct, then obviously capitalist stabilisation can be nothing else but decaying stabilisation.

Finally, I want to say a few words about a number of facts that are well-known to you all. For example, the desperate struggle the imperialist groups are carrying on among one another for markets and spheres of capital. There is the frantic growth of armaments in the capitalist countries; the establishment of new military alliances and obvious preparations for new imperialist wars. There is the sharpening of the contradictions between two gigantic imperialisms, the U.S.A. and Great Britain, each of which is seeking to draw all other States into its respective orbit. Finally, there is the very existence of the Soviet Union; its growth and successes in the spheres of construction, economics, in culture and politics. The very existence of the Soviet Union, quite apart from its growth, shatters and disintegrates the foundations of world capitalism. How can Marxians, Leninists, Communists maintain, after this, that capitalist stabilisation is not a precarious and decaying

stabilisation, that it is not, year after year and day after day, being shattered by the very process of development?

Do comrades Humbert-Droz and Serra realise the mess they have got into? The principal mistakes comrades Humbert-Droz and Serra make arise from this one mistake.

THE PROBLEMS OF THE PROLETARIAN CLASS STRUGGLES.

Comrade Humbert-Droz also goes wrong on the question of the character and significance of the class struggles of the proletariat in capitalist countries. The conclusion to be drawn from comrade Humbert-Droz' speech delivered at the meeting of the Politsecretariat is that the struggle of the working class, its spontaneous clashes with the capitalists, are in the main of defensive battles, that the leadership of the Communist Party in this struggle must be exercised merely within the limits of the existing reformist unions. Is that conclusion right? No, it is not. To adopt this conclusion means to drag at the tail of events. Comrade Humbert-Droz forgets that the struggle of the working class is now proceeding on the basis of a precarious stabilisation, that the working class battles not infrequently are in the nature of counter-attacks; a counter-offensive to the capitalist offensive and a direct offensive against the capitalists. Comrade Humbert-Droz sees nothing new in the recent battles of the working class. He ignores the general strike in Lodz; the strikes for an improvement in conditions of labour in France, Czecho-Slovakia and Germany, the powerful mobilisation of the proletarian forces during the metal workers' lockout in Germany, etc.

What do these and similar facts signify? They signify that in capitalist countries, the conditions precedent are maturing for a fresh revival of the labour movement. This is the new element that comrades Humbert-Droz and Serra fail to see, and which of course, comrades who are in the habit of looking behind instead of ahead, can never see. What does looking behind instead of ahead mean? It means dragging at the tail of events; it means failing to see the new elements in events and being caught unawares. It means that the Communist Parties must abandon the leadership in the labour movement. This is exactly the point on which the leaders of the German

Party came to grief in the revolutionary period of 1923. Therefore, those who do not wish to repeat the mistakes of 1923, must stimulate the thoughts of the Communists and call upon them to advance: they must prepare the masses for the impending battles, must take all measures to prevent the Communist Parties from dragging at the tail of events and the working class from being caught unawares.

It is very queer that comrades Humbert-Droz and Serra forget these things.

During the Ruhr struggles, the German Communists asserted that the unorganised workers were more revolutionary than the organised workers. Comrade Humbert-Droz waxed indignant over this, and declares that this is impossible. That is queer! Why is it impossible? There are about 1,000,000 workers in the Ruhr. Only about 200,000 of these are organised. The unions are led by bureaucratic reformists who have many contacts with the capitalist class. Is it surprising that the unorganised workers proved more revolutionary than the organised? Could it be otherwise? I could relate to you facts more "surprising" from the history of the Russian revolutionary movement. It often happened in Russia that the masses were more revolutionary than some of their Communist leaders. Every Russian Bolshevik knows this perfectly well. This is exactly why Lenin said that it is not only necessary to teach the masses, but also to learn from them. These facts must not surprise us. We should rather be surprised at the fact that comrade Humbert-Droz does not understand these simple things that occur in the sphere of Bolshevik revolutionary practice.

The same thing may be said of comrade Serra. He does not approve of the German Communists acting outside the existing unions and of their having broken down those limits in the struggle to organise the locked-out metallists. He regrets this as a violation of the resolution of the Fourth Congress of the R.I.L.U. He maintains that the R.I.L.U. instructed the Communists to work only within the unions. This is nonsense, comrades! The R.I.L.U. has not suggested anything of the sort.

(Lozovsky: Hear, hear.)

To say this means to doom the Communist Party to the role of a mere passive spectator

in the class struggles of the proletariat. It is the merit of German Communists that they refused to be scared by the twaddle about "trade union limits," that they broke through those limits and organised the struggle of the unorganised in spite of trade union bureaucrats. It is the merit of the German Communists that they sought and found new forms of struggle and of organising the unorganised workers. Perhaps, in doing so they made some minor mistakes. But such things are never accomplished without mistakes. It does not at all follow that because we must work in the reformist unions if they are really mass organisations, therefore we must confine our mass work to work in the reformist unions, that we must become slaves to the rules and regulations of those unions. If the reformist leaders are merging with capitalism (see the resolutions of the Sixth Congress of the C.I. and the Fourth Congress of the R.I.L.U.) and the working class is waging a struggle against capitalism, how can it be maintained that the working class struggle led by the Communist Party can be carried on without, to a certain extent, breaking through the limits of the existing reformist unions? Obviously, it cannot be maintained without dropping into opportunism. We can quite easily conceive of a situation in which it may be necessary to create parallel mass working class unions in spite of the trade union bosses who have sold themselves to the capitalists. We have such a situation in the United States. It is quite possible for a similar situation to arise in Germany.

THE PROBLEM OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF GERMANY.

Is the Communist Party of Germany to be or not to be organised and consolidated with iron discipline—that is the question, comrades? It is not merely a question of Rights or conciliators that is at stake, but the very existence of the Communist Party of Germany. The Communist Party of Germany exists. But inside the Communist Party of Germany there are two forces which are demoralising the Party from within and are endangering its very existence. First, there is the Right faction, which is organising a new anti-Leninist Party within the Communist Party, with its own Central Committee and its own press and

which day in and day out violates Party discipline. Secondly, there is the conciliatory group, which, by its vacillations, strengthens the Right faction. There is no need for me to prove here that the Right faction is breaking with Leninism and is waging a desperate struggle against the Comintern. That has been proved long ago. Nor is there any need for me to prove that the conciliatory group violates the known decision of the Sixth Congress concerning the systematic struggle against the conciliators. That also has been proved already. The situation in the German Party has reached the limit of toleration. The state of affairs in which the Rights poison the atmosphere with Social-Democratic ideological rubbish and systematically violate the elementary principles of Party discipline, while the conciliators carry grist to the mill of the Rights must no longer be tolerated, for to do so would mean to go against the Comintern and to violate the elementary demands of Leninism. A situation has arisen similar to that which we had in the C.P.S.U. (if not worse) in the last phase of the struggle against Trotskyism, when the Party and the Comintern were compelled to drive the Trotskyists out of their midst. Everyone realises this now. But comrades Humbert-Droz and Serra do not see it, or pretend they do not see it. So much the worse for them. This means that they are ready to support both the Rights and the conciliators even at the risk of utterly demoralising the Communist Party of Germany.

In arguing against the expulsion of the Rights, comrades Humbert-Droz and Serra refer to the decision of the Sixth Congress about combatting the Right tendencies by ideological means. Yes, the Fourth Congress did pass such a decision. But these comrades forget that the decision of the Sixth Congress does not say that the struggle of the Communist Parties against the Right danger must be conducted by ideological means. Nothing of the kind! With reference to the measures for combatting deviations from the Leninist line by ideological means, the Sixth Congress of the Comintern in its resolution on comrade Bukharin's report declared that :

"This does not imply that discipline is to be relaxed ; on the contrary, it implies the general tightening up of iron internal discipline, the absolute subordination of the minority to the

majority, the absolute subordination of the minor organisations, as well as all the other Party organisations (parliamentary fractions, trade union fractions, the press, etc.) to the leading party centres."

Strange that comrades Humbert-Droz and Serra forget this thesis in the resolution of the Sixth Congress of the Comintern. It is very strange that all conciliators, those who regard themselves as conciliators as well as those who shun that name, systematically forget this important thesis in their references to the resolution of the Sixth Congress of the Communist International.

What are we to do if, instead of a general tightening up of iron discipline in the German Party, we get crying facts of deliberate violation of discipline, by the Rights and partly also by some of the conciliators? Can such a situation be tolerated any longer?

What are we to do if, instead of absolute subordination of the minor organisations, the trade union fractions and the Party press to the Central Committee, we get in the Communist Party of Germany crying facts of the gross violation of decisions of the Sixth Congress of the Comintern by the Rights and partly also / some of the conciliators? Can such a situation be tolerated any longer?

You know the conditions of acceptance to the Comintern adopted at the Second Congress. I have in mind the 21 conditions. Point 1 in those conditions lays it down that : "the periodical and non-periodical press and all Party publishing offices must be completely subordinated to the Central Committee of the Party, irrespective as to whether the Party as a whole at the time is legal or illegal." You know that the Right faction has two newspapers. You know that these papers refuse absolutely to submit to the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Germany. The question is : can such an outrage be tolerated any longer?

Point 12 of the 21 conditions stipulates that the Party must "be organised in the most centralised fashion," that "iron discipline bordering on military discipline must prevail." You know that the Rights in the German Party refuse to recognise any kind of discipline, iron or any other, except their own factional discipline. The question is : can such an outrage be tolerated any longer?

Or you will say perhaps that the stipulations

of the Second Congress of the Comintern are not binding on the Rights?

Comrades Humbert-Droz and Serra cry out against alleged violation of the decisions of the Communist International. In the Rights we have real (and not alleged) violators of the fundamental principles of the Communist International. Why do they remain silent? Is it because they, while ostensibly defending the decisions of the Comintern, want to defend the Rights and to have these decisions revised?

The statement comrade Serra made is particularly interesting. He swears by his faith that he is against the Rights, against the conciliators, etc. But what conclusions does he draw from that? To fight the Rights and the conciliators? Not at all. He draws the extremely strange conclusion that the Politbureau of the C.C. of the German Party must be reorganised! Try and think this out: the Politbureau of the C.C. C.P.G. is waging a determined struggle against the Right danger and the vacillations of the conciliators; comrade Serra is in favour of combatting the Rights and the conciliators; therefore, comrade Serra proposes that the Rights and the conciliators be not interfered with, that the struggle against the Rights and conciliators be slackened and that the composition of the Politbureau of the C.C. C.P.G. be changed to suit the wishes of the conciliators. And this is called a "logical conclusion." I hope comrade Serra will excuse me if I say that his arguments reminds one of a provincial lawyer trying to prove that black is white. His line of argument is precisely what we call a lawyer's defence of opportunist elements.

Comrade Serra proposes to reorganise the Politbureau of the C.C. C.P.G., e.g., to remove some members and to replace them by others. Why does not comrade Serra say clearly and frankly who these substitutes should be?

(Serra: Those whom the Sixth Congress of the Comintern desired.)

But the Sixth Congress did not propose that the conciliators be rehabilitated. On the contrary, it instructed us to wage a systematic struggle against the conciliators. And precisely because the conciliators failed to carry out this instruction, the Presidium of the E.C.C.I., on Oct. 6, 1928, i.e., after the Sixth Congress, passed the well-known decision on the Rights

and the conciliators. Comrade Serra wants to pose as the sole interpreter of the decisions of the Sixth Congress. He has not by any means proved his claim to this. The interpreter of the decisions of the Sixth Congress is the Executive Committee of the Comintern and its Presidium. I observe that comrade Serra does not agree with the decision of the Presidium of the E.C.C.I. of Oct. 6, although he has not stated so frankly. So much the worse for him.

What is the conclusion? There is but one conclusion—the attitude of comrades Humbert-Droz and Serra on the question of the German Party is that of a pusillanimous lawyer's defence of the Rights against the C.P.G. and against the Comintern.

THE RIGHTS IN THE C.P.G. AND IN THE C.P.S.U.

I learned to-day from several speeches delivered here that some German conciliators refer to the speech I delivered at the November Plenum of the C.C. of the C.P.S.U. on the question of the methods of combatting the right elements as a justification of their position. As you know I said in my speech (it has been published), that in the present phase of development of the struggle against the right danger in the C.P.S.U., the principal method to be applied is that of an ideological struggle, which however does not preclude the application of organisational measures in individual cases. I substantiated my thesis by saying that the rights in the C.P.S.U. have not yet become crystallised, that they do not constitute a group or a faction and have not yet violated, or failed to carry out, any of the decisions of the C.P.S.U. I said that if the right resort to factional fighting and will commence to violate the decisions of the C.C. C.P.S.U., they will be treated in the same way as the Trotskyists were treated in 1927. This, I think, is clear. Is it not silly after this to refer to my speech as an argument in favour of the rights in Germany, where they have already commenced to employ factional methods of struggle and where they systematically violate the decisions of the C.C. C.P.G., or as an argument in favour of the conciliators in Germany, where they have not yet dissociated themselves from the right faction and where, it seems, they do not intend to do so? I think that anything sillier than

this would be difficult to find. Only those who have abandoned dialectical thinking can fail to understand the full depth of the difference that exists between the position of the rights in the C.P.S.U. and the position of those in the C.P.G.

After all, the rights in the C.P.S.U. are not a faction and it is an incontrovertible fact that they loyally carry out the decisions of the C.C. of the C.P.S.U. The German rights, on the contrary, already have a faction, with a factional centre at its head, and systematically trample under foot the decisions of the C.C. of the C.P.S.U. Is it not clear that the methods of combatting the rights at the present moment cannot be the same in these two Parties?

Furthermore, here in the U.S.S.R. we have not a strong, well organised social democracy as an organised and serious force to foster and stimulate the right danger in the C.P.S.U. In Germany, on the contrary, there is side by side with the Communist Party, a more powerful and a fairly well organised Social-Democratic Party which fosters the right danger in the Communist Party of Germany and which utilises that danger as an objective channel through which to permeate our Party. Only the blind can fail to see the difference between the situation in the U.S.S.R. and that in Germany.

One more point. Our Party grew and became consolidated in desperate struggles against the Mensheviks, which struggles took the form of direct civil war against the Mensheviks which lasted for several years. Do not forget that in November, 1917, we Bolsheviks overthrew the Mensheviks and S.R.'s as the left wing of the counter-revolutionary imperialist bourgeoisie. That, by the way, explains the strong traditions of hostility to avowed opportunism in the C.P.S.U., traditions that are not found in any other Communist Party in the world. It is sufficient to recall the case of the Moscow organisation, especially of the Moscow Committee, where certain conciliatory vacillations took place, it is sufficient to recall the fact that the Party workers in Moscow in a period of not more than two months, at one blow, as it were, straightened out the line of the Moscow Committee, it is sufficient to recall this to be able to understand how strong the traditions of hostility towards avowed opportunism are in

our Party. Can we say the same of the German Party?

Probably you will agree with me that, much as we may regret it, we cannot say it. More than that, we cannot deny that the Communist Party of Germany has not yet by a long way freed itself from its social-democratic traditions which foster the right danger in the C.P.G.

These then are the conditions in Germany and the conditions in the U.S.S.R. The conditions are different in each case and necessitate different methods of struggle against the right danger.

Only those who have lost the elementary understanding of Marxism can fail to understand this simple fact.

In the Commission of the November Plenum of the C.C. of the C.P.S.U. charged with the drafting of the resolution, a group of comrades moved to extend the application of the fundamental points of the resolution to the other sections of the Comintern, including the German section. We rejected that motion, and declared that the conditions of the struggle against the right danger in the C.P.G. were cardinally different from the conditions of the struggle in the C.P.S.U.

THE DRAFTS OF THE OPEN AND PRIVATE LETTERS

Two words concerning the draft resolutions submitted by the commissions of the E.C.C.I. Comrade Serra thinks that these draft resolutions are provincial in character. Why? Because, it appears, the draft of the Open Letter does not contain an analysis of the political situation that gave rise to the right danger. This is ridiculous, comrades. We have such an analysis in the resolutions of the Sixth Congress. Is it necessary to repeat it? I think there is no need for repetition. Properly speaking, we could limit ourselves to a short resolution on the rights who systematically violate the decisions of the Sixth Congress, and who, therefore, are liable to expulsion, and on the conciliators who refrain from combatting the rights and therefore deserve a severe caution. The reason we did not limit ourselves to a short resolution, is because we want to explain to the workers the essence of the right tendency, to expose to them the real features of Brandler and Thalheimer, what

they were in the past and what they are now, to show how long the Comintern and the C.P.S.U. had spared them in the hope that they would mend their ways, to show how long they have been tolerated in the ranks of the Communists and why such people can no longer be tolerated in the ranks of the Comintern. That is why the draft resolution is longer than might have been at first expected.

Comrade Molotov has already stated that the delegation of the C.P.S.U. is fully and wholeheartedly in favour of these draft resolutions. I can but repeat comrade Molotov's statement. I would like to make only a few minor amendments.

(Comrade Stalin reads the amendments and hands them to the Presidium.)

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Opportunism in Czecho-Slovakia

Paul Reimann

THE crisis which has developed in the Czech Party as a result of the defeat on "The Red Day" has intensified considerably since the publication of the Open Letter of the E.C.C.I. Although the "Red Day" defeat was the immediate cause, we must not overlook the fact that its roots go much deeper. To-day, in the whole Communist International, there is a strong attack of right wing elements on the Communist policy, and the recent events in Germany particularly, indicate that this right wing struggle has here and there already grown into direct rebellion against the policy of the Communist Parties and the International. The cause of this increasing right danger is principally the intensification of class contradictions resulting from capitalist stabilisation and the growing danger of a new imperialist war.

Just as in the Czech Party, the attack of the right elements in the German Party against the policy of the Sixth World Congress is more and more assuming the character of an unchecked fractional attack. Since the Sixth World Congress the right wing danger has grown more rapidly in the Czecho-Slovakian Party than in any other section of the C.I., because the whole historical development of the Party in the Czecho-Slovakian Republic created a background favourable to the development of opportunist tendencies. The degree of this danger is however at the moment determined by another factor also. In recent years a considerable extension in the basis of opportunist dangers can be observed in Czecho-Slovakia. The right danger is not confined to that group in the Party which, like the Brandler group in Germany, fought the decisions of the Comintern after the Fifth World Congress. After the first crisis which developed in the Czech Party in 1924-25 had been settled, the new leadership which was formed contained a majority of representatives of the left. To this new left leadership was added Comrade Jilek's group, which had formerly opposed the leadership of Smeral, and whose ideas lacked clarity and tended

towards anarchist-syndicalism. The basis of the new leadership, in which the left elements and the Jilek group had a majority, was a block with the Smeral group, and the task of this group was to destroy the openly liquidationist grouping within the Party in order to carry out the Bolshevisation of the Party. In the early part of its existence the block carried this task out well. But from the time of the Fourth Party Congress, and due partly to the attacks of Trotskyist elements on the Party policy, the struggle against the right grew much weaker. At first the Party leadership slipped into an attitude of tolerance towards the right danger and later on itself became an adherent and exponent of an opportunist policy which the Open Letter of the Comintern called "opportunist passivity." During the course of the recent internal Party struggles in other sections of the Comintern a strong Bolshevik leadership emerged, but in Czecho-Slovakia the policy of the majority in the Party leadership has itself become a source of right wing danger. This has greatly extended the basis of the right danger in the Czech Party and it also explains the particular intensity of the present crisis.

The present discussion in the Party is being carried on, because of the events briefly sketched above, on the basis of the struggle of those left elements who are unwilling to put up with a continuation of the policy of opportunist passivity, on the part of the majority of the C.C. of the C.P. of Czecho-Slovakia, a policy which still calls itself left, but is in reality opportunist, against the group which has up to the present had the lead in Party leadership, whose exponent and most outstanding figure is Jilek. Since the Sixth World Congress, and the publication of the Open Letter of the E.C.C.I., this struggle has become more intense because the majority of the Party leadership, following the opportunist policy, have already put forward their own opportunist platform as against the policy of the Comintern.

The putting forward of this opportunist platform, which openly runs quite counter to the Sixth World Congress, is the unmistakable sign of growing acuteness in the internal Party crisis since the publication of the Open Letter, and it must therefore be one of our principal tasks to expose the opportunist character of this platform. The actual state of affairs is not altered in the least by the fact that the Jilek group is trying to hide the existence of its opportunist platform by agreeing officially to the decisions of the Comintern and to the Open Letter, or that it persists in calling its policy a left policy; for the political documents which this group has published are of so unambiguous a nature that there can be no doubt of the existence of a political platform. We shall therefore, leaving out of consideration all petty details and fractional manoeuvres, examine the ideological weapons of the majority in the Czech Party in order to demonstrate the existence of an independent opportunist platform as against the policy of the Sixth World Congress.

* * * *

The starting point in an explanation of the nature of the opportunist platform of the Jilek group is the question of the analysis of the objective situation. In the final analysis all differences can be traced back to this question. The opportunist groups in Czecho-Slovakia, like the opportunists in all sections of the Comintern, begin with an inflexible and mechanical idea of capitalist stabilisation which was expressed in a document published before the appearance of the Open Letter, entitled "The Attitude of the District Committee of District One in Czecho-Slovakia towards the attitude of the Party Officials of Prague with regard to Party Policy after the failure of Action on Red Day." This classic document of opportunism contains the following description of the prospects of stabilisation:

"Briefly it can be said that in the last few years the bourgeoisie have taken successful steps towards stabilising the situation and rationalising production. But these successes of the bourgeoisie have had their influence on the masses, and as stabilisation proceeds successfully, there appear among the masses tendencies towards an opportunist summing

up of the situation. Comrade Bukharin, in his report, dealt with the fact in a detached and interesting manner, most instructive for our opportunism. Comrade Bukharin dealt very thoroughly with the development of capitalism, the influence of stabilisation on the working class, the passivity of the masses, the lack of international action, etc. . . . Considered objectively, is the leftward movement of the means of an offensive or defensive character? And here, again referring to Comrade Bukharin's report, we may say that the spirit of the masses is not offensive, that, although the masses are going to the left, this leftward movement is of a defensive nature. It is true that the masses are determined to defend themselves everywhere against the bourgeoisie, but they are not determined to carry out an attack on the bourgeoisie. . . . If we judge the situation correctly, we cannot as Marxists speak to-day of any 'determination of the masses for great struggles,' unless we wished to use such an argument for the purpose of discrediting an odious Party leadership."

Excellent Marxism! When political and theoretical ignorance march under the banner of Marx and Bukharin you get a freak like this "attitude of the Prague District Committee." This is truly a fine idea, of the masses being "purely defensive" without being "determined on great struggles" although they are developing "leftward." Such a left development bears an unmistakable resemblance to a triangle with three right angles. It can be seen from the style of the document that every emphasis is laid on the passivity of the masses, and none on their swing to the left. To do this is to ignore one of the most profound aspects of capitalist stabilisation, the intensification of class contradictions, that is to take up a rigid, un-Marxist attitude which sees the bourgeoisie's success in stabilisation, but overlooks the development of the class struggle to a higher stage.

The document from which we have quoted is now acknowledged to be liquidatory by the very group which originated this theory of passive left development or leftward development of passivity. To discuss the honesty or dishonesty of that acknowledgement will not help matters. But it does clear matters up to realise that the same group in the Party

which put forward this new theory of passivity, Jilek's group, is still putting forward the theory which it condemned, only with a change in its terminology. What is the new, second, improved edition of the passivity theory? At the conference of the Reichenburg district of the Czecho-Slovakian Communist Party, Comrade Jilek explained the new "redeeming" wisdom to the astonished audience.

"It is quite correct, as Reimann maintains, that the objective conditions for a successful struggle of the working class are present. That is true, but the objective conditions are not everything.

"We have already lived through a period which objectively was revolutionary. We had the possibility of overthrowing capitalist rule. Why didn't we do it? Why weren't we successful, as in Russia? For one simple reason: because the necessary subjective conditions were not fulfilled.

"Everywhere, in all capitalist countries, and in Germany too, successful struggles were fought. Why didn't we carry on successful struggles? Because the subjective conditions for successful action were lacking.

"We can argue now and discuss the question of responsibility. The presence of objective conditions is not sufficient for victory, subjective conditions must also be fulfilled. That is essential if the proletariat is to attain what it desires to attain.

"As to why the subjective conditions were not present here in Czecho-Slovakia, there are different opinions among the Party membership."

We shall for the moment disregard the fact that in these remarks Comrade Yilek has badly confused two different questions: that of subjective conditions in general and that of the role of the Party. But what is the real heart of this argument? Before, it was: the masses are passive. Now, it is: the subjective conditions for successful activity are lacking. Are they not the same? Don't these two statements belong to each other like the white and yellow of an egg? But Comrade Jilek has succeeded in condemning the theory of the masses' passivity as liquidatory, while at the same time putting it forward as the theory of the absence of subjective conditions.

That we are not dealing with accidental de-

viation on the part of individuals in the matter of the development of this opportunist theory, is proved by the fact that statements expressing a complete lack of understanding of the conditions of capitalist stabilisation recur continually in all the literary output of the opportunist group. For example, the following passage occurs in a resolution of the Ostrau District Committee, which is in sympathy with the ideas of Jilek's group:

"Reconstruction (of imperialism) which was accompanied by excellent market conditions, resulted on one hand in the activation of the masses who, remembering the defeats suffered in the preceding period, began to lose their passivity."

And again:

"In consequence of the false analysis of the international and Czecho-Slovakian economic situation, and particularly of the incorrect but constantly repeated prophecy of the end of the Central European and Czecho-Slovakian market, the Party was, from its very beginning, misled into laying insufficient emphasis on local action, etc."

What is the essential point in these quotations? The leftward swing of the masses is "recognised," but explained only as a result of market conditions. Not increasing international contradictions, not the intensification of class contradictions in capitalist countries, but market conditions are put forward as the cause of the leftward movement. It is true that there is something different verbally, but actually it is an idea which fits exactly into the passivity theory. For whoever attempts to explain the leftward swing of the working class as the result of a temporary phenomenon of capitalist stabilisation, of market conditions, has not the least understanding of the nature and character of the intensification of the class struggle which is now proceeding.

The theory of the passivity of the masses, the theory of the absence of subjective conditions, and the theory of market conditions as the cause of a leftward development, are all of a similar nature: in all its three editions this theory proves that those elements which are grouped around the majority in the leadership of the Czecho-Slovakian Party, have separated themselves from the Party and from the Comintern's policy by a false idea of capitalist stabilisation, from which all further mistakes

and opportunist policy follow logically.

This false idea of stabilisation becomes more peculiar because of a completely false conception of the character of Czecho-Slovakian capitalism. On this subject the Ostrau resolution declares:

"We must never overlook the fact Czecho-Slovakia is economically becoming more and more a colony of West European imperialism."

At a time when Czecho-Slovakian imperialism is growing stronger in every respect, when all the elements of imperialism are developing, the theory of the colonisation of Czecho-Slovakia is put forward in addition to the incorrect idea of stabilisation. And the reason given is as thoughtful as the theory itself.

"The capitalist economy of Czecho-Slovakia is bound by innumerable threads to foreign trusts and companies, to England, France, and recently also to Germany. The influence of foreign capital in Czecho-Slovakian economy is increasing from year to year."

In this, the dependence of the lesser imperialist robbers on the greater is confused with the relation of a capitalist state to a colonial country. Such confusion on the most important theoretical questions cannot give rise to a clear policy, but only to an opportunist platform against the policy of the Comintern!

* * * *

So as not to overburden this description of the Party discussion, we shall forbear to deal with a number of important questions (including the Trade Union question), in which this incorrect opportunist policy finds concrete expression; and shall turn our attention to the development of the struggle within the Party.

In the discussion on the Open Letter, which referred to the right danger as the chief danger in the C.P. of Czecho-Slovakia, the resolution of the C.C., passed by a small majority, stated the question of the location of the right danger as follows:

"The Central Committee declares that the right danger in the Party is not limited to the so-called historical right, but is to be found among leading comrades who, because of their ideology, are a source of serious right danger."

This paragraph, which located more or less explicitly the right danger in the Party, was rejected as "fractional" by the adherents of

the old majority, while the same comrades declared their agreement with the rest of the Open Letter and of the Resolution of the C.C.

This way of putting the question on the part of the old opportunist Party majority was intended to convey to the Party members that the only subject of discussion was "Who are the dangerous right members in the Party?" and in objective political matters there was not the slightest difference between the ideas of the old Party majority and the left opposition. The opposition was represented with being fractional because it called the Jilek group the source of right wing danger while in actual fact there were also many right elements in the opposition, while the Jilek group was developing its opportunist platform, whose contents we have already summed up. It accused the opposition of uniting with the right elements in order to fight the old Party majority. For example, the Iglau District Committee passed a resolution containing the following:

"We repudiate the struggle of these few elements who, instead of concentrating all forces upon overcoming the Party crisis, increase it, and whose opportunist platform does not serve to settle the crisis, but is a part of struggle for power in the Party. There is a certain formal similarity between the present opposition in the C.P. of Czecho-Slovakia, and the Trotskyist opposition in the C.P.S.U. There, too, those elements struggling for power rallied round an opposition platform—opportunist and ultra-left. The opposition in the Party here extends from the so-called historical right to its ultra-left followers."

The opposition which opposes the opportunist platform of the old Party majority, is thus accused of association with right elements, or of Trotskyism, according to the exigency of the moment.

The same argument is put forward, though more primitively, in a resolution of the Ostrau District Committee, in which it is admitted that there are opportunist persons within the Party majority, but which adds that there are also right wingers in the ranks of the opposition. Comrade Jilek, in his speech against Comrade Reimann at the Reichenburg District Conference, expressed himself somewhat similarly.

"If we are to accept what Comrade Reimann has accepted, that there are two parts in the Party, the opposition and the Jilek group, then I maintain that there are right wing, opportunist, liquidatory elements on both sides.

"We are not Bolshevik enough, but nobody can assert that the Bolshevik elements are to be found only on the side of the opposition, that there are none among the majority of the Party leadership."

This conception of the question must be thoroughly understood. What does the Jilek group mean by right elements? The Jilek group simply identifies the right danger with that right wing group which was formed during the Party crisis of 1924-25, and calls all those comrades who at that time took up a right standpoint in the Party crisis, exponents of the right wing danger. The present opposition does not deny that this group, which, in the history of the Party, was a right wing group, is still the source of right wing danger (although it is also true that the right group as it is to-day is not identical in personnel with the right group which showed hostility to the policy of the Comintern after the Fifth World Congress). But the question is not whether this group, or its individual exponents, is still the source of right wing danger to the Party (a question which the opposition would answer in the affirmative); the principal question, on which the opinions of the opposition and the Jilek group are divided is this, that the right danger to-day is no longer limited to the old right group, but that recently the basis of the right danger in the Party has extended greatly; this means that whoever identifies this right danger with the former right group in the Party, and so ignores all other right wing tendencies, is seriously under-estimating the extent of the right wing danger. The opposition, on the other hand, believes that besides the old "historical" right, which has long ceased to be historic, there has grown up a second right group, represented by the majority in the Party leadership.

Secondly, the Jilek group's method of stating the question is a purely personal one. It adduces as proof of the correctness of its ideas the fact that "there are right elements on both sides." This is a completely false and

purely personal statement of the question. The subject of Party discussion is not whether Peter Zapfel from Dünschendorf, who is now on the side of the opposition, was or is, personally, an opportunist, or whether Comrade Shvabinsky, an adherent of the opposition, made an opportunist speech at a public meeting in Tovol—it is, quite obviously, to define the political standpoint of the two groups in the Party discussion. Jilek's group is not opportunist because it contains some opportunist elements, but because the standpoint it has developed throughout the Party discussion is an opportunist one. Similarly, the opposition cannot be accused of being a right danger in the Party because certain elements in it once represented the opportunist standpoint within the Party, or because, by agreeing with the political standpoint of the opposition, some in it are only seeking an opportunity to continue their opportunist policy. The opposition can be accused of being a right wing danger in the Party only if it can be proved that the political platform of the opposition contradicts the policy of the Comintern and is of an opportunist character. Such proof has certainly not yet been adduced in the course of the Party discussion. The nature of the arguments brought forward by the Jilek group being personal instead of political, has kept the basis and the political content of the Party discussion within very narrow limits; in certain districts the old Party majority have even succeeded in giving the impression that the whole struggle within the Party is concerned merely with whether this or that individual of group can, because of their individual opinions, be called "right" or not. In this way the Jilek group is trying to degrade the political struggle in the Party into a struggle on personal questions. This has resulted in insufficient emphasis being laid on political questions in the Party discussions.

* * * *

Although the opposition is to-day mainly concerned with exposing to the Party the opportunist character of the Jilek group's political platform, it is well aware that the struggle against the opportunist tendency does not exhaust the struggle against opportunism in the Party generally. That there are other factors strengthening opportunist tendencies in the Party is proved, on the one hand, by

the former Trotskyist group in the Party, led by Comrade Neurath in the German speaking areas, again making its appearance, and, on the other, by the developments within the Red Trade Unions, where the elements in the old "historical" right are concentrated.

The Trade Union question, particularly, will in the near future be the occasion for extremely serious discussion within the Party. On the one hand the old leadership in the Trade Unions, which is strongest in the chemical section of the International Workers' Union, is trying to disintegrate the Red Trade Unions into their original component parts and to make the chemical section independent of the whole federation. On the other hand it is clear that the new collective leadership, led by Comrade Zapotocky, was not able to carry out the decisions of the Fourth R. I. L. U. Congress in a correct way. The latest industrial struggles conducted by the Red Trade Unions in Czecho-Slovakia indicate that the Red Trade Unions have not yet adopted the policy of the Fourth World Congress of the R.I.L.U. in industrial struggles, that the decisions of the Fourth R.I.L.U. Congress, which are directed chiefly towards intensifying the struggle against social-democracy, were ignored by the Red Unions, while, on the other hand, and particularly in the Kladno Miners' strike, the tendency to carry on industrial struggles on the basis of "unity from above" with the reformist Trade Unions was most apparent. The reorganisation of the International Workers' Union, which should be carried out along the lines of creating industrial unions, was not combined with the political tasks of the Red Trade Unions, and consequently the members were of the opinion that the matter was only one of an organisational change in the structure of the Red Unions, and not, in addition, of a new direction in Trade Union policy. In this respect, too, the opportunist inadequacy of the Jilek group is particularly obvious. In the Ostrau resolution from which we have already quoted, the mistakes and tasks of the Trade Unions are described as follows: firstly, that there is insufficient fraction work; secondly, that the decisions of the R.I.L.U. Congress should not remain merely verbal decisions; and, thirdly, that Trade Union work still bears the character of

departmental work, and not that of the work of the whole Party. While, therefore, it is clear that the old opportunist system in the Trade Unions has not been destroyed by the new collective leadership, the Jilek group, like the Union leadership, is trying to reduce the Trade Union question to one of organisation only. We see that the question of a revolutionary Trade Union policy is dealt with in a purely opportunist manner both by the Jilek group and by the leaders of the I.W.U., so that the political aspect of the Trade Union problem has scarcely been touched upon in the Party discussion. It is therefore of vital importance to the Party for the Trade Union question to be dealt with politically, and one of the chief tasks of the opposition consists in bringing forward, in the clearest and fullest manner, the political problems of the Red Trade Union movement into the Party discussion. There is no doubt that this would shed light upon the right danger in the Czecho-Slovakian C.P. to a much greater extent than has so far been possible with the inadequate development of the Party discussion in its political aspects.

The second question to be discussed in the analysis of opportunist tendencies within the Czech Party is that of the present position of the former Trotskyist opposition, in so far as its members are still within the Party. Comrade Neurath, the leader of that group declared at Reichenburg District Conference, his agreement with the present opposition. In doing so he repeated his former declaration that he recognised the incorrectness of the ideas of the Trotskyist opposition. Comrade Neurath, however, omitted to give his attitude towards fractional work carried on by the Trotskyist elements, and by himself, in Czecho-Slovakia. His declaration was exclusively one of dissociation from the international Trotskyist opposition, but not one of dissociation from the Trotskyist fraction work carried on in Czecho-Slovakia by Comrade Neurath himself. That this was no accidental sin of omission was shown in articles contributed to the discussion by various other comrades, who are in sympathy with the ideas of Comrade Neurath. Comrade Grünwald, in his article, stated that Trotskyism in the Communist Party of Czecho-Slovakia was a "necessary reagent" to the opportunist mis-

takes of the Party leadership, while Comrade Wettengel even went so far as to say that the struggle against Trotskyism by the opportunist Party leadership of Jilek-Stern had only been carried on to mask the opportunist mistakes of that leadership. There never was a Trotskyist danger, but only the question of confusion on the part of some Party officials in the Asch district, due principally to the opportunist mistakes of the Party leaders. It is easy to see through the manoeuvre of the former Trotskyist opposition members. They are now trying to give the impression that they were a left opposition to the opportunism of the Czech Party leadership, and roundly deny that such a thing as a Trotskyist opposition ever existed in the Communist Party of Czecho-Slovakia. This is nothing but an attempt to prove that their Trotskyist criticism was correct. From this it is easy to judge the honesty of their dissociation from their Trotskyist past and their agreement with the standpoint of the opposition.

The Trotskyist group, while still maintaining their old incorrect political ideas, now represent also openly opportunist tendencies. Comrade Neurath, in the report drawn up by him for the local elections of December 2nd, shows a thoroughly opportunist attitude towards the social-democrats. A few quotations from this report will serve to illustrate Comrade Neurath's present attitude. The section dealing with the Social-democrats opens as follows:

"In the following pages we shall first of all show that the Social-democratic parties have not in the least changed their basic attitude since 1914; that in all questions of the revolutionary class struggle they were and are allies of the bourgeoisie, that, at first directly, and now indirectly, they were on the side of the bourgeoisie when the latter, in defending their economic or political interests, whether in the sphere of legislation or public administration, took any measures against the working class."

Comrade Neurath therefore is of the opinion that Social-democracy has not changed since 1914. He completely ignores the tremendous change in the role of Social-democracy which has come about in the present period of the partial stabilisation of capitalism. For him Social-democracy in 1914 is identical with Social-democracy in 1928; indeed, he even

maintains that formerly Social-democracy supported the bourgeoisie directly, whereas it does so now only indirectly; so that this analysis of Social-democracy finally resolves itself into the assertion that Social-democracy in recent years has not strengthened, but weakened its counter-revolutionary tendency.

A second and equally significant quotation: ". . . If the Social-democratic leaders still try to present themselves as non-participants in the reactionaries' struggle against the C.P. of Czecho-Slovakia, they will exert themselves in vain to try and hide or excuse the fact that in proletarian industrial struggles they are openly on the side of the exploiters against the Communist movement."

In the further development of this false idea we are told that, politically, Social-democracy plays or tries to play a "neutral" role, and that it only supports the exploiters openly in the economic sphere. This description utterly contradicts the facts, which are that politically too, there exists in the Czecho-Slovakian Republic a block between the bourgeoisie and the Social-democrats. This was made clear on various occasions, including the pact of the Social-democratic leaders with the bourgeoisie on the question of social insurance, and the attitude of the Social-democrats on October 28th, when Communist speakers at various mass demonstrations were attacked and prevented from speaking by the Social-democratic Guards of Order. In general, the whole tendency of this report attempts to show that the Social-democrats are carrying on a real struggle as a parliamentary opposition, and that they are only mistaken in not supporting their parliamentary opposition by mass struggles outside Parliament. The actively counter-revolutionary role of Social-democracy at the present time, its direct participation in the bourgeoisie's machinery of power, its change to a policy of industrial peace which has been carried out in Czecho-Slovakia, is completely ignored. This shows that the attitude of Comrade Neurath, as representative of the former Trotskyist opposition, towards the question of Social-democracy is throughout imbued with the spirit of opportunism, and that the rest of the Trotskyist opposition remaining within the Party—an opposition which, following the international collapse of Trotskyism, has also collapsed in Czecho-

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Slovakia—is now becoming an extreme right group within the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia.

* * * *

So much for the crisis within the Party as it has so far developed. The description indicates the extraordinary growth of the right danger in the Party; it shows that there are now a large number of right groups, at the moment still separate, but ideologically united, in opposition to the policy of the Sixth World Congress, and that consequently the C.P. of Czechoslovakia is exposed to sharp attack from right wing elements. This state of affairs imposes great tasks on the opposition, which alone represents the policy of the Comintern and the Sixth World Congress. Up to the present the strength of the Party membership has not been sufficiently well mobilised for the struggle against the right danger. At the moment discussion still bears the character of discussion among Party leaders. The members have been roused to take part in only a section of the districts. It is, therefore, abso-

lutely necessary to extend the discussion and to mobilise the membership, in spite of all attempts at sabotage, for the struggle against the right danger. It is also true that the discussion is still too narrow in its content, that the struggle of the opposition is at the moment limited to exposing the opportunist platform of the old Party majority only. This is certainly one of the main points of discussion, but it is now necessary to go a step further and to expose the other opportunist tendencies, particularly those in the Red Trade Unions and in the opportunist attitude of the former Trotskyist opposition. This will give the necessary breadth to Party discussion, and help to bring clarity to the basic problems of Party policy. The course of the discussion up to the present has shown where the opportunist dangers in the Czech Party lie, and what is the nature of the political platform put forward by the opportunists against the policy of the Sixth World Congress. The next step must be to mobilise the whole Party against the attacks of opportunism and to defeat it along the whole line.

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The Eighth Congress of the U.S.S.R. Trade Unions

THE congresses of the Soviet trade unions are of great importance not only to the working class of the Soviet Union, but also to the entire international proletariat. These are the only trade unions in the world which, besides representing the great majority of the workers and employees, also organise them; which, besides considering questions, also decide them, and then themselves put the decisions into force.

The colossal difference between the trade unions of capitalist countries and those of the country of the proletarian dictatorship is particularly noticeable at the congresses of the Soviet trade unions. In the capitalist countries the trade unions may come to decisions, but the power and the basic resources are in the hands of the bourgeoisie, so that the putting of any decision into force is associated with a prolonged struggle. In the U.S.S.R. the working class which created the trade unions holds the power in its own hands and

so the decisions adopted are put into force through all the existing State organs with the active participation of the trade unions. A congress of Soviet trade unions is a congress of the masters of the country, inasmuch as they organise ninety per cent. of the workers and employees. Their congresses represent the class which holds the power. After the Soviets, which organise the basic mass of the peasantry, as well as the working class, the trade unions are the largest mass organisations in the U.S.S.R.; and so the voice of eleven millions echo very loudly and convincingly in Soviet Russia, and the great masses of the population give ear to the decisions of the congresses.

THE eighth congress was in session from December 10th to 24th, and in the course of these two weeks it considered all questions of interest to the working class of the Soviet Union. In the reports and discussions

some purely trade union matters were dealt with, and in addition absolutely all the questions of the further growth and development of the land of proletarian dictatorship. This included the problem of the rate of industrialisation in the U.S.S.R., the problem of the formation and development of heavy industry, the problem of the ways and means of reconstructing agriculture, of the co-operating between the toilers of the town and the country, of labour, social insurance, the cultural revolution; further, the problems concerned with the life and existence of the workers, the problems of wages and housing conditions, the problem of the U.S.S.R.'s international situation—all these matters as well comprise the external policy of the Soviet trade union movement itself.

Looking through the reports, discussions and resolutions adopted, we see that everyone of the questions which in one form or another interest the Soviet working class found their expression at the congress. The delegates revealed how high is the level of the lower and the middle trade union worker and active unionist from the factory. In this regard the congress is of enormous interest to the international proletariat.

THE special feature of this congress lay in the fact that its proceedings took place under the sign of a ruthless self-criticism. The delegates dragged to the platform all the errors, weaknesses and defects of the Soviet machinery, of the economic organs and the Soviet trade union movement. The inhabitants of Europe (those from the camp of the bourgeoisie and social-reformism) sincerely believe that it is impossible to hear a single word of criticism in Soviet Russia, that free speech is suppressed there, that there is no freedom of the press, so that everybody occupies himself with self-glorification on the one hand and with burning incense to the leaders on the other. The "citizen" of Europe and America which is to be found in every reformist has no idea of what is meant by self-criticism. It is true that there is no free speech for the bourgeoisie in Soviet Russia, that there is not freedom to sell oneself to the lords of this world. The Soviet press is the press of the working class as a whole, and in their everyday work, and especially at their

congresses and conferences the Soviet trade union and political leaders carry on a ruthless struggle against all that might disintegrate and pervert the machinery created by the working class, that might weaken the dictatorship of the proletariat, that might hinder the work of socialistic construction. In the bourgeois countries the newspapers are also filled with criticism, but if they are well paid they begin to write quite the reverse. We have seen such incidents not only in the press, but in the parliaments. There is and can be nothing of that kind in the U.S.S.R. There is no country in the world where the ruling class criticises itself as does the ruling class of the U.S.S.R. And as the trade union congress represented the ruling class in the land of the Soviets it could not but have all its proceedings stamped with the mark of self-criticism.

THE Soviet trade union congress is sharply distinguished from the congresses of the reformist trade unions of Germany, Britain, the United States, and so on, both in its external aspect, and especially by the content of its work. In the first place, the composition of the congress is different. At the eighth congress sixty per cent. of the delegates were participating in all-Union congresses for the first time. At this congress there was a considerable group of workers directly elected from the factories and works straight to the congress. There was a large percentage of women in the congress; and another characteristic feature was the considerable decline in the number of professional trade unionists, workers in the governing organs of the trade union movement. The British, German and American congresses always present an exhibition of trade union bureaucrats, and only trade union bureaucrats. For dozens of years the same men go to the congress, which they have transformed into a holiday jaunt, and continue to repeat their monotonous, dreary reformist refrains year after year. These are congresses of reformist officials, and not congresses of genuine representatives of the masses. But the Soviet trade union congresses are distinguished from the reformist congresses not only by their composition, but, and this is of special importance, by the nature of their activity. Where-

ever and whenever before has one seen the very leaders of the trade union movement subjecting their own weaknesses to criticism? Read the reports of the German, British and other trade union congresses, and you will see that the knights of "democracy" and the defenders of free speech make more than restrained speeches at their own congresses. Self-criticism is neither audible nor evident. The leaders themselves never speak of their weaknesses and defects; they resort to pathos only when they find it necessary to speak against the revolutionary opposition, to brand them and drive them out of the congress. They never speak of their own defects, but always of their services and the great benefits which they confer on the working class. In this regard the Soviet trade union congresses present a sharp contrast with the traditional congresses of the trade union bureaucrats, and consequently deserve the most serious and attentive study.

AMONG the bourgeois and reformist journalists there is at present a special variety of collector of Soviet defects. Through the emigrés, and in part directly, they fish out of the Soviet press all the negative passages which the Soviet writers and speakers use concerning themselves. Having collected an adequate number of such facts, they season it with a special sauce of hatred and, after mixing it to their own satisfaction, they offer it to their readers as "the truth about the U.S.S.R." told by Soviet leaders themselves. To this kind of collector the eighth trade union congress presents a particularly rich field. For in reality there was not a single problem concerning which there was not a citation of hundreds of negative facts. Whether it was a question of the state of industry or co-operation, of agriculture or the State machinery, whether there were organisational, cultural and educational questions under consideration, or the existence and life of the workers—the speakers unceasingly unmasked bureaucracy, struggle with the violation of democracy, scourged the degeneration of State and co-operative officials, not stopping before a harsh, ruthless condemnation of those links in the State, co-operative, and trade union machinery which had fallen under the influence of petty bourgeois elements, had

disintegrated and begun to carry out an anti-proletarian policy.

Given the desire to represent everything in a black light, to see only evil in the U.S.S.R., one can gather a very telling array of facts and citations and can remark, as the "Socialist Courier" very frequently does: "See what the Soviet trade union movement looks like." Let no one be disturbed by these methods of the enemies of the Soviet dictatorship and of socialism in the making. The most backward worker in the U.S.S.R. knows full well that self-criticism is a cleansing fire, and that in the purge of our ranks, in the disclosure of all the rottenness, the negative aspects of our work will inevitably be displayed and that in capitalist countries there are specialists in rottenness, greedy for sensations, who will clutch at every word of criticism. The Soviet workers know this; they are not disturbed in the least by it. Nor will it disturb one single European or American worker. When reading the "Vorwaerts" representation of the Soviet trade union movement, let them not be disturbed in the least, but remember that in this matter the Soviet proletariat acts in accordance with the French proverb: "The dogs bark, but the caravan moves on."

THE opportunists of all countries and of all shades never cease to prophesy a split between the Soviet trade unions, the Soviet government and the C.P.S.U. In connection with the intensification of the struggle against the right danger in the Comintern, right wing Communists have been found in Germany who have endeavoured to speculate on the attitude of the All-Union Central Council of Trade Unions. "The Comintern," these Communists considered, "is acting against us, the Profintern also, but the All-Union Central Trade Union Council is of our point of view." Certain right wingers in Germany indulged in such speculations, counting on the belief that the rank and file German Communist has no knowledge of the inter-relationships that exist between the trade union movement and the Communist Party in the U.S.S.R., and that it would be possible to disturb someone with such speculations. The opportunists of the U.S.S.R. counted on analogous factors. To these latter also it appeared that they might be able to find a

basis of support in the trade unions for those right tendencies on which the Party had declared war. But the opportunists of all countries were profoundly mistaken in their calculations. The congress demonstrated an unshakable will to insist on the political line and the organisational activity of the Profintern, and gave it wholehearted approval. The congress condemned those members of the trade union opposition who attempted to speak against the decisions of the fourth congress, and thus displayed the utmost unity of the ranks of the Soviet trade union movement in the struggle against the right danger in the ranks of the Profintern.

In all the decisions taken by the congress the entire unanimity of the congress with the general line of the C.P.S.U. is particularly emphasised, and in a special resolution the Communist fraction of the congress declared that the Communist trade union officials, who represent the backbone of the whole Soviet trade union movement, had been, still were and would remain with the Party, for the Party, against all its enemies and any form of deviation. The fraction declared that it regarded the rightward deviation as the most dangerous, and wholly and completely supported the decision taken by the November plenum of the C.P.S.U. Thus both on the Profintern line and on the internal Party line the opportunists of all countries were out in their calculations.

THE eighth trade union congress supported the general line of the C.P.S.U. in all its decisions. It was the first congress of Soviet trade unions to be held under the conditions of reconstruction. For that very reason the congress reflected the diffi-

culties which are bound up with the initial period of reconstruction in an agrarian country. The trade unions, the basic proletarian mass organisation of the U.S.S.R. perceive better than any other organisation or persons the material and cultural growth of the working class in Soviet Russia. But on the other hand they directly experience also the pressure of the petty bourgeois and raw elements of the proletariat, a pressure which arises out of the intensification of class antagonisms in the Soviet countryside. That is why the congress declared particularly strongly in favour of the necessity of struggling against the right wing danger and the reconciliation movement. In both internal and external policy it went hand in hand with the C.P.S.U., and with the international Communist movement. For that reason this congress, representing more than eleven millions of workers and employees, is of outstanding international importance.

Now the gigantic Soviet trade union movement is considering, studying and working over the decisions taken at the eighth congress. The international trade union and Communist movement in the form of the revolutionary unions and the Communist Parties must popularise the decisions taken at the eighth trade union congress, for those decisions herald not only a great step forward of the Soviet trade union movement, but the enormous successes of the entire international Communist and revolutionary trade union movement. The Soviet trade unions are flesh of the flesh and bone of the bone of international Communism, with whose spirit the decisions and resolutions of the eighth trade union congress were permeated to the last sentence.

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The Improvement and Cleansing of the C.P.S.U.

E. Yaroslavsky

THE PARTY MEMBERSHIP

THE problem of the social composition of the C.P.S.U. has always confronted us as one of the utmost importance, one to which throughout its existence the Party has given most attention. And this same problem has served as the subject of sharp attacks on the Party by the opposition.

At the very beginning of Bolshevism, at the Party second congress, disputes over the question of who should be a member of the Party divided us from Trotsky, who with Axelrod and Martov was very concerned to ensure that our Party constitution should not in any way hinder sympathising students and professors from regarding themselves as members. Throughout our struggle right down till October, the problem of attracting workers into the Party never vanished from the pages of our legal and illegal press, and constituted the special care of our finest organisers. Lenin especially always emphasised the necessity of concentrating attention on the large factories and works, of transforming them into fortresses, into a base for the activity of the Socialist Party, which should draw its finest reserves, should choose its leaders, and should fill out its committees from among the workers. For this reason in our struggle with the liquidators we attached enormous importance to the fact that in the State Duma the Bolsheviks were represented by five workers, that the workers were the main element in our subscribers to "Pravda" and 14 other newspapers, that the largest trade unions, those of the metal workers and others, supported our campaign, and so on. And if we had not had such a stable basis among the working masses, it would have been difficult for us to extend our influence to the army and the peasantry in 1917.

It is not the purpose of this article to make a detailed study of the changes that have taken

place in the social composition of our Party during the years since October. On the eve of October, Lenin, in "Will the Bolsheviks Maintain Power?" pointed to the fact that in the present-day situation as it is created by all the course of imperialistic development, "when the conscious workers have formed a Party of a quarter of a million, for the purpose of taking this apparatus into their hands in an orderly fashion, and setting it going with the support of all the labouring and exploited—when these conditions are evident to all, then there is no force on earth which can hinder the Bolsheviks, if only they do not allow themselves to be cowed and are able to seize power, from also retaining it until the final victory of the world socialist revolution." (1922 Ed.; p. 108.)

THE PRESENT POSITION

Needless to say, while on the eve of October the workers did succeed in consolidating a Party of a quarter of a million, the enormous tasks which confronted us on the morrow of October demanded the concentration of much wider strata of leading, class-conscious workers and the organisation of all the Communist elements under our Party's banner. This task is the more complex in the U.S.S.R., because of the fact that since the break-up of the Mensheviks and Socialist-Revolutionaries only one party is openly active in the political field, and also because even to-day the working class of the towns is a rather small group by comparison with the entire mass of toilers, and is, moreover, continually being supplemented by new, fresh reserves from the countryside, who bring with them their semi-peasant ideology. The Communist Party attracts not only the workers of the large factories and works, but also those of the small enterprises, and the artisans who have lost their independence, the poor peasant, and

even the middle peasant. The Party attracts the intelligentsia, not infrequently of petty bourgeois, suburban origin. Elements of a non-proletarian origin, who have worked for years close to the Party, and who have won its confidence, also penetrate into it. At the present time, the C.P.S.U. in consequence, presents from the social aspect, a far from homogeneous grouping. The membership is composed of approximately 61 per cent. of workers, 20.9 per cent. peasants, and 18.1 per cent. employees and others. This was the position on July 1st, 1928, exclusive of the Red Army and Soviet institutions abroad. Numerically the Party probably contains close on 1½ millions at the present moment.

ANALYSIS BY OCCUPATION

If an analysis be made on the basis not of social composition but of occupation, it appears that quite a large number of workers, proletarian by origin and by their previous occupations, are at the present time engaged in the direction of various administrative, economic, trade union and Party institutions and are no longer directly connected with production. Only 42.4 per cent. are directly connected with production, and of these 2 per cent. are agricultural labourers and the remainder are workers in factories, works and transport. Peasants by occupation constitute 12.3 per cent., employees 35 per cent., and others (students, artisans, unemployed, etc.), 10.3 per cent. It must not be forgotten that the Communist Party, which is a governing Party, is every day raising fresh workers to administrative and directive posts, thus drawing from the factories and works reserves of organisers and directors of the Soviet State in all its branches. Furthermore, unstable elements are continually penetrating into the Party, elements subject to the influence of the enviroing petty bourgeois milieu and to its degradation, and that under the influence of this petty bourgeois milieu individual members of the Party distort the Party line. We have never attempted to conceal these facts, and the work of our control commissions is directed towards systematically cleansing the Party from such elements; from alien, tainted, disintegrated, bureaucratised elements with connections foreign to the Party and the work-

ing class. And from time to time the Party conduct a general cleansing campaign, a fundamental examination and purging of its ranks. Such a cleansing occurred in 1921, when after the discussion with the Trotskyists, the Saprionovists and the "Workers' Opposition" the Party established the fact that there existed within its ranks anarcho-syndicalist and petty-bourgeois vacillations, when at its tenth congress it resolved to conduct a purging of its ranks. From the report to the eleventh congress we learn that the total membership of the Party (excluding Turkestan) before the cleansing of the Party, was 659,000, and after the cleansing it was 500,000. Thus 159,000 members, or 23 per cent. of the Party were expelled, or left voluntarily, during the purge, of which the voluntary resignations number about 18,000. In certain organisations the percentage of exclusions and resignations was very high, even in workers' organisations: in Leningrad 18.1 per cent.; in Moscow 17.8 per cent.; in Ivanovo-Voznesensk, 12 per cent.; in Nijni Novgorod, 17.4 per cent.; in Sverdlovsk, 18.8 per cent.; in Kostroma, 18.2 per cent.; in Tula, as much as 34.3 per cent. In the agricultural provinces the percentage in some places was still higher. Thus the Ribinsk organisation had a percentage of 38.9 exclusions.

Despite the fact that the purge was fairly violent, certain of our comrades, including Lenin himself, fully realised that owing to the great difficulties involved in such a purge insufficiently tempered and unsatisfactory elements still remained inside the Party. On March 26th, 1922, Lenin wrote to comrade Molotov:

"I do not propose a fresh general purge of the Party, for I think that at the moment it is practically unrealisable, but it is absolutely necessary that we should find some way of effecting an actual purge of the Party, i.e., of reducing its numbers, and if thought be given to it I am convinced that a number of suitable measures will be discovered."

Since then we have made several purges of our ranks; in a number of provinces there have been purges of the village nuclei, most tainted in their social composition and evoking the imprecations of the surrounding population; after the discussion with the Trotskyists in 1924 a purge of the Soviet and Higher

Educational nuclei was carried out. The opposition took the view that it was quite impermissible to carry out a purge of the nuclei after a discussion, since they said such a purge would be merely a persecution of those who had taken part in the discussion. They forgot that even in Lenin's time, in 1921, at the tenth congress it was decided to undertake a purge of the Party after a very serious discussion.

THE PROLETARIAN KERNEL

On the other hand, we have strengthened our Party by setting ourselves the task of increasing the proletarian kernel, and this has constituted the chief care of the Party. In this regard the figures published by comrade E. Smitten in his article: "On the Question of Party Growth," printed in "Pravda," No. 271, for November 21st, 1928, are extremely interesting. From this article we learn that since January, 1924, the number of worker nuclei has grown by 121 per cent. whilst the number of other, non-worker nuclei has grown only by 38 per cent. Not only has the number of nuclei grown, but their specific importance also. Whilst on January 1st the worker nuclei constituted only 17.5 per cent. of the total number of nuclei, at the present moment it comprises more than 25 per cent. The membership of the worker nuclei has also grown. At the beginning of 1924 it comprised less than one-quarter of the total Party membership; at the present moment worker nuclei embrace more than half of the total Communists, and the absolute figure of workers in nuclei has grown by 505 per cent. Whilst in 1924 there was an average of 24 Communists to a nucleus, on July 1st, 1928, there was an average of 66 Communists to each worker nucleus. Of recent years, concomitantly with the increase of our organisation in the factories and works we have turned to the organisation of craft nuclei, and at the present moment we have more than 5,000 such nuclei. In any event, we now have a little under 900,000 members and candidates who are workers or employees taken from the workers' ranks. And even if this figure be reduced during the forthcoming purge, it none the less represents an enormous force, an enormous number, if it be remembered that the average

percentage of Communists among the workers is about 12 per cent., whilst in the case of individual organisations the figure is still higher. (In Leningrad, 19 per cent. of the workers are Communists.) It must not be forgotten that the young workers who are not in the Party are members of the Young Communist League, so that these figures have to be approximately doubled if we wish to get any idea of the political complexion of the Soviet workers.

None the less, we have to face a definite lag. Among the worker Party members engaged in production there is a lag in the numerical growth of those occupied in large enterprises. Among the workers of the large enterprises we have a Communist section amounting to 12 per cent. of the total, whilst among the workers of the medium and small-scale enterprises (those employing less than 1,000 workers), the figure is 13.5 per cent. The new stage of the socialist construction is bound up with a strengthening of the role of the large-scale enterprises, especially those of heavy industry. In accordance with this the role and importance of the Communists working in these large-scale enterprises ought to grow. This is indispensable to the success of rationalisation, to the consolidation of the governing role of these enterprises. There is an inadequate flow into the Party of workers with a long industrial production record. Here we may note the Menshevik (alias Trotskyist) talk to the effect that the workers who joined the Party during the "Lenin enrolment" and in the "October enrolment," are workers who have not experienced the class struggle. But it is hardly necessary to dispute the fact that there were thousands of workers worthy of standing among the ranks of the foremost, the most class conscious, the most revolutionary proletarians, whom we did not succeed in drawing into the Party. Consequently, the November Plenum laid down that "the really most advanced elements of the working class must be induced to join the Party, those capable of leading the way as the vanguard of the working masses in the practical task of overcoming the difficulties of socialist development, of warding off the attacks of petty bourgeois irresolution, and of increasing the confidence felt in the Party by the whole mass of the workers and working peasantry."

The attention of Party members must be directed towards and concentrated on this, they must be galvanised in this work, all mechanical methods must be abandoned, every worker must display great initiative and persistence. This should result in the Party workers drawing closer to the formally non-Party elements. In places complaints are made of the passivity of the Communists, of their cliquiness, their feeble reaction to the problems agitating the working masses, and occasionally even of their haughty attitude to those masses. These features must be resolutely eliminated. The Plenum quite clearly formulated the concrete task: "It is our most urgent and definite task to gain as members for the Party those working men and women who have proved their political steadfastness in times of difficulty, who are real proletarian internationalists, who furnish a personal example of increased productivity and working discipline, who fight ardently and tenaciously against bureaucracy, who work actively for their cultural development, and who are therefore capable of closing more firmly than ever the Leninist ranks."

WOMEN WORKERS

There is a lag in the growth of Party membership among working women. Despite a number of objective, socially existent and economic conditions which still prevent the women workers from taking equal participation with the male workers in the life of the Party and the Young Communist League, we could achieve great successes in this sphere if we put sufficient energy into attracting the woman worker into our ranks. Naturally it is not only a question of propaganda and agitation, but also of giving the maximum attention to the elimination of conditions which hinder women workers becoming active mem-

bers of the Leninist Party and Young Communist League.

AGRICULTURAL WORKERS

It is of no less importance to achieve a corresponding consolidation of the Party ranks in the countryside. There our proletarian influence is less; there are no proletarian masses; there is less control over the Party centres; the influence of the petty-ownership elements is more severe and strong. We must with great insistence ensure the entry of the agricultural men and women labourers and the poor collective-farm peasants into the Party. The growth in the socialist elements in agriculture must occur parallel with the growth of the labourer and poor peasant kernel in our Party. During the forthcoming period we must measure the success of the Party work of any organisation, especially those in the agricultural areas, by the growth not only of the town workers, but also the workers on the land and in the forests. Adequate forces and resources must be flung into this work.

RECONSTRUCTION OF INDUSTRY AND AGRICULTURE

The November Plenum of the C.P.S.U. C.C. considered in detail the question of enrolling workers into the Party in connection with the change to the radical reconstruction of industry and agriculture. The Soviet State now has more pre-requisites for this work than it had previously. During Lenin's time those pre-requisites existed in far from so developed a form as now. Only idiotically malevolent considerations could have suggested to the Trotskyists the analogy of the present day with those of Kerensky, or their talk of the October film now being unrolled inside-out before our eyes. At a general town meeting of the Zaporozia party organisation on

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September 1st, 1925, Trotsky said: "The dry figures of the State Planning Commission are the first and the greatest witness in the world to the increasing triumph of socialism over capitalism." So very much has changed since he said that! If towards the end of 1925 the economic life of the country had so developed that for Trotsky "the dry figures of the State Planning Commission are the first and greatest witness in the world to the increasing triumph of socialism over capitalism," what is to be said of the present-day figures, which have far outstripped the figures of 1925? If the Trotskyists had the veriest drop, the veriest shade, the tiniest remnant of honesty and objectivity, they would have to recognise that since 1925 we have moved forward along the road to socialism with gigantic steps, both in the industrial and in the agricultural sphere. But just because we are moving with gigantic steps, just because the rate of our construction is so intensified, we are coming up against great difficulties and the greatest of opposition. We do not even refer to the fact that all the activities of the Trotskyists and their like (Sapronovists, Miasnikovists) are now a positive hindrance to that movement, are as much an obstacle as is all the activity of our class enemies.

EIGHTY PER CENT. WORKERS

But the Party knows excellently that these difficulties can be overcome only if the Party is sufficiently strong, sufficiently homogeneous, if the backbone of the Party, the proletariat, is as strong as possible. And hence arises the task which the Party has set itself for the immediately forthcoming period, of taking in again not less than 80 per cent. of workers, so that not later than 1930 "not less than half the Party's composition shall be workers in industry." This task will be carried out by us in its entirety, and probably even with something to spare, since the workers' movement into the Party is now quite strong. Of course, we shall have to restrict the acceptance of other elements.

In 1922, Lenin pointed out the danger of the worker section not being sufficiently strong in our Party. He wrote to comrade Molotov: "If we do not shut our eyes to the reality we have to admit that at the present time the proletarian policy of the Party is determined

not by its composition, but by the enormous, undivided authority of that more slender stratum which may be called the old Party guard. There has but to be a little internal struggle in that stratum and its authority will be, if not broken, then at least weakened to such an extent that the decision will no longer depend on it."

Consequently it is necessary to add to all the candidate stages, and to define with especial detail what has to be the concrete and practical condition of checking that the candidate stages are really passed through, and are not left an empty formality. Also it is necessary to establish a qualified majority in those institutions which decide the question of accepting new members into the Party, and it is necessary to make those acceptances conditional not on the decisions of the provincial committees alone, but on those of control commissions. Finally, other measures also have to be worked out for the purpose of facilitating the liberation of the Party from those members who are not in the least Communists, quite consciously carrying out a proletarian policy. (Tomsky's speech at the Fourteenth Congress of the C.P.S.U.) By the end of 1930, owing to the transference of part of the workers from production to administration, and owing also to the acceptance of not less than 80 per cent. of workers as new members of the Party, the total of workers in our Party will probably have grown to at least 70 per cent. of the total membership. This measure is indispensable to ensure that the Party shall be able to carry out the enormous tasks which confront it. It is necessary that the proletarian section of our Party should be able to direct the entire rebuilding of our economy not merely in words, but in deed. And it is vitally important that in the countryside the social composition of our Party should change radically in the direction of attracting the labourer elements on the one hand and the peasant collective-farm and commune workers on the other.

A purge of the Party at the present time is, of course, a much more difficult matter than it was in 1921. For the Party is twice, and more than twice, as large as it was then, and if in 1921 Lenin regarded this task as an extraordinarily difficult one (he even refused to carry through a new purge of the Party), at

the present time it is not less, but even more difficult. But the forces at our disposal for carrying out that purge at the present time are also much greater. It is obvious that we have to indicate a definite period for the purge, a definite order, the purging of the village nuclei first, for instance, then the Soviet employees, and so on, the Higher Educational Institution nuclei (students), and then our worker nuclei, the healthiest, and the least tainted. We have to link up this purge and check on our ranks with an enormous political activity for the raising of the political level and the level of activity of our Party members. This test must strengthen the feeling of responsibility of every Party member for the enormous work laid on him by the tasks of the socialist revolution. Needless to say, this purge must also check the extent to which each Party member is an internationalist, the extent

to which he recognises and realises the task of assisting the international struggle of the working class for socialism. The task which the Party has set itself will be carried out, no matter what its complexity, for on the execution of that task depends the success of all those measures which during the next few years have radically to transform the features of the Soviet State, to change it from being an agrarian-industrial country into one industrial-agrarian, to increase the socialist basis not only in the towns but in the villages also, to set the stable foundation of collectivism beneath agriculture, to effect the organisation not only of the town workers but the country toilers into all forms of co-operation, and to move with gigantic strides along the road of socialism, having united the leading proletarian Communist advance-guard with the masses of town workers and village toilers.

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The Congress of the French C.P.

By B.V.

THE COMINTERN INSTRUCTIONS

IN connection with the forthcoming congress discussion is developing inside the Communist Party of France. At the moment of writing this discussion is confined to general questions. Meantime it is absolutely necessary that such concrete questions as the consolidation of the Party on the basis of the decisions of the Comintern Sixth Congress, the decisions of the E.C.C.I., and those of the French C.P. itself in regard to the correction of the previously committed errors and the straightening of the Party line, should be considered, and considered with all due care. The Comintern Sixth Congress laid down that during the forthcoming "third period" of the post-war development of the workers' movement the most important tasks confronting all C.P.'s are those of preparation for the imminent great class struggles, the preparation of the proletarian counter-attack, and the struggle with social-reformists and right deviations for the leadership of those class struggles. In fulfilment of this instruction of the Sixth Congress the Communist Parties have to reconsider how far all their current practice, and especially all their organisational work is adapted to the organisation and leadership of the proletarian counter-attack. These instructions have very direct application to the French C.P. At its February, 1928, conference, this Party, in summarising the results of the work carried out by the Party during the preceding period, and in agreement with the corresponding decisions of the Comintern, declared:

"We have not succeeded in obtaining a sound estimate of the nature of the employers' and government's attack. This false estimate has been a cause of weakness in our leadership of the workers' movement, and of lack of energy in trade union work for the purpose of the proletarian organisation and struggle. As the result of this false estimate we have failed to take account of the movement which began in the spring of 1927. A whole series of errors,

which we must resolutely condemn, are in certain cases passing into a tendency to fetter the workers' movement. By way of example we may point to the textile workers' movement in the Loire district and to the various miners' movements, to the insufficient attention given to the struggle against partial unemployment, and to the obstacles laid in the path of the movement for a rise in wages."

THE STRIKES OF 1928

After this conference the Party passed through a period of a new wave of strikes which lasted through all 1928. Thus, according to the statistics of the "Unitary Confederation of Labour," from January to October, 1928, there were more than five hundred strikes.

What does the experience of those strikes tell us? The forthcoming Party congress must give special care to summarising the results of the experience gained in these strikes, must check the extent to which the Party has succeeded in overcoming the weakness indicated in the above quoted resolution of the February, 1928, conference.

According to our first preliminary information on the past strikes, the Party is still unable to boast of any serious achievement in the sphere of strike tactics and strategy, or of any noticeable movement in the sphere of its own organisational work.

Thus, for instance, according to the same report, of the five hundred strikes which occurred in France from January to October, 1928, sixty per cent. ended successfully for the workers. This witnesses to the militant mood of the French proletariat, to the presence of objective conditions in which with an adequate preparation and a sound leadership the proletarian counter-attack can reckon on a favourable outcome. But what role did the Unitary Confederation of Labour and its local organisations play in the preparation and leadership of the strikes during January to October, 1928? The leaders of the U.C.T. themselves give a very sad answer to this

question. In demonstration of this one has but to quote a few extracts from the speeches of responsible leaders of the U.C.T. at the Plenum of the U.C.T. Council in October, 1928, when the question of the lessons of the past strikes was being considered.

Comrade X: "The U.C.T. would appear to have been submerged by the strike movement. The masses moved more quickly than we did, and events also. Our organisations did not take the initiative. The practical line of the strike struggle was dictated by the masses. . . The movement came upon us with our old structure, with our organisations still without foundations in the factory. . . . The masses threw themselves into the struggle without thinking of repressions. The workers went into the struggle elementally. In the Citroen works, the workers were unorganised and we had no contact with them. . . . At the Berliez works in Lyons, the workers set up a trade union delegation without us and told the employer that they had nothing in common with the Unitarian trade unions." . . .

Comrade Y. declared that the majority of the strikes of the port workers were organised by the reformist trade unions.

Comrade Z. (the representative of the Northern committee of the Unitary Union of Textile Workers): "In Roubaix-Tourcoing, where 100,000 workers are concentrated, the influence of the Unitary unions is at a minimum and we do not know the attitude of the masses. There is one strong Unitary organisation, but its directing centre did nothing in regard to the strike, and in order to attach themselves to the strike the masses went over the head of this organisation. The strike in Tourcoing enabled us to establish that it was women, youth and foreign workers who brought the factories to a standstill. It eventuated that the main workers and Unitary trade union leadership did not realise the necessity of the struggle. At Hellem the youth took charge of the strike and extended it, despite the opposition of the trade union secretary."

Comrade L. reported that during the furriers' strike the Unitary union organised a strike committee, but the majority of the members of the committee proved to be antagonists of the Unitary union.

The examples we have cited are sufficient to establish that in the realm of leadership of the revolutionary Unitary trade unions and in the realm of leadership of the proletarian economic struggle the French C.P. is in the main repeating its previous errors.

One may ask further, in view of the fact that the instances cited have reference to the leading workers of the Unitary Confederation of Labour, how the leading Party centres estimated the position? Unfortunately this question has to be answered by saying that the leading Party organs paid little attention to the study of the concrete lessons of the strike movement. The temporary Politbureau published the following general conclusions from the experience of the 1928 strikes, only on December 16th last in "L'Humanité," as part of a general resolution on the internal Party situation: "The slogan for a general rise in wages has frequently been raised too late, the work for the united front and for the establishment of factory committees has been very inadequate. The unions of port workers and dockers, of metal workers, textile workers and miners did not take the initiative, they underestimated the militant readiness of the masses (the declaration of many strikes without preparation and without the participation of our Party), and at the same time they did not realise the leading role of the trade union organisation in the strike movement (the referendum among the textile workers of Rouen). The regional committees of the Party still do not give adequate attention to the workers demonstrations and have not succeeded in putting themselves at their head, thus testifying to their inability to understand the importance of the proletariat's economic struggle in the present conditions. Finally, the trade union work for the conquest of the large enterprises has been feeble, despite the decisions previously taken in this direction."

From the foregoing quotation from the Politbureau resolution of December 16th, it is clear that in the main the Politbureau estimates the position in regard to strikes in the same sense as the leading workers of the U.C.T.

In order to complete the picture, we also quote the letter of a certain Young Communist League comrade, who was a direct participant in the northern strike of textile workers. This letter to his comrades was written as an official

report on the position of the northern strike to the Central Committee of the Y.C.L.

The comrade first remarks that in his opinion the majority of the local workers thought it was necessary to wait until the social democratic leaders acted under the pressure of their adherents; in order words, here we have the favourite idea of the German right wingers, that it is necessary to force the trade union hierarchy to organise and conduct the strike. Obviously, from this aspect there is no point in talking of carrying through an independent preparation for strikes, of the creation of a revolutionary leadership of the strike movement, and so on. "L'Humanité" published an article by its "special correspondent," comrade Berlioz (the author of the notoriously opportunistic theory of "active reformism") on the strike of the northern textile workers. The beginning of this article was written in triumphant strain; the masses were rising all around, were marching into battle, the reformists were impotent to stop the movement, the employers were shivering in their shoes, and so on.

Then the triumphal tone began to falter and notes of alarm began to grow louder: alarm at the power and art of manœuvring shown by the reformists. Finally, Berlioz communicated (all in the capacity of special correspondent of the central organ of the Party) that the reformists and the government were so strong that the textile workers must retreat and admit themselves beaten.

ATTACK THE SOCIAL REFORMISTS

Of course, under no pretext should we depreciate the power and ability of the social reformists to carry out treacherous manœuvres. But our refusal to depreciate the power of the antagonist should involve first and foremost our own stronger attack upon and defeat of that antagonist, and not the stammering of opportunistic nonsense such as "force the hierarchy." Further, as the above-mentioned Young Communist's letter shows, the chief guilt for the strength of the reformists during the northern textile workers' strike lies also with the Communists, with the leadership of the local party organisation and in particular with the leading workers in the regional committee of the Unitary textile workers' union.

The young comrade writes: "In addition to

an inadequate analysis of the situation, a complete absence of political leadership." The comrade attributes the cause of this absence of leadership to the existence of insignificant differences among the leading comrades during the strike, which differences hindered their acting amicably. In order words, a poorly selected Party leadership, the absence of the necessary firm iron discipline. Further, the comrade thus characterises the work preparatory to the strike: "Work purely superficial, no solid work was done, which connotes that the 'class against class' tactic remained incomprehensible. The transition to the counter-attack was carried through without any preparatory organisational work whatever." Further, the comrade states: "They treated with the reformist trade unions in parliamentary fashion, and at the same time hundreds of thousands of workers, women, adolescents, adults, were touched only through meetings. No works' committee was organised, no picketing was considered."

The comrade attributes this truly miserable state of affairs to the passivity of the Party organisation. "The Communist fractions in the local organisations have never been active, and instead of the Communists giving life to the unions in order to attract the masses into the struggle, we have innumerable instances of trade union bureaucracy, especially in Tourcoing among the textile workers." We consider that the Young Communist comrade was absolutely right when, in summarising his analysis of the situation, he drew the following conclusion: "In the northern region our Party was not ready, it was . . . the textile capitalists who were masters of the situation in resolving the strike issue, and not our organisations."

THE DEFEATIST POISON

But possibly in view of the existence of such conditions the entire northern strike was an anarchial, putschist error, for which the central organs of the Party and the U.C.T. ought to bear the responsibility? According to the young comrade's letter such a deduction would be the greatest of errors. There may be discussion as to the wisdom of the date chosen for the declaration of the strike. The comrade confirms that an error was committed here,

and in particular that there was a display of anarchic arbitrariness on the part of one of the responsible workers of the Unitary textile workers' union, who declared the strike despite the decisions of the chief strike committee. If this actually happened the guilty worker should be immediately removed from all Party and trade union positions and condemned as a strike-breaker, for if it is a serious crime for the general discipline of the strike struggle to be violated by rank and file workers, the violation of the basic decisions of the strike committee by a member of that committee is a hundred times worse.

But once the strike is declared it is necessary to act with the greatest determination, in order to ensure the unanimity of the strikers and to paralyse the manœuvres of the enemies. Meantime, the young comrade writes: "On Saturday after dinner, and on Sunday the workers and strikers were left to their own devices by our organisations, and during this period the reformists and the Christian trade unions redoubled their activities for the extending of a defeatist mood among the ranks of the working class. In this work they were supported by certain contribution collectors of the Unitary union, who were the worst of defeatists." In other words, on the Sabbath day our comrades "rested," in accordance with the biblical injunction and the traditions of the petty bourgeois philistines and bureaucrats, whilst the reformists worked, drawing into their activities certain direct strike-breakers from the officials of the Unitary union. Then the following position arose. It appears that on Monday morning the same leader who, despite the decisions of the chief strike committee, had begun the strike, now called in the same manner for the ending of the strike in Tourcoing and in Armentières. Again, we do not learn from this letter what punishment this creature received for his still more serious crime against the working class, although it is quite obvious that the Party and the revolutionary trade union organisations ought to inflict a heavy punishment on their rank and file members for such activities, and a still heavier one on responsible workers. In particular the question naturally arises whether he can remain even as a rank and file member in the ranks of the C.P. and the Unitary trade union. Thus Monday was

passed in a dispute among the leadership, and the mass was evidently again left to the influence of the reformists and other strike-breakers. On Tuesday morning, our young comrade writes, the chief strike committee decided to organise a referendum. However, before the referendum took place, on Tuesday afternoon, a workers' delegation came to the strike committee with a declaration that the workers wanted to continue the strike. Then it was decided to continue the strike, and the question was even raised of extending the workers' participation in the struggle, which was done several days later, by the stoppage of several factories in Lille, but without any serious preliminary work in those enterprises.

There you have a very eloquent, and definite commentary on the declarations of the leaders of the U.C.T. and the resolutions of the Politbureau of 16th December.

SOME CONCLUSIONS

On the basis of these facts the forthcoming congress of the Party must draw all the political and organisational conclusions and compel the new Central Committee to put them into force as soon as possible; otherwise, as is quite evident, the C.P. of France will continue to remain impotent in the now maturing class battles, and will not be able to carry out the most important decisions of the Comintern Sixth Congress and its most important obligations to the French and the international proletariat. This issue is set by history with inexorable severity: either a straightening of the line in action, in the practical leadership of the proletarian class struggles, or a further series of heavy political defeats, with the further organisational enfeeblement of the Party organisation, is inevitable.

In the resolution of December 16th the Politbureau manfully laid bare all the most serious defects and errors committed by the party, and in particular by the fraction in the U.C.T. during the 1928 strikes. But it seems to us that this statement of defects and errors is not quite complete, and this circumstance will render it difficult for the party to straighten its line in practice.

SOME FURTHER CONCLUSIONS

We suggest, for example, that from the definite experience of the textile workers'

strike in the north the following unusually important conclusions arise.

Whilst the C.C. of the Party and the leadership of the U.C.T. have taken an entirely sound line, arising out of the decisions of the Comintern Sixth Congress and the Profintern Fourth Congress, and whilst this political attitude meets with the warmest sympathy and response among the working masses, the middle ranks of the Party and the Unitary trade unions are drawing the Party back to the old anarchic, reformist and professional opportunist methods of work. The young comrade previously mentioned also writes of this quite definitely. The C.C. of the C.P. of France have more than once discussed the question of the paucity of the cadres, so that in consequence of this insufficiency the Party is not in a position to exploit to the full favourable external conditions. Of course, there is a shortage of directing cadres in the C.P. of France, and the question of filling their ranks with fresh forces is undoubtedly among the most important problems of the Party at the present time. But simultaneously the Party is confronted even more definitely with the question of the immediate replacement of part of the present cadres, which during the strike and other demonstrations of the proletariat have proved themselves to be afflicted with officialism, bureaucracy, opportunism, and quite incapable of fulfilling the functions of cadres of the Communist Party in the present developing situation. A discussion on the right danger is going on in the Party. The names of individual members of the present C.C. who have manifested opportunistic tendencies are being openly mentioned. This self-criticism is indispensable. The Party is raising the question of a politically homogeneous political leadership. This also is sound, since, in the present period of preparation for great class battles and for the leadership of those battles, if the Party does not possess a politically homogeneous leadership it may find itself paralysed. But the political homogeneity of the leadership must connote a political homogeneity of leadership along the whole line of the Party hierarchy in the C.C., in the editorship of the central and the local organs, in the Party regional committees, in the fractions of the directing organs of the Unitary trade unions, and so on. And the greatest of

attention must be directed to the fact, more than once recorded of recent days, that the so-called middle cadres of the Party and in particular the middle cadres of the Unitary trade unions have deflected and are still deflecting the line of the Party C.C. and of the U.C.T. leadership to the right, in the direction of opportunism. As is particularly well known, this was clearly revealed during the last dockers' strike in Bordeaux, where the leadership had to obtain contact with the striking workers over the head of the local Unitary leadership, whilst the latter established a united front with the reformist leaders and did their utmost to hinder the development of the movement.

The natural question arises: Where are the new cadres to be obtained? The following answer must be given: from the rank and file workers who, during the course of the last strikes, have shown themselves to be staunch revolutionaries, bound closely with the masses and organisers and inspirers of the strike struggle. Undoubtedly many hundreds of such comrades have been revealed recently. There must be great boldness in beginning a systematic work of filling up the leading ranks of the Party by means of these finest front-line members of the proletarian mass struggle.

THE WORKERS ON THE LEFT

It is of imperative necessity that the Party should now give serious thought to the fact that during a number of the recent strikes a situation has arisen in which the local Party organisations, including the factory nuclei in certain cases, have under-estimated the masses' readiness for struggle and for sacrifice, and as a result the organisers of the revolutionary attacks of the proletarian masses have proved to be not the Party organisations, and not even individual Party members, but non-Party workers. Lenin frequently warns us against the possibility of a situation arising in which the working masses should prove to be more left than the Party, and that such a situation would demand of the Party a greater boldness in the development of revolutionary activities, more ruthlessness in the struggle with opportunism in its own ranks, more resolution in the establishment of internal Party democracy, in self-criticism, in changing leaders who have shown themselves incap-

able of preparing and directing the struggles. The C.P. of France is now evidently living through such a period. The situation is rendered more acute in their case by one further problem: that of drawing the rank and file mass workers and unskilled labourers into the Party and the Unitary trade unions. So far the Party and the Unitary trade unions are to a very large extent composed of elements of the worker aristocracy. Such a social composition cannot but have influence in the direction of intensifying the anarchic-reformist and the direct opportunist tendencies.

A number of the recent strikes, and, in particular, the northern strike of the textile workers, revealed the young workers, the women workers and the foreign workers as the active element of the movement, and in individual cases as the basic active element. But it is these sections of the proletariat that are least of all drawn into the Party and Unitary trade union organisations. The Party must adopt the most urgent measures to fill this gap.

BETTER ORGANISATION

The recent strikes have once again shown that the situation in regard to works nuclei and trade union fractions still remains very unsatisfactory, and that this circumstance is the cause of all the organisational weakness of the Party in regard to activity in preparation of strikes and of their leadership. It is time to establish the responsibility of the corresponding links of the Party machinery and the corresponding Party workers for work in this direction, it is time to stop organising the Party on the basis of factory nuclei only by resolutions and reports. In connection with this the question again arises of the sections devoted to Party life in "L'Humanité," in the pages of the provincial organs of the Party, and in the factory newspapers. When will these sections on Party life begin to function as the resolutions of the Party lay down, and as is demanded by the pressing necessity to strengthen organisational work? And when will the factory newspapers, in which also hundreds of good decisions are taken, also begin to grow in number and to appear regularly in the largest enterprises of all the most important spheres of industry? All these practical questions must necessarily obtain an

absolutely practical answer at the forthcoming Party congress.

In conclusion, we provide a few principles in regard to definite organisational work during strike movements.

1. Essential are the most intensive preliminary preparations inside the enterprises; the intensification of the work of the factory nuclei, and on factory newspapers; the obligatory meeting of the directing factory Party centre, together with the obligatory attraction of the finest leaders of the non-Party and revolutionarily minded workers.

2. From the moment that the corresponding directing Party body has taken a decision for a demonstration, and still more in the case of a declaration of a strike, the factory directing centre indicated in para. 1. must be transformed into a strike committee elected by all the workers of the factory, that committee to be the sole committee empowered to decide such questions as the continuation and calling off of the strike.

3. Inside the enterprises is necessary diligent preparation of elections for the strike committee (private meetings of the nuclei, nuclei meetings including sympathisers for consideration of candidates for the strike committee and its programme of action, the drawing up of definite organisational measures, and the question of how to pass these decisions at general or delegates' meetings).

4. From the moment of the declaration of the strike the regular issue of the factory nucleus newspaper not less than twice a week is absolutely essential.

5. At the close of the strike the factory committee is to be used for the formation of a permanent factory committee, and all the work of the Unitary trade unions is to be reorganised so as in its future work to operate entirely on such factory committees.

6. Wherever owing to the errors of our leadership during the recent strikes the reformists have taken the initiative and have set up their own factory committees and analogous factory committee organisations, there must be an immediate and most energetic struggle to capture these organisations, agitation among the workers of the enterprises for re-elections, an exposure of the traitorous role played by the reformists in breaking the

strikes, with a ruthless criticism of the local reformists and especially of the reformist factory committees, and so on.

8. The obligatory exploitation of the strike movement for the most energetic enrolment of new members (thereby not restricting this purely to agitation), both for the Unitary unions and for the Party, giving particularly serious attention to the fact that during the textile workers' strike in the north the youth, the women and the foreign workers appeared as the most active revolutionary elements.

9. The obligatory formation of Communist fractions in the strike committees. In cases

where there is a poor membership of the fraction, and in cases where no fraction exists whatever, there must be an obligatory appointment of the most responsible Party workers to those places, if possible from members of the bureau of the directing Party centre. Obligatory systematic direction of the work of the factory committee's fractions by the corresponding Party centre. Obligatory preparation of the fraction for every plenary session of the factory committee. Obligatory preliminary preparation of the striking Party members and sympathisers before every general and delegates' meeting of the strikers.



The Comintern on the Right Danger in The Communist Party of Germany

By B.V.

THE open letter of the Presidium of the E.C.C.I. dated 19-12-18, and addressed to all the members of the C.P. of Germany, is of great political significance and decisive importance, not merely for the further Bolshevik development of the C.P.G., but also for the struggle against right opportunist deviation in the whole Comintern.

This international importance of the Presidium's decision on the right danger in Germany becomes obvious immediately one considers that it is perfectly definite social economic conditions which have given rise in the present stage of the world revolution, to such a "luxurious revival" of the Brandler fraction, and to their liquidatory fractional activity, hostile to the Party and the Comintern, which dates from 1923.

The resolution of the Sixth Congress of the Comintern states quite correctly that at present the "main tendency of deviation from the correct political position is towards the right." Why is this right danger the chief danger now? This arises from the peculiarities of the present "third period of the international working class movement" which are described as follows in the theses of the Sixth World Congress:

"This third period, which has greatly intensified the contradiction between the growth of productive forces and the shrinking markets, makes a new era of imperialist wars inevitable. The sharpening of all international contradictions, the hostility between the imperialist countries and the U.S.S.R., the military occupation of North China as the beginning of the partition of China and of struggle among the imperialists, etc., the intensification of internal contradictions in the capitalist countries, the leftward development of the working class masses, the sharpening of the class struggle, the development of the colonial movement in China, Egypt, India,

Syria—because of all these factors, the present period will lead inevitably, through the further development of the contradictions in capitalist stabilisation, to a further breakdown of capitalist stabilisation and to a sharp culmination in the general crisis of capitalism."

This intensification of contradictions, this development of tremendously great struggles against the united front of the bourgeois parties and the bourgeois labour parties—the social democracy—frightens the unstable elements in the Communist Party and gives rise to right deviations. These right deviations became apparent when the Ninth Plenum of the E.C.C.I., the Fourth R.I.L.U. Congress and the Sixth Congress of the Comintern laid down the new tactics with the slogan "Class against Class."

The Presidium's Open Letter added to the general analysis given by the Sixth Congress of the sources of the right danger a concrete description and explanation of open and "conciliatory" opportunism, it exposes therein the liquidatory activity of Brandler, Thalheimer, and company to its fullest extent, and judges the "theory and practice of the right deviations and conciliators in relation to the actual life of the revolutionary German workers' movement and the day-to-day struggles of the C.P.G. The Open Letter to all members of the C.P.G., in dealing with the Brandlerites, points out clearly that "they not only fail to recognise the decisions of the Fourth Congress of the R.I.L.U. and the Sixth Congress of the Comintern, not only refuse to follow them, but recently have also set themselves actively to oppose their execution and to sabotage and obstruct the political work of the Party directed towards the realisation of those decisions. With regard to the policy of the conciliators, the Presidium's letter declares that "such a deep gulf has opened between the Party and the right fraction that there

can at the present be no talk of a 'reconciliation' between them. There is at the present time no room for the policy of conciliation within the C.P.G. The time has now come to choose between the Party and the right fraction. Either the Party, or the right fraction—that is the choice which must be made. An attitude of conciliation towards the right means, at the present moment, not only a renunciation of the struggle against the right and its splitting activities, but also support of the right as against the Party." Facts confirm this incontrovertibly. Consequently the Open Letter does not merely describe the concrete features and forms of right opportunism, and of conciliation in the German Communist movement, not only giving correct organisational and disciplinary directions which will lead to the immediate liquidation of the right liquidators and will overcome hidden, irresolute opportunism—conciliation—in the C.P.G.—it does more than that; it deals with the general political line through which right deviations and conciliation can be completely exterminated in all Communist Parties.

This is quite clear if we consider that, taken in its essence, the fight against the German rights and conciliators involves an analysis of the most urgent, most important questions confronting the world Communist movement, and all its sections, questions to which the Fourth R.I.L.U. and Sixth Comintern Congresses gave the answer.

What is the real significance of the third period in post-war capitalist development, as defined by the Sixth Congress; what are the new relations of class forces in that period; what tactics must the Communist Parties adopt in their struggles in order to translate into concrete reality the decisions of the Sixth Congress? On all these problems, the Comintern has shed much light by its decision on the opportunist right deviation in the C.P.

First of all, we must be clear about the meaning of this third period, which is the principal question of dispute not only in the struggle against the openly liquidatory Brandler group, but also against the conciliators who, it is true, theoretically dissociate themselves from the right, but actually follow faithfully in their footsteps. This is a basic question not only for the C.P.G., but for the whole international, because it is only from

a real Marxist-Leninist analysis of the present phase of capitalist stabilisation that revolutionary conclusions for the living practice of the Party can be drawn.

What have the right to say about the present position of capitalism? Do they agree with the resolutions of the Sixth Congress on relative stabilisation, with its analysis of the third period? Not at all! For them there is neither relative stabilisation of capitalism nor a third period. How can they speak of any third period in post-war capitalist development, when, for them the stabilisation of capitalism has lost its relative character, at least for a very long time. At night, as we all know, all cats are grey, and, as the right say, "everything remains as it has been," since capitalism defeated the first revolutionary onslaught of the West European proletariat and forced it, in long drawn out struggles, to lose ground step by step.

And what is the opinion of the "conciliators" on the present stage of post-war capitalist development? They "unreservedly" recognise—in words—the decisions of the Sixth Congress. Therein lies the difference between them and the opportunists. They admit the third period as it is reflected in their consciousness. And the way in which it is reflected in the consciousness of "cowardly opportunism," of the conciliators, differs in no respect from the attitude of the open opportunists. What is it in the third period that conciliators actually recognise? That aspect of it which is obvious to them. They accept the positive side of capitalist development, characteristically expressed in the third period: the growth of capitalist technique and productive forces, the fact that capitalism has outstripped its pre-war level of production. But they neither see nor wish to admit the "negative" side of capitalist stabilisation, the tremendous growth of capitalist contradictions, their recurrence to a continually intensifying degree which must lead to a further destruction of capitalist stabilisation. This explains their mockery of those who now, as in the past, agree with the ideas contained in the decisions of the Comintern since the Fifth Congress, which emphasise the relative, indecisive character of present stabilisation and give a correct revolutionary estimation of post-war capitalist development. But while the

conciliators amuse themselves at the expense of those who speak of "indecisive," "temporary," "unwholesome" stabilisation, they are laughing, too, at the decisions of the Sixth Congress. For their interpretation of the third period has nothing in common with that of the Sixth Congress which we quoted above.

From this social economic evaluation of the present position of capitalism there arises a definite conception of the character of the present struggle between trust capital and the proletariat. It is, therefore, no accident that from two diametrically opposed conceptions, of the right and conciliatory opportunists on the one hand, and the Communist International and C.P.G. on the other, there should arise two utterly opposed evaluations of the character of the class struggle. This, too, was clearly shown in the analysis of the right wing and conciliatory position.

What are the ideas of the right about the present character of the class struggle in Germany and elsewhere? For them it is nothing but a defensive struggle, nothing but "rearguard actions" of the proletariat which it has had to make everywhere since the Fifth Congress of the C.I. They are consistent in this respect, that, in making no distinction between the second and third periods, they do not recognise the necessity for any change in the tactical line of the Communist Parties.

What are the ideas of the conciliators about the character of the present struggles between capital and labour? They, too, emphasise, more than anything else, the defensive character of these struggles at the present time, and speak of the possibility of a change to attacking struggles only in the future, when a number of conditions have been fulfilled. In this respect too, they are in complete agreement with the right, who also admit the abstract possibility of a change from defensive to offensive struggles, but who will not admit that the objective conditions for this change to attack and counter-attack are already present in the movement. The reservation which the conciliators make in the real Leninist analysis of the present character of class struggles in Germany, Poland, France, etc., an analysis which declares that both offensive and defensive elements are present in the class struggles of to-day, only betrays their own

position of "cowardly opportunism." For it is peculiarly significant of class struggles to-day, as shown in the examples of Lodz, the strike wave in North France, the strikes and lock-out in Germany, that they are developing on a broader and broader basis, involving greater and greater sections of the working class and are therefore developing, as struggles against the trinity of trust capital, bourgeois State and reformism, from economic into political conflicts. The conciliators fail to see in this—as the right fail—that this change from economic to political mass struggles, which threaten the bourgeois order of society, in itself contains the connecting threads between offensive and defensive factors. The decisions of the Sixth Congress, on this basis, clearly express the new character of the present wave in the working class movement which forms the third period.

Hence, again, it is the accident that the ideas of the right, which openly contradict the decisions of the Sixth Congress, that the half hidden deviations in the ideas of the conciliators about the character of present mass struggles, find particularly strong expression in the question of trade union policy. Here, too, on this most important subject, the standpoint expressed in the decisions of the Fourth R.I.L.U. and Sixth Comintern congresses is diametrically opposed to the standpoint both of the right and of the conciliators who, if not openly, still quite clearly in practice, combat the employment of new trade union tactics.

The two congresses noted, as the starting point for the determination of our trade union tactics at the present time, the following facts: the most recent evolution of the social-democrats and reformist trade unions, their complete assimilation into the bourgeois State machine and trust capital, their new methods of strangling the industrial struggles of the proletariat, their social-fascist splitting tactics which grow with the leftward development of the working masses. To this new situation was due the emphasis laid on the necessity for the Communist Parties and revolutionary trade union opposition winning the leadership in mass struggles, and on the question of new forms of struggle and new organisational bodies for the greatest possible mobilisation and activating of militant workers. The experiences of recent struggles in Germany—

the lock-out of the Ruhr metal workers—afford an excellent opportunity for testing the correctness of those decisions and for clearly estimating the concrete methods of employing the new tactics. But in addition to that they also afford the best possible opportunity for really understanding the attitude of the right opportunists and the conciliators towards this most decisive question of the proletarian movement to-day.

What have the right wingers to say about the new strike strategy, as agreed upon by the two congresses? In their opinion "it leads to a split between the organised and unorganised workers, to a split in the trade unions, to abolishing the Party's influence in the unions, to complete separation from the workers, to isolation." This policy, according to the right, is a new and worse edition of the policy of Maslov and Ruth Fischer. "In its effect this policy is counter-revolutionary." The Brandlerites dare to say this, and during the Ruhr struggle they acted as strikebreakers, they worked hand-in-hand with the reformists to oppose any real revolutionary mobilisation of the masses, any real struggle against the trinity of the bourgeois State, the exploiters and their trade union servants!

What "fighting tactics" are proposed by the right? No other than the old slogan, "Force the bosses' hands," the methods of appeals and petitions to the reformist leaders, the old slogans of demanding payment of wages during lock-outs by the employers, and reopening of the concerns "under workers' control." The opportunist and liquidatory character of these demands and "methods of struggle" is obvious. It is nothing but the naked "Programme of Action" of Brandler and Thalheimer, no longer adorned with evolutionary phrases, the translation of the opportunist "transition slogans" of the Brandlerites into the hard reality of the proletarian class struggle, in which surroundings these transition slogans will immediately appear as what they are—counter-revolutionary "economic democracy" affirming and immortalising the bourgeois State and the capitalist order of society.

It is no accident that the famous Brandlerist transition slogans, when first brought into concrete relation with the revolutionary struggles of the masses, struggles which had

to proceed in opposition to the reformist trade unions, were converted into complete support of the trade union bureaucracy. In the course of the Ruhr struggle the right wingers showed that they were not only ready to "exploit" the arbitration machinery of the exploiters' State, but were prepared, if Severing would not support the award adjudicated by Wissel, to organise the continuation of the struggle under the slogan, "For the Wissel award!" In this they clearly showed that their "control of production," like the other "transition slogans," really mean the transition from the standpoint of revolutionary mass struggle, from the standpoint of revolution against the bourgeois State, to the standpoint of reformist "struggle" within the bourgeois State, the transition from the revolutionary camp of Communism into the camp of treacherous reformism. It follows therefore that the whole force of their slander is directed against the militant leadership of the locked-out Ruhr workers, created by the Communist Party of Germany, which could alone carry on a real struggle.

And the conciliators? It is true that they do not identify themselves with all the demands of the right, but that does not prevent them from supporting the "fighting slogan" of "payment of wages" by the State at the employers' expense, that does not prevent them from seizing upon the complaints of the right, that the leadership created by the Party in the Ruhr struggle could not attain its object because the Party in general was carrying out an incorrect trade union policy. Just like the right, the conciliators accuse the C.C. of the C.P.G. of not having employed correct tactics in the Ruhr struggle because it had transferred the greater part of its work from among the organised to the unorganised workers. They maintain that it was chiefly because of this that the Party did not succeed in winning any considerable percentage of the workers and that the so-called success in the mobilisation of the locked-out workers was only a bluff. Actually, the question of winning the unorganised workers through the Councils of Action, and incorporating them as far as possible as an active factor, as an active, driving force in the struggle, is decisive for our trade union tactics and not merely because it depends to a large extent on the revo-

lutionary answer to this question whether we shall, at the given stage of development, succeed in frustrating all the efforts of the reformists to play off the organised against the unorganised workers, thereby rendering impossible any spontaneous development of a revolutionary struggle on the part of the "lower ranks" of the proletariat against the reformist leaders, and over their heads. Although the trade union bureaucracy employed this method of dividing the workers' forces, throughout the entire post-war period, in order to fetter every industrial struggle in the iron chains of trade union legality, in order to disown every strike carried out in opposition to the trade union machine as a "wild" strike, this playing off of organised against unorganised workers has, at the present time, still greater importance. By this method the trade union reformists are hoping to kill two birds with one stone—first, to hide their policy of dividing the working class and of coalition with the bourgeoisie, by presenting this policy as that of the class conscious and organised section of the proletariat, of its, so to speak, organised vanguard, as distinguished from the unorganised masses; and secondly, and this is more important, to use this method of splitting the organised and unorganised workers into two hostile camps. In order to create a real division between the "upper" and the "lower" sections, to draw the former into the system of trade union legality and bourgeois "moderate constitutionalism," thereby making impossible any attempt to change the industrial struggle of the working class into a political struggle using revolutionary methods. This will be managed, in complete harmony with all the principles of economic democracy, which regards the associations of organised producers and of employers as the only two organised forces of modern social progress, by every dispute between capital and labour being subjected to the arbitration of the bourgeois State. Such action on the part of the State will be hailed by the reformists as being "above class or Party," and thus excluding the necessity for a political struggle.

In practice this means that the so-called "free unions," in close association with the yellow Hirsch-Duncker and Christian unions, appear, as it were, as the upholders of the

principle of organisation within the working class against the "wild" actions of the unorganised workers, a principle they uphold in order to frustrate any revolutionary initiative on the part of the unorganised masses. Moreover, the fact that the change from industrial mass struggles to political struggles in the present period is becoming an ever more urgent problem, indicates the part that will be played by the unorganised masses. It may be taken as almost incontestable that the degree to which this change takes place will be measured by the degree to which the unorganised masses develop into an active, driving force during the course of the struggle. This, of course, does not in any way lessen the importance of the revolutionary sections of the proletariat organised in trade unions, nor does it lessen the importance of the work we must do to win over the social-democratic workers within the reformist unions. But these tasks can only be fulfilled if the Councils of Action determine under the leadership of the Communist Party and the trade union opposition to effect an independent organisation of the struggle, i.e., an organisation which goes beyond the limits of trade union legalism and bourgeois constitutionalism, which tries, by propaganda and organisation, to change the economic into a political struggle directed against both the reformist trade union bureaucracy and the bourgeois State as a whole.

Whoever does not understand this does not understand anything of the character of the struggle which is developing, and will be inclined to over-estimate the importance of "enrolling" the bureaucratic trade union apparatus in the struggle and to under-estimate the role of the unorganised workers, will regard the committees of action as "auxiliary bodies" in the struggle whose whole activity should be directed to winning "recognition" from the trade union bodies.

In this matter the conciliators, as "cowardly-opportunists," are scarcely distinguished from the open liquidators, for they neither see nor wish to admit that under the particular conditions obtaining in the Ruhr struggle, the question of winning the masses through the militant leadership arose in a specific form and that, as far as the mobilisation of the unorganised workers is concerned, the old formula

of creating the united front from below, only through the lowest trade union bodies, no longer sufficed. In fact, the course of the Ruhr lock-out confronted the C.P.G., in its work of uniting organised and unorganised workers by a unified fighting leadership, with questions which could not be answered by the old formulæ, and there is no doubt that the Party and the revolutionary trade union opposition acted correctly in making it their chief task—this being in complete agreement with the decisions of the R.I.L.U. and Comintern Congresses—to place the conduct of the struggle in the hands of Councils of Action elected by all the locked-out workers and carrying on a sharp struggle against the treacherous trade union leaders. On this question the conciliators were untrue to their own opportunist nature, when they ridiculed the success of the Party in winning the unorganised workers, and described that success as bluff because the Party was not able to force a continuation of the struggle. They show quite clearly that they too adopt the attitude of the “labour aristocracy” which believes that the mobilisation of the unorganised workers has no real importance because only through the trade union struggle can the employers be forced to give way. They do not understand that the characteristic feature of the mass struggles now developing is to be sought in the fact that the unorganised sections of the working class are more quickly revolutionised than the organised. Nor do they understand that, because of this, the task of setting up an independent leadership in struggles must be carried out not only by drawing the trade union apparatus, even though it be only the apparatus of the subordinate bodies and committees, into the struggle, but, before all, by ensuring real revolutionary leadership of the struggle, by explaining to the workers that only their own power will give the victory over the employers and the reformists. The conciliators, just like the right, regard mass action from the point of view of winning the trade union machinery, declare that most important task of the struggle is to exercise pressure on the bosses, and in doing this they illustrate the real meaning of the decisions on the new tactics in the industrial struggle.

The question of the tactics employed in the Ruhr lock-out is of special importance to all our Parties, again, because it permits an examination of the line laid down by the Congresses. The C.P.G. has performed the valuable service of having used and tested the new forms of struggle laid down in the decisions of the Fourth R.I.L.U. Congress and the Sixth Comintern Congress. However many mistakes may have crept into the concrete, detailed carrying out of these decisions, one thing is clear—while the German Communist Party was acting, while it was organising the thousands of locked-out metal workers, on the basis of a really revolutionary tactic, under their own fighting leadership, hostile to the treacherous trade union bureaucracy, while, for the first time, it gained a firm footing in concentrated large-scale production by winning the unorganised workers, the right wingers were openly working as strike breakers, sending their adherents into the area of struggle to give the most shameful assistance to the social-democrats and trade union bureaucrats by supplying them with material intended to awaken distrust of the revolutionary leadership of the Ruhr struggle throughout the Party and the whole working class.

And the conciliators? Instead of fighting with the C.C. against the traitors in their own ranks, they declared that the most important duty was to fight both the right wing and the present “regime” in the Party.

So, while the Brandlerites refused to accept the decisions of the Sixth Congress and even went further and actually fought against them in practice, the conciliators, by their ambiguous position, really supported the right wingers in their struggle against the C.C.

It is clear from all the actions of the right that they approach nearer to the social-democrats every day and that they are more and more becoming an independent fraction within the C.P.G. The fact that they publish their own newspapers, leaflets, etc., the fact that they put forward their standpoint, deviating from that of the Comintern, at open meetings, shows this most clearly. The Open Letter of the Presidium is therefore absolutely correct in stating that the C.P.G. should no longer put up with the splitting activity of acceptance of the ultimatum formulated in the the right and in demanding the unqualified

resolution of the C.C. of the C.P.G. on December 14th.

Non-fulfilment of this demand will, of course, lead to the exclusion of the Brandlerites in Germany, and the refusal of Brandler and Thalheimer, the leaders of the right, to give an account of their splitting activities personally to the C.P.S.U. will have the same result. With regard to the conciliators, the Open Letter declares that they should make a definite break with the right and take up the struggle in a consistent manner under the leadership of the C.C. of the C.P.G.

The question of the complete destruction of the right fraction in the C.P.G., and of overcoming "conciliation," exhaustively discussed and answered in the Presidium's Open Letter, has, as we have remarked, tremendous importance for the whole Comintern.

The Open Letter shows how the right deviations, in certain circumstances, must, because it is opposed to Comintern policy, offer resistance to the Party and the Comintern, both ideologically and organisationally, as a separate fraction; and declares that the strictest organisational measures must be taken by the Party to combat it. Only such measures can preserve the capacity for action of our Communist movement. An essential condition for the liquidation of the right wingers in our ranks is, as the Presidium's Open Letter points out, a ruthless struggle against any attempt at reconciliation with them.

CONCLUSION

The Open Letter of the Presidium of the E.C.C.I. deals with all those questions concerning the future internal development of the German C.P. with the necessary Bolshevik clarity. Now—and this is most important if there is to be clarity on the situation of the German Party and the dynamics of its future development—there can be no more talk of carrying out a policy of coalition of the forces in the Party, under the banner of so-called "concentration" in order to "normalise" relations within the Party. If the conciliators are the most zealous advocates of such "concentrations," they only show thereby that they deliberately refuse to see what has happened since the Sixth Congress and since the E.C.C.I.'s Open Letter of 6th October, 1928.

In the present circumstances of the struggle

against the right in Germany, requiring a ruthless suppression of conciliation, any such demand for the "concentration of forces" in the C.P.G. can only mean the creation of a "balance of power" system between two hostile tendencies in the Party; one, led by the C.C., represents the great majority of the Party, and takes a truly Leninist line, while the other consists of generals without an army, who, on any decisive point, vacillate now towards the right, now towards the Party and the Comintern. Such a balance of forces has obviously nothing in common with a truly Bolshevik concentration of forces, but is merely a transference into the ranks of the Communist Party, of the social-democratic policy of "organising Party opinion," of the system of "coalition of various tendencies." If the conciliators try to "concentrate" their attacks against the regime within the Party and against its C.C. on the pretext of such "concentration," they merely prove that they have learnt nothing from the events which have occurred in the last few months.

While the open Brandlerites have, to an ever increasing extent, opposed the decision of the Fourth R.I.L.U. and Sixth C.I. Congresses in order finally, on the pretext of the Wittorf case, to raise the standard of rebellion against the Party quite openly, the conciliators not only failed to join their efforts to those of the whole Party in the struggle against the right but have, as the Open Letter states, "become in the last two months more patient with the right and more impatient with the Party." They have replaced the Congress slogan of the fight on two fronts against the "right" and "left" by a new slogan of the fight on two fronts—against the right—in words—and against the policy of the C.C.—in fact, against the policy of the Party.

The conciliators can no longer deceive anybody with their demagogic speeches on the necessity of a new "concentration of forces." Or do they still seriously believe that there are honest revolutionary workers who will support their demand that the German Party and its C.C. should carry out a policy of "concentration" with those who, quite openly or otherwise, fight against the decisions of the R.I.L.U. and the C.I.? In a Communist Party there cannot and shall not be any "concentration" with liquidators or those who put

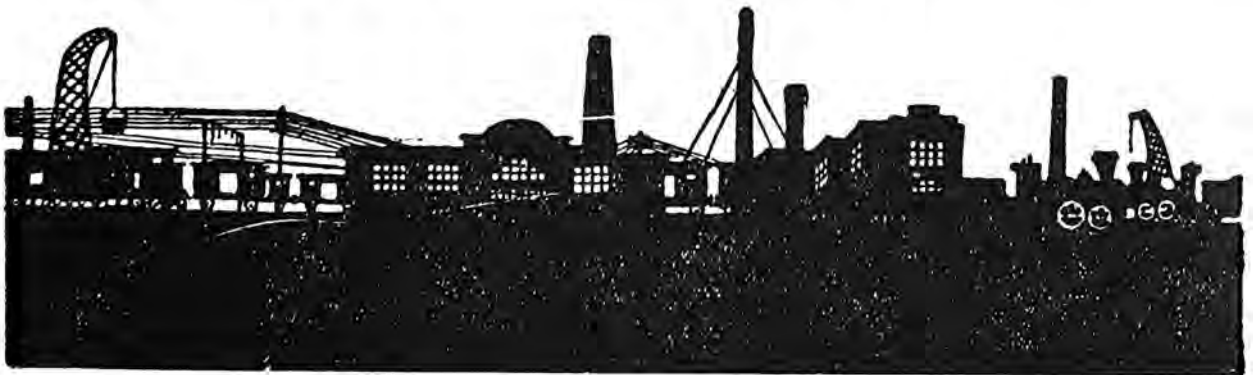
obstacles in the way of fighting the liquidators. The conciliators must take note of that once for all.

But perhaps the conciliators are so insistent upon the necessity of concentration, i.e., of coalition with the right, because they want to prove that without an agreement, without coalition, the Party cannot carry on the correct struggle against the right. This only shows that the conciliators still refuse to see the part they have played in that struggle. The whole activity of the Evert-Meyer group up to the present has given irrefutable proof that not only were they not "the strongest supporters" of the German Communist Party in the struggle against the Brandlerites, in the fight to carry out the Leninist policy of the R.I.L.U. and C.I., but that, on the contrary, they did everything to obstruct that struggle. That is why the Open Letter lays it down as one of the most essential tasks of the German Party to undertake "a systematic struggle to overcome the conciliation tendency, which obstructs the fight against the right." Only if it carries out that task will the German Party be able to put an end to all the vacillations and deviations which, really are nothing but an evasion of the growing class struggles, nothing but an attempt to run away from those struggles. Only on such conditions can the C.P.G. really march at the head of events, instead of being dragged along behind, as the conciliators would like, since they are still in favour of an ideological struggle only against the right wingers in the Party.

P.S.—We have just received the report that the leaders of the German right, Walcher, Fröhlich and others have not accepted the ultimatum presented to them by the C.C. of the German Party and ratified by the E.C.C.I. Presidium, and that they have therefore been expelled from the Party. The fact that the right rejected the demands in the ultimatum on the pretext that they wanted to "discuss" these demands collectively, again demonstrates that organisationally as well as ideologically, they have constituted themselves an independent Party wishing to deal with the C.P.G. and the Comintern as an "independent and equal power."

It only remains to add to the words of the Open Letter—"Brandler, Thalheimer and the other leaders of the right fraction have, by their political platform and their fractional activity, disclosed themselves as social-democratic politicians and have, objectively, become tools and agents of the reformists within the Communist Party,"—that from now on they will play their part, subjectively as well as objectively, outside the ranks of the Communist Party, hand in hand and shoulder to shoulder with all the renegades. Doubtless, too, their future development will lead them into the arms of the left social-democrats, into the social-democratic agency of the bourgeoisie, and will guide them into the ranks of those who begin by attacking the Comintern and end with a mad hatred of the U.S.S.R.

That is the objectively historical road for all those renegades who break away from the Communist International.



Book Review

Ten Years of New Germany, by V. VOYTINSKY.

STATISTICS OF 1915-1925

A SHORT while ago a new book by the Menshevik emigré, Vladimir Voytinsky, "Ten Years of New Germany," was published. It contains statistics on area and population, the national economy and financial system, social policy, the housing system and political life for the last ten, and in some cases for the last forty, years (1882-1925). Since Germany is a country of the type which the programme of the Communist International describes as of "highly developed capitalism," Mr. Voytinsky's statistical tables enable us to examine, in the light of objective figures, whether and to what degree the tendencies of development in Germany confirm what the Programme of the C.I. declares to be the tendencies of development in capitalism generally.

The internal structure of capitalism in the period of imperialism—i.e., of declining capitalism—says our programme, changes because the technical and economic advantages of large-scale production lead, in the competitive struggle, to the destruction of pre-capitalist economic forms and to the greater and greater concentration and centralisation of capital. This general law, however, works out differently for industry and for agriculture. We shall examine both in reference to Voytinsky's figures.

In the sphere of industry we see that, despite the tremendous mutilation of Germany by the "Allied" imperialists, there is a very great growth in productive forces. The territory ceded by Germany meant a loss of 15.7 per cent. of her former coal production, 48.2 per cent. of iron ore production, 58.8 per cent. zinc, 25.6 per cent. lead, 22.6 per cent. blast furnace production, 20.9 per cent. cast iron production, 17.5 per cent. welded iron production, 59.4 per cent. zinc work production, 20.2 per cent. lead works production.* In addition there was the loss of production in the Saar district and of the sources of raw materials in the colonies.

* All percentages according to values.

During the years of inflation German industry renewed and extended her technical equipment. If the difference in the auditing methods of working costs in 1907 and 1925 are considered, it is seen that the output capacity of power machines in German industry in that period increased on the average by 183.7 per cent., and in some industries by 300 per cent. and more (e.g., in iron and metal production, machinery and transport construction, the chemical industry, rubber and asbestos production, the electro-technical industry, and in medical and optical instruments—in the last there was an increase of 740 per cent!). In addition electrification, so characteristic of modern economic development, shows very great progress, for in 1907 scarcely 25 per cent. of primary motors were worked on electricity, while in 1925 the percentage was 66. In more or less the same period, that is, from 1910 to 1922, Germany's most powerful capitalist competitor, the U.S.A., increased its use of primary motors in industry by 60 per cent.

The co-efficient of electrification (electrical energy as a percentage of total energy) was in 1923 no higher in the U.S.A. than in Germany, amounting to 67.1 per cent. (In 1909 it was the same as in Germany, 25.6 per cent.)*

The economic development of Germany in the last decade—as in the previous one—shows above all a continual growth in the role of industry in national economy. In 1882, 33.8 per cent. of all occupied persons were engaged in industry and manufacture; in 1895, 37.8 per cent.; in 1907, 40 per cent.; and in 1925, 41.3 per cent. Industry showed the greatest proportional increase in numbers employed. The latter total rose by 17,743,000 between 1882, when it was 18,110,000, and 1925, and industry took 7,537,000 of these, or 41 per cent.

What do the figures show with regard to those changes in the structure of industry of which our programme speaks? What is the

* V. Voytinsky. "The World in Figures." Vol. IV, pp. 56-83.

relation between large and small concerns in Germany? Voytinsky maintains, on the basis of the most recent statistics, that the movement towards concentration in industry, which has been going on very rapidly in Germany for a long time, has in the last few years been developing particularly rapidly. Up to 1907 small concerns (employing up to five persons) had been declining both relatively and absolutely (from 2,176,000 concerns employing 3,270,000 persons in 1882 to 1,760,000 concerns employing 3,048,000 persons in 1907); between 1907 and 1925 the number of concerns and the number employed (within the present German realm) remained practically the same (decreasing to 1,614,000 concerns employing 2,837,000 persons), but their percentage share in production continued to decline. Middle-sized concerns (employing from six to 50 persons) increased slowly, but steadily in number. But while in 1907 both these types employed more than the large concerns—5.1 as against 4.7 millions—in 1925 the respective figures were 5.7 as against nearly seven million in large concerns. The percentages of the industrial population employed in large scale concerns were as follows: 1882, 26 per cent.; 1895, 34 per cent.; 1907, 48 per cent.; 1925, 55 per cent. Very large works, employing 1,000 or more, amounted in 1895 to 248 with 430,000 employees, in 1907 to 548 with 1,218,000 employees (on the present area basis, 504 with 1,176,000 employees) and in 1925 to 892 with 2,109,000 employees. Heavy industry has the highest degree of concentration—mining and associated works, in which the number of concerns decreased by 17.5 per cent. between 1907 and 1925, while the number employed increased by 57.4 per cent.; iron and metal production, the chemical industry, in which, during the same period, the number of concerns rose by 19.9 per cent., and the number employed by 59.9 per cent. Machine construction, the electro-technical and textile industries are also highly concentrated. In the latter two the degree of concentration also increased greatly from 1907 to 1925 (in the electro-technical, tool and instrument industries the number of concerns increased by 120.7 per cent. and the number employed by 231.8 per cent.; in the textile industry the first decreased by 2.3 per cent. and the latter increased by 17.7 per cent.). As a whole, the

number of concerns increased by 1.9 per cent. between 1907 and 1925, and the number employed increased by 26.8 per cent. Another extremely interesting fact. In 1907 1,953,000 persons working all together 18.5 million hours per day, were employed in mining, iron and metal production, machine construction and in the electrical and chemical industries, while in 1925 there were 3,522,000 employed working 28.2 million hours. In the production of consumptive goods—in the manufacture of iron, steel and metal goods, in the textile and paper industries, in the leather and linoleum, food and clothing industries, the number employed rose from 4,862,000 to 5,684,000 but the number of hours worked daily fell from 46.2 to 45.4 million. Thus, although almost all the new workers coming into industry found employment in industries manufacturing production goods, the most important industries producing articles of consumption were able, with reduced human labour power, but with improved machinery, to satisfy the demands made on them. Another striking confirmation of the Marxian thesis, expressed in the C.I. programme, that capitalist development is towards an increasing organic composition of capital.*

Even greater than the growth in the technical concentration of industrial capital has been that of financial and economic concentration, on which Voytinsky's figures shed a bright light. More than one-third of the total share capital of the 12,000 limited companies which existed in Germany in 1927, with a total share capital of 21.5 milliard marks, is held by 60 huge undertakings owning 7.4 milliard of capital. These include industrial undertakings as well as large banks, particularly the three "D" banks. The "octopuses," the International Dyestuffs Corporation, whose activity extends to mining, chemicals, foundries, the electro-technical and textile industries, and the United Steel Works, an amalgamation of the Rhine-Elbe Union, the Phoenix and Thyssen concerns, which controls the whole of German heavy industry, possess respectively 1.1 and 0.8 milliard marks share

* We shall not here deal with the striking confirmation of the policy of our Party in the Soviet Union afforded by the facts referred to above. The German statistics for the last few years will be the basis of a special examination devoted to that point.

THE VI WORLD CONGRESS OF THE COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL

*The following books dealing
with the Sixth World Congress*

**THE REVOLUTIONARY MOVEMENT
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capital. On October 31st, 1927 there were about 300 concerns combining 2,106 limited companies controlling about 62 per cent. of the whole share capital of Germany. In particular they controlled the whole potash industry, 99.6 per cent. of the share capital of concerns connected with mining; 95.4 per cent. of house coal mining; 90.1 per cent. of mining, and 88.5 per cent. of the capital in the iron and metal production industries!

This is a sufficient indication of the tendencies in industrial development, and also confirms the corresponding theses of our programme. Now as to agriculture.

Here the law of the concentration and centralisation of capital is apparent not only in the differentiation of the peasantry and their proletarianisation, but more obviously in open and concealed methods of the subjection of the small peasants to capitalism. They can only preserve the appearance of independence at the cost of extreme exertion and systematic under-consumption. This is indicated by the fact that the share of agriculture in the national income is much lower than its proportions of labour power employed (income 20 per cent. and proportion of total working population employed in agriculture, 30.5 per cent.), and again by the fact that the number of family members working as assistants—partly on account of the housing shortage and unemployment in the towns—has increased greatly and amounts to 52 per cent. of all workers employed in agriculture (in industry and manufacture the corresponding figure is only 1.7 per cent.); of these more than 26 per cent. are the unskilled and economically less valuable members of the family, i.e., women. Other figures point in the same direction. The number of small and medium farms is growing, but this increase is mainly due to an extension in the very small holdings, and the average size of the holding has decreased from 0.6 hectares in 1907 to 0.5 in 1925: the smaller the holding, the greater the exploitation of the family (in very many cases of holdings under five hectares the number of family members amounts to 56.1 to 62.6 per cent. of the total employed, while in large farms it is from 0.9 to 13.8 per cent.). These small holdings are very inadequately equipped with machinery, cattle and artificial manures; of 8,552 mechanical ploughs, farms up to 10 hectares

possessed only 188, and have only 2.1 to 9.0 horses per 100 hectares, while the larger farms have from 13 to 16.9

From these dominating tendencies in agricultural development arise those tendencies in social development pointed out in our programme and statistically proved by the figures of the last ten years development in Germany, greater employment of women and child labour, increasing proletarianisation of small holders and intensification of class contradictions. Even though the statistics of the class state place these phenomena in the worst light, Voytinsky makes many most instructive disclosures.

In industry the degree of proletarianisation increased from 81.2 per cent. in 1907 to 84.9 per cent. in 1925 and in trade and commerce from 64.7 to 69.4 per cent. During the same time the percentage of non-manual workers in the total working population increased enormously, mainly in the employment of female labour (from 7.7 out of 56.7 per cent. in 1907 to 12.9 out of 60.7 per cent. in 1925). In agriculture the degree of proletarianisation has fallen owing mainly to the replacement of outside labour by labour supplied by the members of the family (from 33.7 to 28.4 per cent.); the wife and child have become the paid workers of their own paterfamilias.

Between 1913 and 1918 unemployment among trade unionists varied from 1 to 7.2 per cent., between 1919 and 1922 from 1.5 to 3.8 per cent. Then came 1923, the "Black Year," with its "stabilisation crisis" and the "rationalisation crisis" of 1925-1926. Within a few months unemployment among trade unionists* increased tremendously—to more than 20 per cent. totally unemployed (between November, 1923, and February, 1924, it varied from 23.4 to 28.2 per cent.), and more than 40 per cent. on short time (varying between 42.0 and 47.3 per cent. in the same period). The percentage of completely and partly unemployed never fall below 6.5 per cent.

INCREASING RATE OF EXPLOITATION OF THE WORKING CLASS

Two series of figures will throw sufficient light on this.

* Only one third of the German workers are organised in Trade Unions. Since 1920-22 "free" Unions have lost 45 per cent. of their membership.

After the two crises of 1923-1926, the total wealth of the 3,021 limited companies surveyed by the National Statistical Bureau amounted to 26.1 milliard marks. For the business year 1925-26 they made 657 million marks net profit or 3.76 per cent. on their capital, while for 1926-27 the profits were 881 million or 4.98 per cent. net profit. On the other hand the real wages of skilled printers fell in September, 1923, to 38 per cent. of pre-war wages. That of metal workers to 54 per cent., that of building workers to 63 per cent. In 1924 and 1925, according to Voytinsky, increases in wages were much less than increases in the cost of living; in 1926, in spite of further increases in the cost of living, wages remained practically the same, while in 1927 "the wages of unskilled workers were slightly higher than in 1913 and the wages of skilled workers had scarcely exceeded that level."* That is, at one extreme the accumulation of wealth and power, at the other hunger and wretchedness!

This contradiction is expressed—however weakly—in labour disputes. The annual average number of strikes for the period 1909—1913 was 2,171, affecting 7,998 concerns employing 537,000 workers. The number of working days lost per year was, on the average, 6.3 million. These figures were greatly exceeded in the years of revolution and "strike fever," in 1919—1922. The number of strikes doubled (1922—4,348); the number of concerns affected was seven times as great (1921—52,244); the number of workers involved five times as great (1919—2,725,000), and the number of working days lost also five times as high (1919—3.2 million). This was followed by an ebb in the wave of strikes; 1926, the year of rationalisation, that is, of the uttermost exploitation and distress, coupled

with increased pressure from the reformist Trade Union machine, and of "arbitration"—that year marks the lowest point in the movement, unknown in the pre-war period, with 316 strikes affecting 1,903 concerns and 85,000 workers and involving a loss of less than 0.9 million working days. At the same time—and this must be particularly emphasised as the most overwhelming proof of base treachery towards the proletariat on the part of "industrial peace" Trade Union bureaucrats—lockouts increased continuously from 1923 to 1926, reaching a hitherto unparalleled extent. In 1924 (the crest of the movement), there were 392 lockouts affecting 11,003 concerns and involving 1,096,000 workers and a loss of 22.8 million working days (yearly average 1909—13: 425 lockouts affecting 4,731 concerns, 174,000 workers and a loss of 4.9 million working days). 1927 showed a much happier state of affairs. The number of strikes and strikers was more than double that of 1926, the number of lockouts and workers locked out fell. Everything points to the present year (1928) being shown in the statistics to be one of a great intensification of the class struggle on both sides. The era of "bridging over" class contradictions by the cunning and treacherous practices of the social-democrats and trade union bureaucracy, is, to all appearances, at the beginning of its end.

The bourgeoisie liberal publisher of Voytinsky's book launches it on the world as a book speaking to the reader of "economic reconstruction, industrial prosperity, the winning of a world position, political consolidation, social progress." To our attentive readers it will speak of the correctness of the Communist International Programme and of what striking confirmation that programme finds in the latest developments of a highly developed capitalist country—Germany.

* The responsibility for these—as for all other—figures, lies entirely with Mr. Voytinsky.

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The U.S.S.R.'s Peace Proposals

THE opening weeks of the year 1929 are very significant from the aspect of international politics. The tendencies towards international conflicts, towards war, which are inherent in the inter-relationships of the imperialist States, have been shown with fresh force in various sections of the international front. It was not for nothing that the traditional new year articles in the bourgeois press bore the impress of care and uncertainty in the customary discourses on the world development of capitalism. One need not quote Lloyd-George, who in the search for votes has been transformed into a professional prophet of the woes and disasters threatening the world as a result of the fact that he, Lloyd-George, is not participating in the direction of the destinies of capitalist Europe. But it is characteristic that the customarily restrained writer on international politics in the German liberal-democratic "Vossische Zeitung," who is active in defence of the idea of the pacification of Europe with the aid of the League of Nations, was in his new year article forced

to admit the existence of a tense situation in Europe. In the eleventh year after the close of the war he is forced to ask the question: "Was the world war really the beginning of the great European revolution, will a still greater revolution follow this? Like a menacing cloud a crisis hangs over Europe, and everyone of us has the feeling that nothing has been done yet."

The declarations of the social-democrats at the beginning of 1929 are in complete accord with the reformist tradition and in strict contradiction to the reality. Kautsky in particular could find nothing better to say than that 1929 would prove to be the beginning of an era of socialist expansion—evidently within the framework of capitalism.

WHAT are the basic facts characterising the international situation at the beginning of the year, which according to Kautsky is opening the extraordinary era of the "socialist development of capitalism"? In the first place, one has to note the preparations

for negotiations concerning the reparations problem, negotiations which by all the signs (and in particular the participation of the world usurer, Morgan, in them) should represent the next attempt of London, Paris, New York and Berlin banking capital to regulate the problem of international indebtedness, and thus to clear the ground for further rivalry. It is characteristic that representatives of banking capital are among the first to become members of the commission of experts from all countries.

Along what lines the leading imperialist Powers propose to direct their activities in the event of the difficult problem of reparations being regulated, can be seen from the events of the last few days. These events occurred immediately after the tension over financial problems between London, Paris and Berlin had been relieved. Very soon after the close of the Lugano Conference (at which evidently the direction in which the commission of "independent experts" was to work was predetermined) the Franco-British bloc turned its attention to other problems of international politics.

THE attention of both Paris and London is fixed in a very definite direction. Just as bandits attempting to burn down a house try to start the fire in several places at once, so the imperialists are lighting the flames of war on the various frontiers of the Soviet Union. In the Far East, a definite increase of anti-Soviet activities is observable. Whilst the latest disorders on the Chinese-Eastern railway have not been directly organised by the French and British Governments, these attacks on the U.S.S.R. are in any case being stimulated by them. Furthermore, the events in Afghanistan are of a quite definite character. With their customary impudence and art, the British have co-ordinated their activities with those of the Afghan reactionaries and have carried on an active struggle against the Afghan Government. The ultimate aim of that struggle is quite obvious: it consists in the advancement of the outposts of the reorganised and mechanised Anglo-Indian army to the very frontiers of the Soviet Republics.

SIMULTANEOUSLY a military coup-d'état has taken place in Yugo-Slavia, undoubtedly inspired from both Paris and London. The leader of Yugo-Slavia's military clique, King Alexander, was in Paris a little while before the coup; a number of European newspapers emphasise the circumstance that the crowned Fascist undoubtedly obtained the French Government's assent to his activities, otherwise he would not have resolved under any circumstance on declaring a military dictatorship immediately after his return from Paris. As for Britain, her attitude to the Yugo-Slavian coup was quite definitely revealed in the comments of the Conservative press. Three Conservative newspapers, which are far from holding unanimous opinions on all questions of international politics—the "Times," the "Daily Telegraph," and the "Morning Post,"—approved of King Alexander's activities in almost identical words. The "Times" wrote: "It is difficult to find fault with the action of King Alexander, and to imagine any other way out of the situation." The "Daily Telegraph" declared that "with few exceptions one can find no politician who does not admit the soundness of Alexander's position." And the "Morning Post" said: "Alexander could not have done anything else." And both the "Times" and the "Telegraph" emphasised immediately after the coup that one could count on the immutability of Yugo-Slavia's further foreign policy.

In this article we shall not occupy ourselves with the details and with an analysis of the fascist coup in Yugo-Slavia. It is sufficient for our purpose to take note of the circumstance that the establishment of a military dictatorship in Yugo-Slavia is a fresh demonstration of the activity of the revived Entente. From Yugo-Slavia a bridge can be thrown across to Czecho-Slovakia, where the Skoda works are situated, which according to statements in the press are about to receive fresh orders for war supplies from Yugo-Slavia.

SIMULTANEOUSLY the European press has been printing further communications concerning the increase of armaments of the Soviet Union's immediate neighbours. On December 21st a consignment of French arms passed through Danzig on its way to Eastern Galicia. During the first few days of January

a secret council of provincial governors was held at Lemberg, and it is impossible not to relate this to the activities of Poland's militarist and chauvinist circles, who are dreaming of Polish expansion into the Ukraine. The calling of a conference of Petlura's adherents on Polish territory in the middle of January is in accord with these plans and this mood. And the conclusion of a new Polish-Roumanian agreement for the supply of war materials has to be considered as part of the same plan.

THese military activities of the imperialists naturally demand intensified struggle with the war danger. In addition to the work of the Communist Parties, the struggle can take two lines: the first being in the direction of an international organization of the forces in opposition to the military policy of the capitalist States, the second consisting in the activation of the Soviet Union's peace policy. For instance, the conference of the League Against Imperialism which has just been held, was faced with the question of further intensifying the struggle against the war danger. In this connection the unmasking of the hypocritical attempts of bourgeois pacifism to "raise" the problem of the war danger, which had a characteristic reflection in the activities of the pacifist congress recently held at Frankfurt-on-Main, is one of the League's most essential tasks. As for the external political activity of the Soviet Union, the first weeks of 1929 were distinguished by a fresh step on the part of the U.S.S.R. Government. The Soviet Union's proposal, addressed first and foremost to Poland, for the immediate application of the Kellogg Pact, was a genuine sensation in international politics. From the viewpoint of the bourgeois press the sensational nature of the Soviet proposal consisted first in its unexpectedness, second in its simplicity and obviousness, and third in the fact that the Soviet Government's new diplomatic move has a very interesting political content.

THE Kellogg Pact, rejecting war as an instrument of national policy, was signed in Paris. The U.S.S.R. Government gave its support to this agreement, making a number of reservations, but simultaneously declaring that the U.S.S.R. was prepared to

support any project which represented the least shadow of an attempt to avoid the outbreak of war. But the support of the Kellogg Pact by the U.S.S.R. did not enter into the plans of its initiators, who were exploiting it for the purpose of further diplomatic combinations. At first every measure was resorted to to hinder the Soviet Union from participating in the agreement prohibiting war. But inasmuch as the signing of the agreement and the adherence of other States to it by no means connoted its being put into force, the capitalist politicians somewhat abated their alarm at the U.S.S.R.'s participation. In view of the ridiculous speed with which the confirmation of the Kellogg Pact was being effected, the imperialists could put aside their fear lest the Kellogg Pact should prove to be a hindrance to military activities against the U.S.S.R. The imperialist politicians had seemingly begun to reconcile themselves to the idea that in addition to the pacifist gestures of Washington and Paris, Moscow also had succeeded in demonstrating its love for peace.

BUT the Soviet Government in its genuinely peaceful policy, considered it essential to make a further step in the question of possibly avoiding a swift approach of war. The prospects of the Kellogg Pact being put into force as an entirety were far from rosy. And so the U.S.S.R. Government made the proposal to put the Kellogg Pact into force immediately so far as the interrelations of the Eastern-European States were concerned. The proposal which it addressed to Poland presupposes the signing of a protocol for putting into force the agreement prohibiting war, with a view to other States also attaching their signatures to the protocol in due course. The characteristic feature of the Soviet proposal consists in its not demanding any new agreement obligations from the countries bordering on the U.S.S.R., beyond those obligations which are contained in the Kellogg Pact itself. Grant that those obligations are void of content and that in the conditions of the capitalist world they cannot provide any real guarantee to the peoples against the outbreak of war, but inasmuch as such an agreement had been concluded and the U.S.S.R. has attached itself to it, it would be better for it to have effect even over a

limited area than for it not to have any effect whatever.

THAT is the essence of the Soviet proposal on the plane of the direct preservation of peace. But it is necessary to note that the Soviet proposal has not only the immediate importance of establishing albeit very relative and restricted guarantees of peace. The Soviet proposal is of political importance on another plane also. It would be unsound to ignore this circumstance. Whilst addressing itself to Poland and Lithuania, the U.S.S.R. also through them proposed to all its neighbours to agree on the rejection of settlement of conflicts by resort to military methods. This proposal applies to Roumania also. Thus the Soviet Union has made an attempt to create an entirely new situation in Eastern Europe. Each of the Soviet Union's neighbours considers itself bound to the principle of freedom of political manœuvring in connection with the seeming danger threatening them from the East. If the Soviet Union's proposal were adopted the conditions in which the foreign policies of the small States of Eastern Europe are developed would be changed considerably. At the same time, whilst the Soviet Union would be left absolutely free in the question of the fate of the Bessarabian peasantry on the territory seized by Roumania and oppressed by the Roumanian landed aristocracy, that country's acceptance of the Soviet proposal would disperse to some extent the menacing clouds of war danger hanging over this part of Europe.

This would be the extent of the positive political effect of realising the U.S.S.R.'s proposal. On the other hand, its acceptance would have the consequence of increasing the political independence of the U.S.S.R.'s neighbours, and of freeing them from their vassal dependence on the great imperialist Powers. The answer to this essential problem may simultaneously provide the answer to why Poland (and with her Roumania) has adopted a negative attitude to the Soviet proposal, and why the U.S.S.R.'s move has caused such a sensation and alarm generally in London and Paris.

As is well known, there is a military alliance between Poland and Roumania, and a military convention between Roumania and

France; there is a similar agreement between France and Poland. Of course, it is impossible to regard these agreements as anything other than component elements of the single system of military alliances which has its existence in post-war Europe. This circumstance received definite confirmation in the renewal of the Anglo-French entente in the autumn of last year. One is completely justified in assuming that in the establishment of agreement between the British and the French general staffs (which are the very backbone of the Entente) between Paris and London, the interests of France's allies were reserved. The French system of military alliances created after Versailles, both in the Balkans and in Eastern Europe, have to-day, with the revival of the Entente been formally crowned with an Anglo-French agreement. It is impossible to extract a single one of the component parts of the system without destroying the equilibrium of the whole.

OWING to their slavish dependence in fact upon the financial capital of the leading European Powers, Poland and Roumania are bound by international obligations of a military, and furthermore, of an anti-Soviet nature. The acceptance of the Soviet proposal would free them from these obligations. That is why we said above that the realisation of the U.S.S.R. proposal would strengthen the independence of policy of the present vassals of the Entente. The political sense of the Soviet proposal consists in the very fact that it is directed against the system of military alliances, headed by the Anglo-French bloc, which dominates Europe. For the selfsame reason there was considerable alarm in London and Paris over the Soviet Government's latest step. For the same reason Poland and Roumania are wriggling out of a direct answer to the U.S.S.R.'s proposal in the most impotent fashion; for Britain and France have laid their hands on the foreign policy of these States.

Furthermore, the position taken up by Poland witnesses to the fact that the European reaction is not only carefully preserving the inviolability of the system of military alliances within its present limits, but is exploiting every fresh possibility with a view to the extension of the system. It is owing to this

tendency that Poland, instead of giving a direct answer to the Soviet proposal, responded not only with a ponderous reference to the formal obstacles arising out of the Kellogg Pact, but also with superfluous suggestions as to the necessity of bringing the Baltic States into the application of the protocol, and under the direction of Poland at that. The German newspaper "Kolnische Zeitung," for January 12th remarked: "Litvinov's proposal appears to Zalesky as a last, but altogether favourable opportunity of a final establishment of a Baltic bloc."

IT is interesting to note that on this point there is an original sort of agreement between British and French interests. France is interested in the establishment of a Baltic bloc with Poland at its head, for that strengthens the entire French system of alliances directed simultaneously against Germany and against the U.S.S.R. In connection with her anti-Soviet policy, Britain has special reasons for being interested in the organisation of a united front of the Baltic States. It is significant that after the publication of the Polish answer to Litvinov's proposal the organ of the German nationalists and Prussian junkers, "Kreuz-Zeitung" devoted an alarmed article to the possibility of the creation of a Baltic bloc under Britain's general direction. The "Kreuz-Zeitung" is afraid that Germany will lose her last positions in the Baltic, and so is sounding the alarm.

THE U.S.S.R.'s new peace proposal has aroused serious counter activity in the anti-Soviet camp. Moreover, as the Soviet proposal touched on one of the basic problems of European international policy, it simultaneously served as a disclosure of the serious dangers existing to peace in Europe: dangers arising out of the existence of an organisationally formulated Franco-British bloc of States bound among themselves by military agreements.

Furthermore, the importance of the Soviet proposal consists in the impossibility of eliminating it from the agenda of international politics. In the first place, it is impossible to reject it without simultaneously and quite openly subscribing to the fact that the Kellogg Pact is considered by its very adherents as

a document completely void of serious intent. Undoubtedly that is the capitalist government's estimate of it. But not one government will resolve to reveal that position in the face of the whole world, if only because by doing so the bourgeois and social-democratic pacifist nonsense would be so completely compromised in the eyes of the masses that it would be difficult further to exploit it in the interests of the bourgeoisie.

IT is still uncertain to what tactical methods Poland and Roumania will resort in order to find a way out of the situation thus created. None the less, it is essential to note one further circumstance in order to form an estimate of the further prospects. Judging by the comments of the American press the United States is displaying a very passive attitude in regard to the Soviet proposals.

The American politicians still lack that flexibility which Great Britain has acquired in innumerable colonial struggles. And when it a question of the Soviet Union, pure class motives come to occupy the first place, and so hinder Washington from adopting a position corresponding to their interests. Consequently for the time being one can reckon on the fate of the Soviet proposal being chiefly decided independently by the Franco-British bloc. This circumstance renders it still more necessary to pay the utmost attention to the system of military alliances existing in Europe.

In the mass campaigns and personal speeches, etc., directed against the imperialist war and in defence of the Soviet Union, it is necessary that together with the general problems of the struggle against militarism, together with the definite outbreaks of war danger (Afghanistan), together with the new demonstrations of the growth of fascism (Yugo-Slavia), attention should be fixed on the slogan of struggle against the system of military alliances in Europe created by the Franco-British bloc.

[Note: Since the above was written, it is reported by the Press that Poland and Roumania have agreed to the proposals of the U.S.S.R., and have signed the agreement.—Ed.]

The Tenth Congress of the C.P.G.B.

THE recently concluded congress of the C.P.G.B. constitutes an important landmark in the history of the development of the British Communist movement. To this congress fell the task of summarising the results of the first attempts—timid and not always successful—to carry out the new tactical line which was clearly formulated by the E.C.C.I. Ninth Plenum, and which became a component part of the general directive of the Comintern Sixth Congress. In addition the congress was called upon, on the basis of the experience of the previous nine months, and of all the deficiencies and errors which had been manifested in the process of applying the new tactic, to provide the entire Communist Party with a clear and definite program of action.

The value of the work done by the Tenth Congress can only be realised after at least a hasty glance over the period which separates the Tenth Congress of the C.P.G.B. from the Ninth Plenum of the E.C.C.I.

As is well known, the new tactical line laid down for the C.P.G.B. by the Plenum consisted in the necessity for intensifying the struggle against British imperialism, for a resolute attack on the Labour Party, which is being more and more transformed into a third party of the bourgeoisie, and for a change of attitude to the so-called Labour Government. In laying down this line the Plenum took as its basis an analysis of the changes and movements which had occurred in British economy and in the disposition of class forces in Great Britain.

The basic changes and movements in the class struggle in Britain were indicated in the first two clauses of the Ninth Plenum's resolution:

"1. The British bourgeoisie, confronted with acute international competition and chronic depression in the basic industries, will inevitably continue its policy of capitalist rationalisation, greater pressure on the working class, systematic suppression of its most class conscious section at home and its policy of colonial oppression,

and the throttling of national liberation revolutionary movements, particularly the labour and peasant movements. In foreign politics preparation for war against the U.S.S.R. will continue to be the main concern of the British bourgeoisie. The resistance of the working class to the policy of the dominant classes will cause the class struggle in Great Britain to become considerably more acute.

"2. The policy of the dominant classes of Great Britain is to strive to bring within the orbit of its influence the principal Labour organisations—the Labour Party and the trade unions, in spite of the determined resistance of the working class. The leaders of these organisations, who betrayed the general strike and the miners' fight and helped to carry through the Trade Union Bill against the resistance of the workers, are endeavouring gradually to convert their organisations into auxiliary apparatuses of the bourgeois State and the employers' organisations."

These basic assumptions have been completely confirmed. Moreover, the British have to some extent violated their own sacred tradition of "gradualness and succession," and have displayed a certain disposition to swift and strong measures in the direction of rationalisation, on the one hand, and the fusion of the machinery of the Labour movement with that of the bourgeoisie on the other.

CONGRESSES OF THE LABOUR PARTY AND T.U.C.

The Ninth Plenum was followed by the Labour Party Conference and the Trades Union Congress. The Labour Party Conference adopted a program which even Wheatley of the so-called "Independent Labour Party" characterised as a program of capitalist rationalisation. This program was complemented by a resolution on loyalty, which has as its object to make capitalist rationalisation the obligation of all and every trade union

member. At their own congress, which preceded the Labour Party Conference, the trade union bureaucrats subscribed in advance to this program of capitalist rationalisation. In quiet, business-like terms, and without the elegant phraseology with which MacDonal customarily decks out his servile service to the bourgeoisie, the General Council formulated its capitalistic credo in terms allowing of no false interpretation:

"Broadly speaking, there were three possible lines of policy open to the trade union movement," we read in the General Council Report to the Sixtieth Annual Trades Union Congress, page 209. What were these three possibilities? The first consists in a resolute revolutionary struggle against capitalism. "That policy," the General Council declares, "the trade union movement has decisively rejected as futile, certain to fail, and sure to lead to bloodshed and misery." The second consists in at least continuing the policy of partial strikes with the object of improving the workers' economic situation. But the General Council says: "The objections to this course are that it is entirely inconsistent with the modern demand for a completely altered status of the workers in industry." And so there remains the third possibility: "For the trade union movement to say boldly that not only is it concerned with the prosperity of industry, but that it is going to have a voice as to the way industry is carried on, so that it can influence the new developments that are taking place." And, later on, the same General Council announces that it will make every effort to assist in the scientific reorganisation of industry, to render it more effective, and so on.

Such is the credo of the General Council, and it is in conformity with the program of the Labour Party. And if we turn to the activities of the leaders of the Labour Party and the trade unions we see that they are in fact straining all their powers in order to participate actively in the work of rationalising British capitalism.

REFORMISM AND RATIONALISATION

One has to add to the above that British reformism is definitely playing a much more active and important role in the salvation of

British imperialism from stagnation and putrefaction than is reformism in other countries. Owing to the number of historical causes, and first and foremost owing to the fact that the ruling classes of Britain are corrupted by an age-old monopoly, capitalist rationalisation in Britain is being effected much more slowly and lumberingly. The rationalisers are setting their main hopes on the enormous apparatus of the Labour movement controlled by the trade union officials, expecting with the aid of the latter to carry through the rationalisation process as painlessly as possible and to effect it mainly (not to say exclusively) at the cost of the intensification of exploitation of the worker masses. It is very characteristic that in Britain, where so far capitalist rationalisation cannot boast of any special successes, the reverse side of rationalisation is revealed much more definitely than in Germany or the United States, for instance. Even the capitalist press is forced to admit that a number of areas, especially and chiefly South Wales, are suffering cruelly from rationalisation, and that in these areas the bitterest poverty reigns supreme.

Needless to say, such a situation imposes fresh difficult tasks on the Communist Party, which is called upon to act as the bold leader of the proletarian masses against the capitalist oppressors who are operating directly with the aid of the apparatus which has been created by the efforts of the leading workers during many generations. The whole purport of the tactical directives of the E.C.C.I. Ninth Plenum consisted in the Communist Party ceasing to constitute a left wing of the Labour Party, and in its assuming the role of an independent leader of the battles of the working class.

By all its past, and in particular by its role during the general strike and the miners' lock-out, the numerically small Communist Party of Great Britain has been prepared for the fulfilment of this role. At the same time, there is no doubt that the opposition forthcoming to this new tactical line, after it had been laid down by the Comintern, had as its consequence a weakening of the position of the C.P. and a strengthening of the position of reformism, which exploited the results of the defeat of the miners in order on the one hand to assist in the work of capitalist

rationalisation, and on the other to participate actively in the crusade against the Communists and all the revolutionary proletariat.

THE C.P.G.B. AND THE NEW LINE

After the E.C.C.I. Ninth Plenum the Communist Party of Great Britain accepted the new tactical course in principle. But it is one thing theoretically to accept a new tactical direction, and another to transform the new tactical line into life. Old habits weighed heavily on the British C.P. Moreover parliamentary cretinism which is especially strong in the land of the "mother of parliaments," had as its consequence a peculiar, constricted interpretation of the Ninth Plenum's tactical line. Many British Communists assumed that the new tactical line had reference mainly (not to say exclusively) to the realm of parliamentary tactics, to the question of election manoeuvres, to the tasks of putting up their own candidates against those of the Labour Party. Instead of a pure, fresh tactical line, with a single thread running through it, the result was timid zigzags, which not merely did not strengthen the Party but deprived it of the fruits of the new tactical course.

The absence of a clear and clean line was revealed particularly in the question of the attitude to the so-called left wing. The "left" reformists of the I.L.P. felt the approach of the moment when the depression would begin to turn to a storm of dissatisfaction with the old reformist leadership. In order to direct this dissatisfaction into the channels of official reformism, they took on themselves the initiative of creating a pseudo "left wing" movement under the banner of a "socialist revival." The Communist Party's duty was by a stern and resolute criticism to unmask this typical and customary manoeuvre of the "left" reformists to do all in their power to take control of the incipient revival. Instead of doing so the Party endeavoured to assist the movement, not by severe and open criticism of the "left" leaders, but by counsel and active assistance to those leaders.

The absence of a consequential and clear line was revealed in the question of the trade unions also. We have already remarked that the whole circumstance of the rationalisation of British imperialism is emphasising the role and importance of the trade unions. The

whole task of the General Council and the leaders of the Labour Party amounts to their drawing the workers' attention away from the direct struggle for the amelioration of their position, by promises of all those blessings which rationalisation will bring in the future, and all those reforms which the MacDonald Government will bring into effect when it receives the majority of votes at the general election. In the present economic conditions the work of preparing, organising and leading the economic battles is one of the most important tasks of the Communist Party. The history of the British workers' movement convincingly shows that even in the past when the capitalist crisis had not taken on such clearcut outlines, and when there was no Communist Party in the arena, the so-called unofficial strikes, i.e., strikes carried out by the workers against the will of the officials, played an enormous part. The official historians of the British trade union movement, the Webbs, naturally pass over in silence the creative forces of the British proletariat in order to exaggerate the role of the trade union officials. But even the Webbs are unable entirely to hide the facts, which show that the most important movements of the British proletarians developed out of the so-called unofficial strikes. And that mass creativeness has a much greater role to play in the struggle against the trade union officials at the present time, in this period of the decline of capitalism, when the trade union officials are openly acting as the lackeys of Mond. None the less, it has to be realised that in the trade union sphere also, particularly in relation to Cook and Cookism, the Communist Party of Great Britain has not taken up an unequivocal position corresponding with the general spirit of the resolution passed by the Ninth Plenum.

Naturally, the chief task of the Tenth Congress consisted in subjecting the errors committed in the past to a critical analysis, and in adopting all measures necessary in order to correct those errors in the future. However, we have not yet had the opportunity to summarise the final results of the congress, and we shall return to this question when we receive the complete text of the resolutions adopted.

DISCUSSION BEFORE THE CONGRESS

Considerably more preparation was made for the Tenth Congress than for any previous congress of the Communist Party in Britain. The pre-congress discussion was opened in the pages of the "Workers' Life" as early as October 12th, i.e., three and a half months before the congress. It is true that the discussion, at least in its initial stages, did not receive adequate preparation and bore rather a fortuitous character. At the same time, even during this preliminary stage the discussion conduced to a quickening of the Party life and an intensification of the activity of the Party members. Beginning with November, the discussion took on a more co-ordinatedly planned character, and to a large extent it was concentrated on the theses and decisions of the Central Committee, which were published partly in the Party's theoretical journal and partly in "Workers' Life."

A detailed analysis of the discussion shows that the number of adherents to a return to the old tactic condemned by the Ninth Plenum was insignificant by comparison with the Party membership. The situation was worse in regard to the interpretation of the new tactical line and the question of the methods of its application and realisation in practice. Among those who participated in the discussion, in addition to those comrades who formally defended the new tactic, but in reality wandered on to the old, there were also others who interpreted the idea of a resolute struggle against the Labour Party in the spirit of a narrow sectarianism, in the spirit of an abandonment of all struggle to win the masses which are under the influence of the reformists both in the trade unions and in the Labour Party. In the course of the discussion and at the congress itself the arguments centred around two questions: that of the left wing and that of the political levies, and it is necessary to consider these in somewhat more detail.

Before we deal with them, however, it is necessary to say a few words on the question of entry into the Labour Party. The Ninth Plenum resolution says: "It is inexpedient as yet to abandon the slogan of affiliation to the Labour Party, as the latter has not yet definitely and completely become transformed into a social-democratic party in organisational structure. The fight for affiliation however,

must be converted into an offensive fight against the treacherous leadership of the Labour Party."

This paragraph received an unsympathetic welcome from a certain section of the British C.P., which section assumed that it was necessary to renounce the slogan of membership of the Labour Party at once, in order to facilitate the putting of the new tactical line into practice. After the Labour Party Birmingham Conference this question naturally dropped. It went without saying that in view of the new program for capitalist rationalisation, strengthened further by the loyalty resolution, the slogan of affiliation to the Labour Party dropped entirely. The Central Committee resolved the problem in this sense after the Labour Party Birmingham Conference, and their resolution was carried by the congress. But that is not the point. It has to be noted and emphasised that unfortunately even before the Birmingham Conference, the Communist Party put forth no efforts whatever to carry out an offensive struggle against the right leadership whilst maintaining their old slogan of affiliation to the Labour Party. Even worse, at the Miners' Conference in South Wales the struggle for affiliation to the Labour Party was carried on essentially in the spirit of the old tactical line. The absence of an offensive line threw into relief the inertia of the old tactic, which through its reaction evoked the opposite type of error. But now to turn to those disputed issues which particularly agitated the congress.

CONGRESS DISCUSSION

We begin with the left wing question. We have already remarked that there was an absence of clarity and restraint in the C.P. tactic on this issue. But the discussion centred not so much around the question of attitude to the so-called "left wing" in the ranks of the Labour Party and the I.L.P., as around the question of the attitude to the "National Left Wing Movement." This movement was created by the efforts of the Communists immediately following the Liverpool Conference of the Labour Party, which declared war on the Communists. Many comrades expressed a fear that this "national left wing organisation," despite the fact that it was under the leadership of the Communist Party, might be

transformed from being a weapon of struggle against the Labour Party into a barrier between the Communist Party and the leftward moving workers. In reality the national left wing movement has given reason for such a fear. This movement had its own machinery, its own program and very frequently acted as an organisation striving to transform itself into a centrist party between the Labour Party and the Communist Party. Furthermore, quite a strong opposition to the left wing existed in the ranks of the C.P. itself, this opposition struggling also for the trade union Minority Movement to be transformed into an all-embracing movement of the left wing workers both in the trade unions and in the Labour Party, i.e., for it to swallow up the National Left Wing Movement as well.

After long debates, the congress came to the conclusion, by 55 votes to 52, that it was necessary to stop assisting the present national left wing committee, and to strengthen the work in the local organisations, organising on the principle of a united front from below.

We shall return to this question when we receive the complete text of the resolutions; meantime, however, it is necessary to emphasise that by its origin, its composition, its basic tasks, the "National Left Wing Movement" cannot be evaluated as a centrist, left-social-democratic organisation. Only under an unsound leadership could these organisations take that road. The chief mission of the so-called left social-democrats consists in restraining the left workers who are becoming emancipated from the influence of the reformists, and keeping them under a general reformist leadership. The national left wing in Britain was persecuted by all the reformist organisations, it acted against them, and represented not only the organisation of a united front with the Communists but an organisation coming directly under Communist leadership. But the errors committed by the C.P. in regard to the left wing movement generally and to the National Left Wing Movement in particular created such a situation that definite changes were imperatively necessary. Needless to say, the trouble does not lie in the fact that in future the energy of the Party will in accordance with the congress decision be concentrated on assistance to the local organisations of left wingers.

None the less, the question of the methods of uniting the left wing groups also demands a decision.

Among the disputed issues was that of the trade union political levies. In the ranks of the C.C. and also among the delegates of certain Party Conferences which were held previous to the congress, were comrades who made a strong attack on the continuation of political levy payments. On this issue the resolution of the Ninth Plenum did not adopt that view, but made the continuation of payment conditional on a change in its assignation. It reads: "An energetic campaign must be organised in the local trade union branches for local control of the expenditure of the political levy, in order that it may be possible to finance any candidates the rank and file of the branch may approve." There were comrades who assumed that this proposal was out-of-date, that the political levy went essentially to strengthen the same Labour Party against which we had to concentrate all our efforts.

The discussion itself was still more complicated by the fact that the defenders of the Ninth Plenum resolution on the political levy resorted to arguments which were in flagrant contradiction to the general line of the Ninth Plenum. In the course of this discussion, in an article "Questions before the Party Congress," printed in the "Communist Review" for January, R. P. Dutt gave a correct answer to these comrades in the following words, which formulate our tactic in regard to the political levy: "Our opposition is in reality to the handing over of the political levy to the Labour Party and its purposes, but not to the political levy itself. We need to concentrate our agitation against the misdirection of the political fund of the unions to the Labour Party, which does not represent the workers, but serves the capitalists." Unfortunately not all the comrades were able to acquire a clear understanding of the difference between the political levy as such and the methods of using it at the present time. The congress declared itself in favour of the continuation of the political levy by a great majority (100 to 22) and also stated the necessity for a tense and resolute struggle for the right of controlling the political levies by the local organisations.

In the course of the discussion the preliminary agenda as drawn up by the C.C. was enlarged by the addition of one further question: that of the struggle in the colonies against British imperialism. On the colonial problem two resolutions were adopted. In the first the Party adhered wholly and entirely to the theses of the Sixth World Congress and pledged itself to correct those errors which were noted in the theses of the Sixth Congress (inadequate assistance to the revolutionary movement in the colonies and semi-colonies). At the same time the congress adopted a resolution in which the Party pledged itself to regard the work of assisting the revolutionary struggle in the colonies and semi-colonies as one of its most important tasks.

We have noted only certain of the decisions of the congress, and we shall have to deal

with the subject again. On comparing the theses put forward by the Central Committee with the resolutions passed by the congress itself, we come to the conviction that the congress took a big step forward in the struggle against those right tendencies which first dictated a negative attitude to the new tactical line and subsequently hindered a swift and successful application of the new tactic. The congress made a serious attempt to apply the basic decisions of the Comintern Sixth Congress to British conditions. But it goes without saying that these decisions will be of value only if the entire Party as a whole continues a stubborn struggle on the basis of the Sixth Congress decisions against all forms of opportunist tendency in its own ranks, overcoming them by a brave self-criticism and a resolute struggle for the line of the Communist International.

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Luxemburg to Lenin or Luxemburg to Kautsky?

By A. Martinov

THE Brandlerites, who never were true Leninists, who in the main remained old "left-radicals" within the ranks of the Communist Party, have now, under the cloak of conciliators, passed to an open attack on the Party. Under what flag? Not, of course, under the flag of 1923—that would bring them no laurels; after the Saxon "experiment" they had to save themselves from the anger of the Communist proletariat of Germany by flight to Moscow. They have raised a revolt against the German Communist Party under the "Spartacus" banner. But by the irony of fate they have dragged out this old, honourable standard of Karl Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg at the very moment when in reality they are betraying that flag, when they are renouncing the revolutionary heritage of Rosa Luxemburg, and renouncing all that was revolutionary in that heritage, when they are taking to the centrist road.

PRE-WAR SITUATION IN GERMANY

The situation in Germany during the years preceding the world war had many points of similarity with the present situation. During the four years preceding the war there occurred a final crystallisation of the centrist trend under Kautsky's leadership in German social-democracy, and from that time on there was no cessation to the struggle between him and the "left-radical" trend, headed by Rosa Luxemburg, to which, by the way, both Radek and Brandler adhered. In his book: "The Political Mass Strike," Kautsky wrote: "That which is now called the 'Marxist Centre' had its first formulation at the Magdeburg Party Congress of 1910. From the Hanover Party Congress of 1899 onwards, the majority of the Congress was always opposed to the reformist impatience of the State-thinking opportunists. From 1910 onwards the majority of every Party Congress is also against revolutionary impatience, against the extreme lefts.

This has now become a rule. On the other hand, from that time on there are also Party Congresses which find no reason whatever for attacking the rights."

Over what issues was the struggle between the "left-radicals" and the centrists at that time? It is highly significant that the struggle raged over the same two issues which are now the subject of struggle between the German C.P. and the right schismatics; issues which now, at the present stage of the proletarian revolution, have acquired especially stern significance. They are, first: Attack or defence? second: Is emphasis to be placed on the unorganised masses or purely on the masses organised in trade unions? And it is highly significant that the Brandlerites, the former "left-radicals," the former Luxemburgites and Spartacists, now occupy on both these questions the same position that Kautsky occupied on the eve of the world war, and have remained faithful to Luxemburg only in those weak features which distinguished her from Leninism. And the "new strategy" of Rosa Luxemburg and the left-radicals generally of those days is now being defended, in its highly perfected, supreme form of Leninism, by the German C.P. and its Central Committee.

At the present moment it would appear to be very useful to recall to mind the history of the struggle between Luxemburg and Kautsky, between the left-radicals and the centrists, on the eve of the world war. Not only because that history illumines the extent of the Brandlerites' present decline, but also because it sheds light on the most actual, the most burning problems of the present-day German workers' movement. In the light of that history it becomes absolutely clear that at the present moment, when the Party is directly confronted with the problem of the struggle for power, there is no longer room in Germany for Luxemburgism. From Luxemburgism opened two divergent roads:

either back to centrism, i.e., to social-democracy (the road which the Brandlerites began to traverse in 1923 and to which they are now finally committed) or forward to Leninism: the road which the German C.P. and its Central Committee followed and is still successfully travelling.

We said above that during the years immediately prior to the war the situation in Germany had many points of similarity with the situation at the present moment: the situation of intensified class antagonisms, and the eve of a new imminent war. The defeat of the Russian 1905 revolution, and the beginning of the Stolypin era coincided with the crowning of a period of vigorous development for capitalism in Germany: a period which lasted from 1895 down to 1907. In Western Europe and in Germany, especially from 1907 onwards, there was ushered in a period of intensifying external and internal antagonisms on the basis of the protracted favourable economic situation. Imperialism entered upon the period of rapid development. The trustification of capital proceeded at full speed. Protectionism and the growth of prices for agricultural produce raised the cost of living from year to year. The old type of purely economic local strikes had proved impotent, and strikes began to suffer systematic defeat in face of strongly organised and attacking capital. Together with this the international antagonisms were intensified to the extreme, everywhere a frenzied armaments race was going on, and the catastrophe of world war was very clearly approaching. This, equally with the incendiary example of the Russian 1905 revolution, evoked a leftward movement in the working class. Under the influence of the increase of agitation among the proletariat and the attack of the reaction from above, the German social-democracy raised for the first time the issue of the applicability in principle of the mass political strike as a method of struggle, and this question was answered affirmatively at the Jena Party Congress of 1905—albeit only with application to the case of an attack on universal suffrage. In 1911 for the first time after long years of stagnation enormous mass strikes broke out in Britain. The same was true of Sweden. And

in Russia after the Lena shootings a violent development of the strike movement and of street demonstrations set in.

A NECESSARY CHANGE IN TACTICS

In these conditions of an intensification of capitalism's antagonisms and of a swift approach of a period of wars and revolutions, the necessity of changing the old tactics of social-democracy was evident; but, as the French proverb says: "Death carries off the living." Half a century of peaceful, legal activity in the situation of a firm stabilisation of capitalism had eliminated the revolutionary spirit from German social-democracy, and especially from the German trade unions uniting the labour aristocracy and guided by narrow-minded and self-satisfied trade union bureaucrats. The German unions became a bulwark of reformism in the German Labour movement. At the beginning of the present century, when revisionism had ideologically suffered defeat, the trade union leaders began to demand that the trade unions created by German social-democracy and permeated with its spirit, should be transformed into organisations politically "neutral," i.e., politically independent of social-democracy. This idea of the political neutralisation of the trade unions was never realised. It was removed from the agenda, not because the trade union leaders had corrected their attitude, but because German social-democracy had in practice capitulated to them. In 1905 a conflict arose between social-democracy and the trade unions. The Jena Party Congress decided that in the event of an attempt to get rid of universal suffrage German social-democracy should resort to a mass political strike. In the very same year the Cologne trade union congress imposed a ban on propaganda in favour of a mass strike. This conflict was very quickly settled in favour of the trade unions. When at the Mannheim Party Congress of 1906 the question arose of a general strike in answer to the preparations being made for Germany's intervention in revolutionary Russia, the proposal to this effect was turned down. Bebel adduced two arguments against it: in the first place, in any case an isolated Germany would not intervene in that manner; and secondly, even if she did German social-democracy would be helpless to interfere in such a business, for

"then warships would settle the question." At the same Mannheim Party Congress a resolution was passed declaring that there was no antagonism between the resolution of the Cologne trade union congress and the resolution of the Jena Party Congress on the mass strike, and that if the C.C. of the German social-democratic party deemed it necessary to resort to a mass political strike it should do so in agreement with the General Commission of the trade unions. Finally, at the same Congress the "equality" of the trade unions and the Party was fixed, and a resolution put forward by Kautsky, which spoke of the necessity for the spirit of social-democracy to dominate in the trade union movement, and of the consequent necessity for every member of the Party to regard himself as bound by the decisions of the Party Congresses in his work in the trade unions, was turned down. It was clear that in order to establish the "new strategy" which all the new internal and international situations imperatively dictated, it was necessary to break the opposition of the rising spirit of reformism, and especially the frenzied opposition of the trade union bureaucrats, who were the chief bulwark of opportunism. In Germany the "left-radicals" with Rosa Luxemburg at their head set themselves this task, and Rosa Luxemburg herself carried on an energetic propaganda for the fertilising of the German workers' movement with the experience of the Russian 1905 revolution. This comprised her greatest historical service. Rosa Luxemburg raised the question of the application of mass strikes in Germany, in accordance with the experience of the Russian revolution. This she did first in 1906, in her pamphlet "The Mass Strike, the Party and the Trade Unions," where the question was raised in a propagandist form, and later in 1910, in connection with the campaign for the conquest of universal suffrage in Prussia, when she raised the question in its practical applications in a number of articles: "What next?", "Attrition or Struggle?", "Theory and Practice," and so on, and in many speeches. In this connection we shall give a short exposition of Rosa Luxemburg's ideas, new to German social-democracy at that time, which had a revolutionising effect on the party masses, and drove them along the road of revolution. Later on, in another connection,

we shall have to deal with the weak sides of Rosa Luxemburg's arguments and strategic line, and with her errors.

ROSA LUXEMBURG'S ATTITUDE

In her first pamphlet, written in 1906, Rosa Luxemburg explained on the basis of the experience of the Russian revolution, that partial, separate strikes with objectives restricted to sternly defined, immediately practical aims, and also the strict demarcation between purely economic strikes on the one hand and political action on the other, are all the product of the peaceful period of the workers' movement; and that on the contrary in a revolutionary situation, strikes in the first place are transformed into a strike wave extending throughout a "whole period," possibly for years, and that secondly, in a revolutionary situation, economic and political strikes or other political actions are closely interlocked one with another: the economic strike is transformed into a political strike, and on the other hand a political strike or other political demonstration unlooses the economic struggle of millions of workers, and serves as the strongest of stimuli to the organisation of the unorganised. Thus, the mass strike is "a form of the proletarian mass movement, a form of manifestation of the proletarian struggle in the revolution." (Rosa Luxemburg, *Collected Works*, vol. 4, p. 438.)

Further, Rosa Luxemburg struggles against the widespread prejudice that the experience of the Russian revolution is not applicable to Western Europe, especially not to Germany: a prejudice which at the present time also is so characteristic of the social-democrats and the communist renegades. The Russian revolution, she says, is still a bourgeois revolution, but the proletariat, and the proletariat of the large centralised industry at that, is playing so great a role in that revolution that the latter is destined to be a prologue and to a certain extent the prototype of the proletarian revolutions in Western Europe. It is said that the unbroken, incessant elemental strike movement during the Russian revolution is explained by the fact that within the framework of the tsarist autocracy the Russian proletariat was afforded

no possibility of creating itself a strong trade union organisation, and by the fact that its level of existence is extremely low. But, she says, are there then no enormous masses of still unorganised workers in Germany, with a low wage-level—the miners for example, or the textile workers, the agricultural labourers, and, finally, the workers in the State enterprises, who are in practice deprived of the right of combination? And whilst the wages in Germany are higher than in Russia, the productivity of labour is still incommensurably higher, and consequently the rate of exploitation is also higher. It is said that the violent, elemental development of the workers' movement in Russia is explained by the fact that the working class of that country has been deprived of all political rights, and that it was confronted with the task of overthrowing the tsarist autocracy; whilst in Germany there is at any rate a certain right of combination; the German proletariat can utilise their parliamentary rights on the basis of universal suffrage. That is so, says Rosa Luxemburg, but it does not follow that the German proletariat will not have to make a still higher jump than that of the Russian proletariat. For if the enormous proletarian mass of Germany begins to move, it is at once faced with the problem of conquest of power and the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat; in other words, the stakes of the proletariat in Germany will be no lower, but even higher, than in Russia.

In this connection Rosa Luxemburg criticises the opinion which restricts the aim of a mass strike to the defence of universal suffrage in Germany, or the achievement of universal suffrage in Prussia. In Germany, she says, the mass strike cannot stop at a defensive position, cannot restrict itself to the task of defending suffrage laws. In accordance with this it cannot be strictly limited to political action, leaving out the social-economic tasks: "If we desired our Prussian movement for universal suffrage to be carried on in the spirit of bourgeois liberalism and in alliance with that liberalism, as a political struggle for the constitution, then of course any delimitation of that movement from economic struggles with capitalism would be permissible." ("Attrition or Struggle," in "Neue Zeit," 1910, 2nd vol.) Starting from the assumption that in

Germany also the mass strikes must be transformed into the struggle for power, Rosa Luxemburg also raises the question of the republic—a slogan which for opportunist reasons the German social-democratic party had long since forgotten, as Friedrich Engels had previously pointed out.

KAUTSKY AND LUXEMBURG

As we have said, in 1906 Rosa Luxemburg raised the question of the mass strike in its propagandist aspect. In 1910, when the campaign for universal suffrage in Prussia had developed and when in connection with that campaign mass street demonstrations were being carried out with great success and enthusiasm throughout all Prussia, Rosa Luxemburg raised the question of the mass strike in its practical aspect, as an immediate task of the moment. The party, with its three million electors behind it, said Luxemburg, is confronted with a dilemma. "Either forward at all cost, or the mass action which has been begun will fruitlessly suffer defeat." "Mass demonstrations have their own logic and psychology, which politicians who wish to direct them are obliged to take into account. The manifestation of mass will in the political struggle cannot be artificially maintained for any length of time at one and the same level, cannot be fettered in one and the same form. It must grow, intensify, take on fresh and more active forms. Once it has developed the mass action must go forward, and if the directing party at the given moment does not possess the resolution to give the masses the necessary parole, the masses will inevitably be possessed by a certain disillusionment, the ardour will vanish, and the action will suffer defeat." (See "Neue Zeit," 1910, vol. 2, p. 69.)

Such was the new, revolutionary strategy which Rosa Luxemburg recommended to the party. When she raised the question of a mass strike on the propaganda plane in 1906, she could still to some extent go hand in hand with Kautsky. Under the influence of the Russian revolution Kautsky had taken up a very radical position on the Russian issue, wavering between the Mensheviks and the Bolsheviks; but towards the end he occupied a position very close to that of the latter, and

even as late as 1909 published his book, the "Road to Power," written in the spirit of revolutionary Marxism. But Kautsky was radically minded only so long as the waves of revolution flowed beyond the frontiers of Germany, on the other side of the East-Prussian border. But when, in connection with the developing struggle for universal suffrage in Prussia and with the street demonstrations, the direct question of an immediate transfer to resolute revolutionary methods at home and of an immediate transfer to mass political strikes, albeit elementarily in the form of "demonstrative" strikes arose, Kautsky's revolutionary fervour at once died down; he at once revealed himself as a philistine of the purest water, and at once jointly with the right wing of the party and the trade union bureaucracy he launched an attack on Rosa Luxemburg and the other "left-radicals." The centrist movement in German social-democracy was consolidated from that moment, and Kautsky became its theoretical leader. Kautsky threw himself into the fray against Rosa Luxemburg with two series of articles. In 1910 he wrote a number of articles in defence of the defensive tactic and against the offensive tactic. In 1911 he wrote a second series of articles against emphasis being laid on the elemental movement of the unorganised masses.

The first series consisted of "What Now?," "The New Strategy," "Between Baden and Luxemburg," and "Conclusion." In these articles did Kautsky deny that revolutionary prospects were opening before Germany? By no means. In this regard he remained faithful to what he had written in "Road to Power." And his very *raison d'être* as a centrist was to conceal opportunism under revolutionary phraseology and thus to lull the working class to sleep. But whilst devoting three whole pages in his article "What Now?" to the theme that an intensification of the antagonisms was going on in Germany, he did not thence make the deduction that the tactics of the party had to be revolutionised accordingly, but that it was accordingly all the more necessary to keep to the old tactic and "not allow ourselves to be provoked," leaving history to work for us "itself," until the fruit was so ripe that it would itself fall from the tree. In these articles Kautsky developed a new theory,

borrowed by him from Delbrück's book on "The History of the Military Art." "The military art," he said, "knows two forms of strategy; that of overthrowing the enemy and that of taking him by attrition; in other words, the strategy of militant attack and the strategy of defence and a petty trench warfare. From the French revolution to the Paris Commune inclusive the proletarian and other revolutionary classes applied the strategy of militant attack. After the Paris Commune the situation changed, and changed especially in Germany. Thanks to the extraordinary efforts of militarism on the one hand, and to the fact that the German proletariat has won rights of combination and universal suffrage on the other, beginning from the seventies down to the present time, German social-democracy has applied exclusively the strategy of taking the enemy by attrition, the strategy of the Roman senator Fabius Maximus Cunctator; and thanks to that strategy it has gone from success to success. We should have to renounce that strategy if the application of the old tactic began to disintegrate the ranks of our own army. But that is not so [In other words, Kautsky has not noticed this elephant!]. Before us brilliant prospects still open out along the road. If at the 1911 elections we succeeded in making such a jump as we made in 1890 (and the situation is very promising), in other words, if we succeeded in doubling our votes, we could win the majority of all the votes cast." "The key to this mighty historical situation, the key to a crushing victory at the next elections to the Reichstag is already in our own pockets, if we can judge by the general disposition of affairs. Only one factor might assist towards our losing the key, and towards our letting slip this brilliant situation: lack of intelligence on our part." And when the miracle promised by Kautsky, the winning of the majority of votes in the Reichstag at the next elections, was achieved, then, said he, would come the critical decisive moment, then either the ruling classes would be forced to resort to an armed coup d'état, or, what is most probable, they would lose their head. And then in answer to the coup d'état we could raise the issue of a mass strike, and that in the Belgian, and not in the Russian fashion. (Kautsky, "What Next?" "Die Neue Zeit,"

1910, 2nd vol., p.77-78.) Until that moment we ought to direct all our attention to the future elections to the Reichstag. "In the given political circumstances it would be difficult to find any method except a triumphant mass demonstration which could have such enormous moral influence as a great victory at the elections. . . There are few successes which would so irrefragibly demonstrate to the masses our growing strength as would a victory at the elections, as would the capture of further seats." (Kautsky, "The New Strategy," *ibid.*, 1910, vol. 2, p. 419.) Thus the ex-radical Kautsky had in fact as early as 1911 removed from the agenda the question of the struggle for conquest of universal suffrage in the Prussian Landtag, inasmuch as it was possible to obtain the victory there only by revolutionary methods, and was striving to turn the attention of the working masses away from that issue to the coming elections to the Reichstag. To this end he on the one hand spread among the masses the illusion that it would be possible to win a majority of votes at those elections, and on the other he developed the parliamentary cretinist theory that "the conquest of seats is the highest testimony to power."

KAUTSKY AND THE MASSES

In connection with the question of mass strikes Rosa Luxemburg raised the question of the role of the elemental movement of the unorganised masses in a revolutionary situation. "When in Germany the issue reaches the point of mass strikes," she wrote, "then almost certainly not the better organised, not the printers, but the worse organised or the completely unorganised, the miners, the textile workers, and possibly even the agricultural labourers, will develop the maximum ability to act." (Luxemburg, *Collected Works*, vol. 4, p. 456.) And on this issue Kautsky threw himself on the left-radicals in 1911 in a series of articles entitled "The Action of the Masses." In these articles, Kautsky does not exclude the possibility that in Germany also in a revolutionary situation the elemental unorganised masses will come on the scene. But he experiences a purely Philistine fear of that mass, and seeks by all means to persuade the party not to touch that mass, not to appeal to it, so long as the thun-

derstorm does not burst. First and foremost he seeks to give a professorial objective characterisation of the "mass"; in his estimate of the elemental movement of the mass he endeavours to occupy the position of the "golden mean" between the junker writers who evaluate the unorganised mass in movement as an unbridled fury, and the "left-radicals" who set great hopes in its revolutionary creativeness. "When such masses come into action," he writes, "they inevitably display their ignorance and absence of consciousness. But even if we were faced with such a strange situation as one in which it would be possible to instil into the mass a clear understanding of social relationships, given a simultaneous impossibility of organising it, the action of that mass would be confined to destruction, not, of course, in the physical, but in the social sense of the word—the destruction of institutions." (See Kautsky's collection of articles: "The Political Mass Strike," Berlin, 1914, pp. 262-263.) Taking further his analysis of the various historical manifestations of the elemental movement of the mass, Kautsky says: "We see that the action of the mass is not always a service to progress. That which it destroys is not always the greatest obstacle to development. Wherever it has been victorious it has as frequently assisted the reactionary elements to seat themselves in the saddle as it has the revolutionary elements. This implies a second defect, always associated with the action of the mass: it can be victorious truly, under certain conditions, but it can never itself exploit the fruits of victory, for it is capable only of destruction." (*Ibid.*: p. 266.)

According to Kautsky a second defect of the movement of the unorganised masses consists in the following: "The coming of the unorganised mass into action is an elemental phenomenon, which, when its prerequisites are known, can with a certain probability be expected at a period when those prerequisites are present, but which cannot be arbitrarily evoked, and which also it is impossible previously to fix quite definitely at a certain moment." (*Ibid.*: p. 267.) Summarising all this, Kautsky realises with satisfaction that hitherto the German social-democracy has fortunately not had to have anything to do with this unpleasant and mysterious stranger. "It

is not so easy to arouse the German proletariat to unorganised mass attacks as it is to arouse the proletariat of other nations. And this has in no small degree to be ascribed to the fact that the growth and rise of our Party has so far not once been interrupted by a decisive defeat for any length of time, as has been the case in one instance or another in the socialist movements of other large States." (Ibid.)

When the Philistine Kautsky wrote these lines in 1911, he did not foresee that within three years, on the declaration of war, it would be the very trade union and political organisations of the German proletariat that would bring him the greatest of defeats, and that within a further three years, in 1918, it would be the unorganised mass which despite the social-democracy and its trade unions, would sweep away all the German thrones, and strike thirty crowns from the heads of the German great and petty monarchs and ruling princes.

In the two series of articles we have analysed Kautsky reveals the greatest terror of the mass and of its elemental movement, but he cannot deny that the situation was such that the possibility of an elemental outbreak of the masses even in Germany in the more or less immediate future was not excluded. In connection with this prospect, at the end of his articles he wrote: "The more that extensive and elemental mass actions again began to play an historical role, the more would an element begin to act in our political life which was completely unsusceptible of estimate, which would bring us the greatest of surprises, of both a pleasant and unpleasant nature. Development would again assume a catastrophic character, as was the case in Europe from 1789 to 1871. Whether we liked it or not, that would not alter the affair in the least. . . . But out of the special features of the situation does the necessity of applying a special new tactic arise? Certain of our friends declare that it does. They desire to revise our tactic." Kautsky does not agree, and says: "In regard to such phenomena there is nothing other to be done than to think, so that it should not find us completely unprepared. Thus we shall prove the more able to dominate the situation, and at any moment we can act the more expediently, the stronger

and more ready for action our organisation, the clearer our understanding, and so on." "Those tactical tasks which we can and must set ourselves to-day imply a new tactic least of all. They imply a continuation and consolidation of the tactic which for more than forty years has led our Party from victory to victory." (Ibid: pp. 280-281.)

So the elemental mass movement in the present situation may, and probably even will come on the historical scene. But despite that, we must adopt a passive attitude to the unorganised mass at the moment, hiding our head in the sand like the ostrich, and continuing to go about our daily avocations so long as the thunderstorm does not break. Such is the last word of wisdom of the Philistine Kautsky. In entering into a coalition with the rights against the "left-radicals," Kautsky consoled himself with the hope that the application of the old tactic in the new radically changed historical situation would guarantee further victories to social-democracy. In reality, as we know, it only guaranteed the complete triumph of reformism in the German social-democracy and prepared the ground for its contemptible capitulation to the bourgeoisie in 1914.

THE NEW KAUTSKIANS

To-day, in a situation reminiscent in much of the situation in 1910-1914, above outlined, but a situation having as background the period of the world proletarian revolution, to-day when class antagonisms are intensifying in Germany, when the wave of the workers' movement is rising, when the reformist trade union leaders and the social-democratic party have finally become the agents of the bourgeoisie and are betraying the working class at every step, when the danger of war is again imminent, when the German Communist Party and the Comintern, faced with the growing antagonisms of capitalism, have laid down a new strategic plan, as did the "left-radicals" in 1910—at such a time the Brandlerites, forgetting their own historical past, forgetting all the history of the terrible decline of social-democracy during the bygone years of war and revolution, have taken up the same position as that occupied by the Kautskyites on the eve of the world war.

They, just as did Kautsky at that time,

deny the possibility of the proletariat's passing to a counter-attack, and even the very fact of that attack at the present moment, deferring that possibility to an indefinite morrow. They, just as Kautsky in those years, are recommending the proletariat to carry out the tactic of Fabius Maximus Cunctator: in English, the tactics of Fabianism, or of marking time. They, just as Kautsky in those years, are warning against the "appeal to the unorganised masses," and propose to concentrate all the work exclusively inside the reformist trade unions. Just as Kautsky declared that the elemental mass has as frequently assisted in the victory of the counter-revolution as in that of the revolution, so they now are declaring that the "appeal to the unorganised masses over the head of the trade unions" is a "road which in its consequences is counter-revolutionary." Just as Kautsky in those days concealed his profoundly opportunist position with radical phrases, just as he hid his retreat from the developing mass struggle to annihilate the chief bulwark of the junker reaction in Prussia by talk of decisive battles in the future when the attempt on universal suffrage in the Reichstag is made, so they also conceal their tactic of retreat in the now developing mass economic battles behind talk of "workers' control over production," a "slogan" which sounds very revolutionary, but which in the present German conditions connotes no more than the celebrated social-democratic "economic democracy." They are capitulating to social-democracy along the whole line, but they say they are struggling for a better, more "intelligent" method of overcoming it. So the Brandlerites are acting now, and the conciliators very cautiously take up the refrain.

How could it have happened that the Brandlerites, the former Luxemburgites, have now gone over to the position of pre-war Kautskyism, with which they once carried on such a ruthless struggle? It would be quite incomprehensible if we did not know that Rosa Luxemburg also was blessed not only with a right hand, but with a left, that she had not only a positive but also a negative side. In the conditions of pre-war Germany, when a directly revolutionary situation still did not exist, and in the conditions of Germany immediately after the war, when a mass Com-

munist Party capable of accomplishing the proletarian revolution was still non-existent, this did not involve any relatively great danger: but now, when Germany also has entered a period of revolutionary development, a period of direct struggle for power, it is absolutely incompatible, it can have no connection whatever with the tasks of the Communist Party.

LENIN, LUXEMBURG AND THE MASSES

In the pre-war period Rosa Luxemburg endeavoured to apply the experience of the Russian revolution to Germany. But she only half assimilated that experience. To her a number of elements which composed and still compose essential parts of Leninism and Leninist strategy remained incomprehensible and alien.

Like Rosa Luxemburg, Lenin ascribed enormous importance to the elemental movement of the proletariat; but even as early as 1902 in his "What is to be Done?" Lenin carried on a ruthless struggle against bowing before the elements, whilst Rosa Luxemburg did bow before the elements of the proletarian masses (the revolutionary element, of course). Lenin strove to raise the Party to an unprecedented height. He split with the Mensheviks on the question of the organisation and role of the Party. He began to build the Party by the selection of "professional revolutionaries," welded in an iron discipline, carrying on a ruthless struggle against all deviations, against all penetration of petty bourgeois influence into the Party. And this for Lenin arose not out of any sectarian disdain of the masses. On the contrary, he understood that it was thanks to its very Jacobin implacability that the Party might best of all master and direct the elemental movement of the masses: "Without this condition," (of a mass movement), he said, "the organisation of professional revolutionaries would be a plaything, an adventure, a signpost to nowhere," and the pamphlet, "What is to be Done?" again and again emphasises that "only in association with a class truly revolutionary and elementally rising to the struggle does the organisation defended in that pamphlet have meaning." "We can only rejoice," he wrote, "if the social-democrats succeed in directing every strike, for it is the

direct and revolutionary obligation of social-democracy to direct all the manifestations of the class struggle of the proletariat, and a strike is one of the most profound and most mighty manifestations of that struggle. But we should be only a tail if we were to identify such an elemental, ipso facto no more than a trade unionist form of struggle with the universal and conscious social-democratic struggle. We shall be opportunistically legalising a deliberate falsehood if we give every striker the right to "declare himself a member of the Party," for in the masses of instances such a 'declaration' will be a false one." Lenin built up the Party on the basis of the developing movement of the mass, but in doing so he strove to raise the Party to an unprecedented height. But although, of course, she also recognised that the Party is the advance-guard of the working class, Rosa Luxemburg none the less proposed that the Party should dissolve into the revolutionary element of the working class. She wrote: "The emancipation of the working class can be the work only of the working class itself—this guiding principle of the Communist Manifesto has also in particular the sense that within the class party of the proletariat also every decisive movement ought to arise not from the initiative of a handful of leaders, but from the conviction and resolution of the mass of adherents to the Party. . . . It is the work of the members of the Party and trade unions in every town, in every district to take up an attitude to the question of the present situation and to express in clear and open form his opinion, his will, so that the opinion of the organised working mass as a whole should make itself heard. And if this were to happen, our leaders would undoubtedly remain always at their posts, as has happened hitherto." (Luxemburg, "Attrition or Struggle." "Neue Zeit," 1910, vol. 2, page 262.) Lenin no less than Rosa Luxemburg, demanded that the Party should pay the utmost attention to the mood of the masses and should even learn from those masses, and that the leaders of the Party should also give an attentive ear to the Party masses. But it never entered his head to suggest that the Party and the leaders of the Party should abnegate their initiative and their directing role. Rosa Luxemburg, of course, also demanded that the Party should

stand at the head of the mass movement, but for her this leadership amounted exclusively to the Party leaders being the loud-speaker of the masses. Citing as an example the conduct of the Belgian leaders during the mass strikes of the nineties, she wrote: "In these two strikes the Party leadership did indeed constitute an absolutely single whole with the masses. It moved at the head of the movement, directed, and had the complete mastery of that movement for the very reason that it was in complete contact with the pulse of the masses, it adapted itself to them and represented nothing other than a speaking-trumpet, a conscious expression of the feelings and desires of the masses." (Luxemburg: Collected Works, vol. 4, p. 78.) Lenin also set the Party the task of being in the closest contact with the mass, of giving heed to its pulse; but he never confined the role of the Party to that of being the "speaking-trumpet of the masses," for the Party always sees further than the masses, and in certain cases in the very interests of the class as a whole it must go against the stream. When, for example, during the February, 1917, revolution, the Russian working masses were inclined to defence of the country, did the Leninists take on themselves the role of being the "speaking-trumpet of the masses"? Rather they endeavoured gradually to re-educate those masses cautiously, calling their attitude "conscientious defencism," and simultaneously carrying on a ruthless struggle with the Menshevik, Socialist-revolutionary defencist leaders. Lenin set the Party the task not only of "letting loose" mass attacks, but also of binding them, of uniting, organising and "appointing," when the necessary pre-requisites had been created for this. But Rosa Luxemburg systematically mocked at the pretensions of the central leadership to "command" the mass movement, "to appoint" mass attacks. Rosa Luxemburg forgot that in Russia in 1905, after a number of mass attacks and mass strikes, which had been fixed by no one, there developed the grandest and at that time the most historically important general October strike, which certainly was "appointed." "The obligation of the Party," she wrote, "consists only of saying at all times fearlessly what is the situation, i.e., in clearly and definitely setting the masses their

tasks at the given historical moment, in proclaiming the political program of action and the slogans arising from the situation. All care as to whether and when a revolutionary mass insurrection will become associated with this must be left by socialism with a tranquil heart to history itself." (Works, vol. 4, p. 76.) In accordance with this theory, Rosa Luxemburg, in contradistinction from Lenin, counter-posed the organisational and technical tasks to the political tasks, adopting a highly negligent attitude to the former. She wrote: "Instead of racking one's mind over the technical side of the business, over the mechanism of the mass strike, social-democracy is called upon to take in its hand the political leadership, and in the revolutionary period also."

LENIN AND THE PARTY

Just as did Rosa Luxemburg, so Lenin understood that the Party slogans can have historical significance only when they can find a response in the vast proletarian masses. But in order that the Party should be able to find such slogans, it must protect itself by iron discipline from any penetration of bourgeois and petty bourgeois influences into it. "The stronger our Party organisations, comprising genuine social-democrats," he wrote in 1903, "the less unsteadiness and instability there is inside the Party, the wider, the more varied, and the richer and more fruitful will be the Party's influence on the enviroing elements of the working masses led by it." Having begun to build up the Party from groups, Lenin well understood that if a Party built up on the basis of a strict selection of professional revolutionaries is placed in direct opposition to an amorphous mass, then, even though that Party has a proletarian composition it may develop into a sect and lose all contact with the mass. But in order to avoid this, he did not propose to open the doors of the Party wide to any and every wavering opportunist element, but, whilst retaining the iron discipline of the Party, he proposed to surround it with various broad, non-Party organisations. As early as 1903 he wrote that side by side with the Party organisation there should exist "organisations of workers attached to the Party; organisations of workers not attached to the Party, but in real-

ity subject to its control and direction; unorganised elements of the working class which in part are also subordinated, at any rate at times of great demonstrations of the class struggle, to the leadership of the social-democrats." Thus even in 1903, Lenin took clear stock of the fact that the Party should have in its hands a number of guiding reins in the form of broad non-Party workers' organisations, which on the one hand could manifest the will and attitude of the masses to the Party, and which on the other could serve as channels for the transference of the directives of the Party leadership to the vast masses. When the Bolshevik Party was transformed from an organisation of "professional revolutionaries" into a mass party built up on the basis of democratic centralism, the Bolsheviks remained faithful to the same principle: the strengthening of the Party by an iron discipline and at the same time the close connection of the Party with the masses by means of broad non-Party organisations (trade unions, factory committees, workers' and peasants' conferences, Soviets, and so on). All this complex problem of the organised capture of the broad masses by a party restricted by a definite selective process and welded by an iron discipline was for Rosa Luxemburg at the best a question of secondary importance.

For Lenin with the question of the role of the Party was closely bound the problem of realising the hegemony of the working class in the revolution over the other revolutionary classes and strata, particularly over the peasantry. For the very reason that Lenin confronted the proletariat with the problem of leadership of the many millions of peasantry, he was particularly insistent on the iron discipline of the Party and on its adopting an implacable attitude to any kind of opportunist deviation; for the broader the petty bourgeois masses which the proletariat had to direct during the revolution, the greater the danger of petty bourgeois influence penetrating into the proletarian party, and the more implacable ought the struggle with such influences to be. Rosa Luxemburg paid the minimum of attention to this problem of the hegemony of the proletariat over the peasantry and over the revolutionary petty bourgeoisie generally. In her pamphlet:

"The mass strike, the Party and the trade unions," in which she acquainted the German workers with the Russian 1905 revolution, she does not even mention the peasantry. And this although the most characteristic feature of that revolution was the agrarian movement, which took on extraordinary dimensions, and although Lenin considered the 1905 revolution as first and foremost an "agrarian revolution," and accordingly confronted it with the problem of realising a "democratic dictatorship of the proletariat and peasantry."

THE QUESTION OF INSURRECTION

The problem of the army and of armed insurrection was also raised in connection with this. Just as Rosa Luxemburg, so Lenin said again and again that the revolution is not made to order, and in his pamphlet: "Left-Wing' Communism" he gave a concrete formulation to the combination of objective conditions which is indispensable to the direct development of a revolutionary situation. But when such a situation was present Lenin confronted the Party with the task of the "organisation of the revolution," and in particular of "the organisation of the insurrection." But Rosa Luxemburg saw only one side of the business: the objective conditions engendering an elemental revolutionary movement, and she restricted the task of the Party to an estimate of the class forces, the formulation of political slogans, and political propaganda and agitation. When dealing in the above-mentioned pamphlet with the mass strikes of the Russian proletariat as being a specific class form of its struggle, she confines her remarks on the problem of armed insurrection to a single sentence: "History found a solution to this problem" (of mollifying the forms of the class struggle), "in a somewhat more profound and a finer sense in the appearance of revolutionary mass strikes, which it is true by no means replace and do not render superfluous the naked, brutal street struggle, but which restrict the latter only to a single moment of a long political period of struggle." ("Works," vol. 4, p. 459). Thus the systematic, stubborn work which was carried on during 1905 in the army, those innumerable insurrections, led by the Party or by members of the Party, which took place during that year and which had

their consummation in the December rising in Moscow, which Lenin regards as the "dress rehearsal" without which the revolution would not have been victorious in 1917—all this is absolutely beyond the ken of Rosa Luxemburg.

We see that when popularising the lessons of the Russian revolution in the west, Luxemburg, who was a pioneer of the revolutionary movement in Germany, had far from completely assimilated that experience. Rosa Luxemburg's under-estimation of the role of the Party and the organisation in the revolution constituted her chief weak feature, which of course, was explainable, but not justifiable. The explanation of this serious hiatus consists first in the fact that Rosa Luxemburg worked chiefly in Germany, at a time when a direct revolutionary situation was still non-existent in that country, and so there was nothing to raise to the forefront the problems connected with the organisation of the revolution: secondly, in Germany the organisation of the working class, especially the trade unions, had become a brake on and not a source of revolutionary development in the German workers' movement. But even so, this could not serve as a justification for Rosa Luxemburg, inasmuch as she had no need to invent Leninism, since it existed even in the pre-war period as a gigantic historical fact which Rosa Luxemburg had the opportunity of observing and studying. If Rosa Luxemburg and the "left-radicals" had completely assimilated the lessons of Leninism at that time, the birth-pangs of the German Communist Party would undoubtedly have been greatly alleviated, and the organisational severance of left-radicalism from the opportunist degenerated German social-democracy would have been accelerated. The "left-radicals" would have taken organisational form even before the war, as a fraction inside the German social-democracy, and after the declaration of war it would at once have entered into the closest organisational association with the Russian Bolsheviks. None the less, at that time the positive services of Luxemburgism in the German situation outweighed its negative aspects, its errors, to an enormous degree. Consequently Rosa Luxemburg's historical service is enormous, and she, perishing heroically after the Spartacus rising, has passed into history with an extraordinarily large active balance to her credit.

FAILURE OF LUXEBURG'S FOLLOWERS

But when a mass Communist Party had been formed in Germany, and when in 1923 there were present not only the objective but also the subjective prerequisites for a victorious proletarian revolution, the old comrades and partisans of Rosa Luxemburg, faced as leaders of the C.P. with the problem of direct struggle for power and with the organisation of an insurrection, demonstrated that at such a moment semi-Leninism is quite inadequate. In so far as they had not outlived the above indicated weak sides of Luxemburgism, despite the very rich experience of the German C.P. after Luxemburg's death, at such a severely critical moment they inevitably slipped back from Luxemburg to Kautsky, they inevitably betrayed not only Leninism but also that which constituted the strong, revolutionary side of Luxemburgism. Not having a Leninist comprehension of the enormous role of the Party, not having a Leninist comprehension of the importance of the hegemony of the proletariat, not able in Leninist fashion organisationally to connect up with the elementally developing workers' movement, to unite it and direct it, not able in Leninist fashion to organise the rising, and endeavouring rather to organise it by purely bureaucratic methods, they felt all their utter impotence. As a result they slipped into a coalition with the opportunist social-democratic party, began to put the emphasis not on the revolutionary, but on the backward workers, began to act as a brake on the elementally revolutionary movement of the masses, and towards the end capitulated without a struggle. All this connoted not merely the abnegation of Leninism, but also the abnegation of the revolutionary traditions of Luxemburgism. Anyone who at a severe, critical moment does not move forward inevitably slips backward.

Even then, in 1923, the Brandlerites were slipping along the road to social-democracy. But when it became clear to the Comintern and the German C.P. that we had entered on the "third period" of the crisis in capitalism, on a period demanding a change in tactics

conforming to the intensifying antagonisms, a change in the sense of a more resolute struggle against social-democracy along the whole line, in the sense of a total rejection of the united front with it from above, when this new tactic was laid down at the E.C.C.I. Ninth Plenum, at the Profintern Fourth Congress and at the Comintern Sixth Congress, when the German Communist Party, in preparation for the counter-attack against the united bourgeois-social-democratic front under the extremely difficult conditions conforming with this difficult task, began to tighten up the Party, to strengthen its discipline and to struggle more determinedly against all vacillation—then the Brandlerites, who had never understood the role of the Party, rushed a second time to the right and this time finally slipped into the morass of centrism.

This is not the first, nor will it be the last time in the history of the revolutionary movement, that a revolutionary trend has not succeeded in reconstructing itself in time in application to the sharp turns of history, and has leapt across to the other side of the barricades. This is, of course, an undoubted loss for the German C.P., but it is part of the inevitable costs of the development and growth of a revolutionary Party.

At the price of these losses the German C.P. has acquired the possibility of consequentially pursuing a Leninist policy without fear of hindrance from within. The enormous importance of this gain has already made itself felt in the Ruhr struggles, in which, despite the only just closed internal Party crisis, and the colossal opposition of social-democracy from outside the Party and of the rights and conciliators from within, the Party succeeded in finding a road to the masses, gaining contact with them and capturing the leadership of the movement.

From Luxemburgism the Brandlerites have slipped gradually back to centrism. But the German C.P. as a whole has grown out of being a Luxemburgite, Spartacus group into a mass Leninist party, and is now moving forward resolutely along the Leninist road. And that is a pledge of its future victories.

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The Reparations Problem and the Imperialist Bloc

By E. Varga

FOR ten years the question of reparations has been one of the most important objects of imperialist antagonism. Events after the war showed that the demagogic promises—"The Germans shall pay for everything"—made by the Entente bourgeoisie to their peoples, suffering terribly under the burdens of war, could not really be carried out. The attempt to force Germany to pay a great deal at once led to the complete disorganisation of capitalist German economy, to inflation and to an acutely revolutionary situation. With capitalist society in Europe greatly weakened by the war, an acutely revolutionary situation in Central Europe threatened all other capitalist countries. Therefore, in the interests of capitalist supremacy, ways and means had to be found both to get reparations from Germany and to ensure the stabilisation of German capitalism.

This was done by the Dawes Plan. It must be admitted that the Plan turned out to be excellently adapted to the purpose of stabilising German capitalism. But the Dawes Plan was not only intended to safeguard the interests of capitalist rule as a whole. It was also, in some way or another, to reconcile the hostilities existing between the principal imperialist Powers, which we shall briefly recall to the reader.

IMPERIALIST AIMS

France was concerned to attain supremacy on the European continent. To achieve this object, not only was Germany to remain unarmed, as set down in the Peace Treaty, but the left bank of the Rhine was always to remain in French occupation, while on the right bank a neutral "buffer" state was to be established, which would enable French heavy industry to obtain a monopoly of west European coal and iron. In addition to this, the unity of the old German Empire was to be destroyed by a separation of South Germany

from Prussia, and the eventual re-uniting of South Germany and Austria—in short, the re-establishment of that disunity among the German peoples which existed before the formation of the German Empire in 1870.

England would not consider such an extension of the area controlled by France. When, therefore, the French bourgeoisie put their programme into action by occupying the Ruhr, England dissociated herself from this action and secretly urged the German bourgeoisie to resistance. This was a continuation of England's traditional policy of lending support to that State on the European continent whose neighbour formed at any given time, England's most powerful rival. But, on the other hand, the British bourgeoisie could not, wholeheartedly and definitely, help to re-establish the power of the German bourgeoisie. The whole meaning of the world war, as far as the British capitalists were concerned, was that it constituted a decisive setback to Germany's imperialist advance. Germany had dared to try and bring Eastern Europe and Turkey under her influence, and had, penetrating between British and Tsarist imperialism, attempted to set up an Empire in Eastern Asia that threatened India. Moreover in the decade before the war, Germany had also begun to overtake Britain in the industrial sphere. Consequently, the British bourgeoisie could not definitely support either France or Germany. They were forced to a policy of weakening the two countries, either of which might become dangerous, by means of encouraging a struggle between them, thus gaining time to extend and strengthen their own imperialist power.

The U.S.A. was the third decisive factor in this question of reparations. The hostility between England and America was at that time only in its early stages, and the bourgeoisie of the two countries could therefore co-operate in opposition to the French

capitalists. The Americans had nothing to fear from France or Germany, and, therefore, the dominant section of the American bourgeoisie, the representatives of finance capital, were eager to place Germany in a position where she would be capable of taking large loans of American capital. For this purpose Germany had to be protected from French attack and its territorial unity maintained. In this respect, American and English interests coincided as against those of France. But, unlike England, the American bourgeoisie had nothing to fear from an economic or political revival in Germany.

THE DAWES PLAN

The result of all these cross purposes, and of many other less important ones into which the scope of this article does not allow us to enter, was the Dawes Plan. This Plan put an end to the French bourgeoisie's imperialist plans of destroying German unity. It, therefore, protected England from the danger of French supremacy on the continent; it guaranteed the reconstruction of German economy on a capitalist basis, and at the same time it prevented, for the time being, the re-emergence of acutely revolutionary situations, thus protecting the interests of capitalist society as a whole. To American capitalism, the Plan afforded the opportunity of investing capital in Germany, and the possibility of bringing Germany economically under its influence, thus laying a strong foundation in Europe which would be of service in its future struggle with England.

On the whole, the Dawes Plan accomplished its object. It must be strongly emphasised that at present there is no acute crisis in the working out of the Dawes Plan; that it is not incapacity on the part of Germany to fulfil its obligations which is causing the desire for a re-arrangement of the reparations problem. But on the other hand, the past four years have offered no proof that, in the long run, the Dawes Plan could function without any friction. That there is no acute crisis is evident from the construction of the Dawes Plan itself, which distinguishes between the payment of the stipulated sums, amounting, from the normal year of 1928, to 2½ milliard marks annually, and the assignment of payments abroad. There was never any doubt

that Germany could raise the sums provided for. At present the value of the product of German industry amounts roughly to 50 milliard marks per annum. Reparation payments account therefore, for about 5 per cent. of the annual value of production. According to various estimates annual accumulation in Germany amounts at the present to six to nine milliard marks. It cannot be doubted that 2½ milliard marks could be deducted from this without deeply affecting or injuring the development of German capitalist economy. In the last analysis, reparation payments are made not by the capitalists, but by the proletariat, whose standard of life is lowered on the pretext of the necessity of making reparation payments, a pretext put forward by the capitalists and reformists in unison. The various German attempts to reduce the level of reparation payments on the ground that the required sums could not be obtained through fiscal measures or the budget, proved entirely unsuccessful; indeed, in the past year, Germany had, on the basis of the "prosperity index," to pay 300 million marks more in reparations than the sum originally laid down in the Plan.

But the position is different with regard to the transfer question. The Dawes Plan, as is well known, laid it down that the sums raised internally should be transferred to the creditors of Germany only in such a way as would not endanger the stability of the German exchanges. It is obvious that a transference of values from one country to another can only take place in the form of goods, i.e., of commodities (and to some extent of services). Germany is not a gold producing country, nor, after the war, did she retain any of her foreign loans, the interest on which could be used in reparation payments. In the long run reparations could only be paid by an excess of the export of commodities over the import. Now it is well known that since the existence of the reparations plan Germany has always had a large passive balance in its foreign trade. In spite of that, she has always succeeded in transferring the reparations regularly. This was made possible by the fact that, in this period, Germany received foreign credits up to about 10 milliard marks, of which about one-half was left abroad as reparation payments. It is clear then that

what has happened up to the present is no indication that the transfer of payments will proceed smoothly in the future.

In the event of the impossibility of transference, the Dawes Plan lays it down that those sums which cannot be transferred should, up to the sum of 5 milliard gold marks, be deposited in the German Reichsbank, or invested in German bonds. If the 5 milliard limit is reached, the sums raised internally for reparations are to be decreased in accordance with the possibilities of transfer. This regulation is the reason for our contention that no crisis exists in the working out of the Dawes Plan.

Since a part of reparation payments—more than 40 per cent.—is made by the delivery of goods, and since the 26 per cent. tax on German goods in England ensures a certain possibility of transfer, about 1½ milliard marks can be transferred annually without foreign loans, and without the German exchanges being directly endangered. Assuming no changes in the execution of the Dawes Plan, it would take about five years before the limit of non-transferable sums, determined in the Plan, would be reached. For the present, therefore, there is no acute crisis.

WHY A NEW REPARATIONS SETTLEMENT

The question then arises: In the absence of any acute crisis, what has induced Germany's creditors, above all England and France, to enter into negotiations concerning a new settlement of the reparations question? The answer to this lies in the changed relations between the principal imperialist Powers.

At the time of the establishment of the Dawes Plan, the hostility between England and the U.S.A. was more or less latent, while that between England and France was acute and determined British policy. To-day the position is quite reversed. British-American hostility governs world foreign policy, while England and France have again established the old Entente. This does not mean that British-French hostility has disappeared. Not in the least! The hostility was so great that it had to be settled either by a war or by a temporary alliance. With the most recent development of military technique, England has strategically ceased to be an island with regard to France. Long distance guns,

numerous submarines and a powerful aerial fleet enable France to attack England directly. The Channel no longer affords any protection against French attacks. Consequently the British bourgeoisie can no longer carry out a world policy unless protected against a French attack which would threaten the metropolis. Since England is both the organiser of the capitalist bloc against the Soviet Union and the leader of the European debtor countries against the United States, since England is forced to carry on over the whole world a struggle against the fights for independence on the part of the colonial peoples which she holds in suppression, she had to come to an agreement with France in order to keep her hands free for world policy. We can observe therefore the formation of a new bloc composed of England, France, their vassal States and Japan on the one hand, and on the other hand America with her vassal States.

The attempt to get a new settlement of the reparations question is a part of the struggle to draw Germany either into the Anglo-French or into the American bloc.

The economic development of Germany in the last four years has been much more rapid than was anticipated when the Dawes Plan was signed. Although disarmed—at least on paper—Germany has now become a strong imperialist Power. With modern war technique, the decisive factors in the event of war are not—other things being equal—the standing army and the munitions reserve, but the industrial development of a country which enables it to maintain a sufficient supply of military equipment for its fighting population.

This depends on the development of a country's entire industry, and particularly its metal and chemical industries. Potentially, therefore, Germany is one of the most powerful imperialist States, for it possesses excellent metal and chemical industries and a population which is rapidly increasing in numbers. It is therefore quite clear why England, the driving force in war preparations against the Soviet Union and the U.S.A. has for years been trying to draw Germany into the West European bloc.

In truth, England and France have succeeded in turning Germany's attention more and more to the west, in bringing Germany

into the League of Nations, and, by the Locarno Pact, in turning her from her anti-French attitude. Germany's economic development, the closer relations between French and German capital, the formation of Franco-German cartels, made this work easier. But up to the present the policy of Locarno has given no positive advantage to Germany. At the time when the Pact was signed, the German capitalists were fed with hopes of an evacuation of the Rhineland before 1935, the year laid down in the Peace Treaty, and of an accommodating attitude towards German colonial activity and imperialist expansion, to which a great impetus would necessarily be given by German economic development. Nothing so far has come of all these hopes, and the German capitalists are, therefore, demanding the evacuation of the Rhineland. The French capitalists answer this with a demand for a new settlement of the reparations question and for the maintenance of some sort of French military control of the Rhineland, even after evacuation, up to 1935 and also afterwards. These three problems. Rhineland evacuation, military control of the Rhineland areas after evacuation, and a re-settlement of reparations, are very closely bound up with each other.

ENGLISH AND FRENCH ANTAGONISM

As for questions of political power, the hostility between England and France is apparent in the continual vacillations of British policy. England is principally concerned in winning Germany over to an active anti-Soviet policy and into the anti-American bloc.

The semi-official "Kölnische Zeitung" wrote as follows on 19-12-28:

"According to reliable sources, Chamberlain's intention at the conversations beginning at Lugano about evacuation, is to bring that question into relation with German policy towards Russia. This means that his agreement to the withdrawal of the Belgian-English-French troops is dependent upon Germany more or less ceasing to have relations with Russia, i.e., his intention is to bargain the freedom of the Rhineland against British world political interests and to attempt to use Germany as a whip with which to chastise Russia.

"Chamberlain therefore wishes to use the opportunity of the Rhineland evacuation as a means for pressing Germany into the anti-Russian front; and if Germany shows signs of disobedience, to punish her with a continuation of occupation."

While England is thus going straight for her objective, France's policy towards Germany is one of vacillation. The French capitalists fear—and rightly fear—a repetition of the events of 100 years ago, when Napoleon forced the Prussian troops into war against Tsarist Russia, and when those troops, as the chances of war changed, went over to the Russian side, and together with the Russians made war on France. The French bourgeoisie wants guarantees that after the cessation of the Rhineland occupation, Germany will be unable to begin a "war of revenge" on France. Hence their demand for the maintenance of military control even after 1935. On this question the British capitalists have not yet made up their mind. In Chamberlain's absence, Churchill almost openly declared that according to the interpretation of §421 of the Versailles Peace Treaty by the Germans, the obligation to evacuate the Rhineland becomes effective as soon as Germany fulfils her reparations obligations; but Chamberlain on the other hand, in a speech made early in December, entirely accepted the French position, according to which the obligation to evacuate commences only

"When Germany has completely carried out all her obligations under the reparations agreement. It is not enough for Germany to fulfil her current reparations obligations regularly."

"The Economist" of December 8, 1928, remarks on this subject that Chamberlain went even further than France in his interpretation of this clause of the treaty. It cannot be doubted but that Chamberlain's attitude on this point means greater pressure on Germany to enter the anti-Soviet bloc. But the British capitalists would also be quite prepared to show a more accommodating attitude to German desires, at the expense of France, were they sure that Germany is prepared and determined to enter the English bloc.

As for the German capitalists, the essence of their policy consists, in our opinion, in

selling their allegiance to either the English or the American bloc, according as to which offers the more advantageous terms. In spite of the unexpected increase of strength in the last four years, the German capitalists are still too weak to have an independent world policy, they are still too weak, even should they wish it, to defend their neutrality by armed force in the event of a war by the English bloc on the Soviet Union. They therefore want to get the best that they can for themselves out of the given situation. With the rapid intensification of Anglo-American rivalry, there is also the chance of Germany regaining her independence as a world-power by coming in on the side of America.

The foregoing analysis gives a rough outline of the world situation in which the negotiations for a new settlement of the reparations question are beginning.

MATERIAL FACTORS OF THE SITUATION

Let us turn now to the material factors involved. It is no easy task to pick out, from among the thousands of speeches and articles, worthy of a strategical nature what is most essential and significant. One thing is clear, that each side is putting forward much higher demands than it is prepared to accept. The matter is still further complicated by the problem of inter-allied debts, but we can say that the position of the negotiating powers is roughly as follows:

U.S.A.: the American capitalists have announced, through Coolidge, that the linking up of the reparations question with that of inter-allied debts is inadmissible. The matter of indebtedness to the United States has been settled and all agreements, with one exception, ratified officially. President-elect Hoover shares this viewpoint. He is of the opinion that Germany can pay the 2½ milliard marks, that all the debtor States, with the exception perhaps of Italy, can pay their debts to the U.S.A., and that all attempts to entangle inter-allied debts and reparations are nothing but attempts to make the American taxpayer pay more.

France: the French bourgeoisie, as Poincaré has so often proclaimed, demands a sum from Germany which will meet French debts to England and America and which will, in addition, be sufficient to provide for the amor-

tisation and interest payments on the funds expended in the reconstruction of the devastated areas.

England: the British bourgeoisie, now as formerly, hold to the Balfour Note, i.e., they demand a sum from all their debtors, including Germany, neither greater nor less than shall be sufficient to pay off British indebtedness to the United States. The British bourgeoisie is determined not to approach America with a request for a reduction of debts, a step which would, in any case, considering the intensification of Anglo-American rivalry, be purposeless.

Germany: the German bourgeoisie is anxious for a large decrease in reparation payments, the abolition of the "prosperity index," and a definite determination, either of the total sum to be paid in reparations, or of the annual amount to be paid and the number of years for which it is to be paid; evacuation of the Rhineland, no control after 1935, the inclusion of Austria, and a modification of the eastern frontiers.

As for the urgency of the question, Germany, so long as she is protected by the transfer clause, has no reason to press for a new settlement, unless that were to offer better material and political advantages. Nor is the matter urgent for France, who regularly receives reparation payments and, fearing Germany, would only surrender the occupation of the Rhine most unwillingly, unless that were compensated for by military guarantees. The United States, too, has no pressing reason to hasten a settlement of the question, although Parker Gilbert, the reparations agent, is doing his utmost to set the negotiations going. In this he is strongly influenced by the Morgan interests, for whom the huge transactions involved in the commercialisation of German reparation payments would mean great profits.

The only power for whom a settlement of the question is a matter of urgency, is England. England wants to draw Germany into the anti-Soviet and the anti-American bloc, and is therefore most actively interested in a rearrangement of conditions.

The experts will meet in January for discussion. They will try to fix on definitely Germany's reparation obligations, a task which, as is well known, the Dawes Plan failed

to do. If we consider the possibility of a reduction in the 2½ milliards, that reduction, if France, England and America maintain their present position, will be very small. The debts of the Entente States to the U.S.A. amount annually to about 1,700 million marks for a period of 62 years. Germany would have to shoulder this burden. In addition the interest on the sums expended by France in reconstruction, amounting according to the present rate of exchange to 16 milliard marks, requires 800 million marks annually.

POSSIBILITY OF REDUCING REPARATION PAYMENTS

It is clear that if the negotiators stick to their demands, only a very small reduction of Germany's reparation debts is possible, and it is questionable whether the German bourgeoisie would be willing to give up the protection afforded by the transfer clause for the sake of a few hundred millions. There are three ways in which a reduction of Germany's obligations is possible.

1. A huge financial transaction, in which the position of the U.S.A. would formally, it is true, be as before, but through which, by the exchange of inter-allied debts against German obligations and the fixing of a lower rate of interest, America would actually be in receipt of a smaller sum. Such a solution, into whose financial details we cannot now enter, would mean as regards foreign politics that America would renounce her immediate claim on the Entente States, that is, America would renounce one of her most important methods of exercising pressure on England and France. On the other hand, such a resolution would greatly increase Germany's dependence on the U.S.A., and America's chances of drawing Germany into the anti-British bloc.

2. A reduction in reparation payments is possible if England were to agree to leave to France a part of the 22 per cent. reparation payments consigned to England under the plan, i.e., if England were to deviate from the principle of the Balfour Note.

3. It is possible that France might be satisfied with less than the sum necessary to provide for amortisation and interest payments on the costs of reconstruction.

In the last few months innumerable versions

of the plans of the Entente powers have appeared in the Press. But a constant factor in all these versions is the attempt of England and France so to regulate the new arrangement that its results will create hostility between Germany and America. This is clear in the following plan: Germany's reparations obligations are to be separated into two. The first part, amounting to about 1,700 million marks annually is to be devoted to covering allied debts to America. A new body, under the chairmanship of an American, is to be set up to receive the German payments and to transfer them to America in the name of the allied governments. Briefly, this organisation will make it clear to the Germans that they are really paying reparations to the U.S.A., and that the amount of those payments depends entirely on the U.S.A., and not on the Entente countries. On the English side, this is called giving to Germany the fruits of a future and more favourable settlement of inter-allied debts. Such a situation would clearly put difficulties in the way of friendship between Germany and America. The sum to be paid by Germany apart from that going to the U.S.A., is to be immediately commercialised, i.e., placed on the world market as bonds (in the German railways and industries) and the proceeds transferred immediately to France and Belgium. This method of replacing annual payments by one total payment would mean that France, while formally maintaining her point of view, actually renounced her demands. It would then be possible to fix Germany's annual payments at 2 milliards for 62 years.

GERMAN COUNTER-CLAIMS

With such an arrangement, the German bourgeoisie could put forward counter-claims to compensate them for the renunciation of the transfer clause and as payment for their adherence to the British anti-Soviet bloc. These demands would include the immediate evacuation of the Rhineland, the inclusion of Austria and, later on, concessions with regard to the German-Polish frontier. But these very demands are an obstacle to Anglo-French co-operation. We have already dealt with the question of the Rhineland evacuation and French "security." As for the inclusion of

Austria in Germany, Briand expressed himself quite unambiguously at Lugano.

"The treaty of St. Germain lays it down that Austria cannot renounce her independence without the unanimous consent of the League of Nations Council. Should Austria appeal to the Council, I should not be opposed to the question being discussed by that tribunal, for no unanimity would be reached, since France, at least, would vote against it, and the question would be answered in the negative. If however at any time, though I do not believe this will happen, Germany were to make a coup d'état and annex Austria, let not Germany forget that such an action would inevitably mean war."

(Note.—From the wireless report from Lugano, as published in the "Temps," December 16, 1928.)

Briand therefore threatens Germany with war should Austria be included in the German realm. Similarly, any attempt on the part of Germany to acquire the "corridor" or a part of Upper Silesia from Poland would encounter equally great obstacles from the French side. The German bourgeoisie are also trying to exploit Anglo-American rivalry to improve their own position. A telegram from the American correspondent of the "Berliner Tageblatt," published on Dec. 12th, 1928, throws light on this matter. It runs as follows:

"The limitation of German policy in recent years to almost exclusively continental considerations, while utterly ignoring world-political possibilities, have never been understood here. The question is often asked as to why Germany, for the sake of temporary and secondary concessions, overlooks important foreign combinations which would be of much greater value in the future. People here often discuss whether Germany, in the course of this development, limited as it is to fairly narrow European frontiers, will, sooner or later, allow herself to be drawn into a united front with the European governments, whose attitude to the United States is growing more and more antagonistic. People here are inclined to consider this as somewhat shortsighted, especially as Germany, dependent on world markets, could, by close co-operation with the United States, look forward to very good prospects. Not to

speak of the possibility that Germany's position will be used as a bridge to Russia.

"American feeling towards England and France has been profoundly influenced by the secret naval agreement between those two States, that Germany should only turn to West European alliances, after having taken into account that the practical and moral support of America will, in the long run, have more weight in the settlement of all German problems, than all the promises of European governments."

This description, in our opinion, correctly reflects the political attitude of a part at least of the American bourgeoisie, and also indicates the efforts of the German bourgeoisie to exploit to their own advantage Anglo-American hostility.

On the whole it can be said that the negotiations now beginning about reparations are as complicated as was, in its time, the work of the Dawes Commission. The main difference is that formerly Germany was not an active factor in the affair, while to-day new Germany is a powerful factor, not yet won by either of the two world political blocs, the English or the American. Consequently, the factor of foreign policy will be more important in the present negotiations than the purely financial question of the amount of annual payments in which the possibilities of alteration are, in any case, narrowly limited.

NO LASTING SETTLEMENT POSSIBLE

It is clear that even should a new settlement of reparations obligations be reached in the new negotiations—a result of which we are by no means certain—it would not be a lasting settlement. The question is, will the German bourgeoisie settle the transfer problem. Assuming that Germany's obligations will be reduced to 2 milliard marks per annum and remembering that, in addition, Germany has to pay from six to eight hundred millions in interest on the foreign capital invested in Germany, it is extremely doubtful whether she will be able to raise almost 3 milliard marks annually from the balance of her foreign trade, without resorting to further foreign loans. To do this an active trade balance of three milliard marks would be necessary (or rather somewhat less because of Germany's income from shipping services). This means

that her exports must be increased by about 5 milliards per annum, in order to cover the present trading deficit and to realise from her export of commodities sufficient wherewith to pay her reparations obligations and the interest on foreign loans. This, with the present acute struggle for markets for industrial products is an extremely difficult task to accomplish. It is true that since the stabilisation of the German exchanges, and particularly in 1928, German exports have increased greatly, but it is still a long way off from an active trade balance, if we are to believe the German figures of foreign trade.*

Clearly, the transfer problem will not disappear with the annulment of the transfer clause. This means that in order to pay her reparations obligations from the values of her own production, Germany must produce more cheaply than all her competitors. This means that the working conditions and the standard of life of the German proletariat would have to be still further worsened, in order to enable (without encroaching upon capitalist profits) Germany to sell so cheaply

* The suspicion has often been expressed in Entente journals, and partly also in Germany, that the "passivity" of German foreign trade has been deliberately described as greater than it actually is, because of the reparations problem. Unfortunately, it is impossible to check German export figures by the import figures of other

abroad, that the growth in exports would be sufficient to supply the necessary surplus for reparations payments.

Nor would a settlement be final in another sense, for on the outbreak of an imperialist war, which will necessarily be a world war, all the agreements arising from the last war about inter-allied debts and reparations will be thrown to the winds.

We repeat: the essence of the negotiations now beginning does not lie in the determination of the amount to be paid in reparations, but in the questions of the powers and their policies; whether the German bourgeoisie will succeed in carrying on their policy of "tacking" between the British bloc, the American bloc, and the Soviet Union; or whether they will be forced to join either America or England; and whether the hostile interests of the British and French bourgeoisie with regard to more freedom for Germany's imperialist activity will be so great that for the time being, a new settlement of the reparations problem will be impossible.

countries because of the different methods of compiling statistics adopted by different countries. For example, goods exported via Holland, Belgium or Austria often appear in the statistics of the country of destination as Dutch, Belgian or Austrian goods, so that no comparison would have any validity.

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The Story of a Certain Principle

ON January 25th a convention was signed in Moscow between the U.S.S.R. and Germany concerning "agreed procedure." The essence of this convention consists in providing that any conflicts which may arise between the two States which cannot be resolved by the customary diplomatic channels are to be referred to the consideration of a special commission. This commission is organized on the basis of equality and consists of two representatives of each country. The commission has no chairman, and all the issues brought before it for consideration are to be decided on the basis of voluntary agreement. The commission is to meet for a regular session once a year and also in extraordinary session in the event of either country desiring this.

Such is the far from involved content of the convention signed at Moscow a few days ago. It is an extraordinarily interesting document. It is the consummation of a long period of struggle which the Soviet State has been waging on the issue of so-called arbitration. Of

course, the convention does not end that struggle, but it does herald a definite setback to the principle of "arbitration" as directed against the U.S.S.R.

WE know that for many years the capitalist States, both individually and jointly have been attempting to bind the U.S.S.R. by arbitration treaties. There has not been a single instance of any political negotiations between the U.S.S.R. and any capitalist State which has not sooner or later found itself in the arbitration cul-de-sac. The U.S.S.R.'s view on arbitration was and remains unchanged. Soviet foreign policy systematically rejects the application of the principle of arbitration to the mutual relationships between the U.S.S.R. and this, that or the other bourgeois government. There can be no doubt of the fact that in disputes between the Soviet State and any bourgeois-capitalist State it is impossible to find any genuinely dispassionate and genuinely neutral arbiter. Quite inevitably the class and social

attachments of such an arbiter would force him to bring in a decision against the U.S.S.R. and in favour of its opponent. Arising out of this obvious truth, the U.S.S.R. has turned down all proposals touching arbitration treaties. Meantime, this very rejection of the principle of arbitration has given a number of bourgeois governments some excuse for declaring that the Soviet Government will accept no methods whatever of peaceful settlement of conflicts, and that its aggressive nature is thus laid bare. And even more. The Soviet Government's refusal to accept the principle of arbitration has invariably been exploited by the corresponding bourgeois governments as an excuse for rejecting the Soviet peace proposals, such as pacts of non-aggression and so on. Both the Polish diplomats and their French patrons, such as Briand, have more than once declared that the rejection of arbitration makes the guarantees offered by the Soviet Government quite illusory.

The principle of arbitration is at the present time the official principle of the League of Nations and is fervently defended by all its numerous commercial travellers.

FINALLY—and this is a most curious fact—the principle of arbitration in political treaties is an official principle in social-democracy's program of foreign policy. Social-democracy not only demands the application of this principle to conflicts between two capitalist governments, but absolutely foams in its insistence that the same principle shall be accepted by the U.S.S.R. government. The social-democrats pretend that they do not observe the circumstance that when there is a dispute between capitalist States, of which one is a Great Power, and the other a small State, so-called neutral arbitration inevitably decides in favour of the larger party (unless a still larger party stands directly at the back of the smaller State). It is difficult to imagine for instance that in a conflict between Britain and Latvia say, the neutral arbiter would decide in favour of Latvia and against Britain. Formal neutrality is in practice transformed into the complete dependence of the judges on the largest power and strongest partner in the dispute, and the formal sovereignty and equality of both parties

is in practice transformed into the subjection of the weak State to the stronger State.

Such is the basis, or rather the application of the arbitration principle in disputes between two States which are representatives of the same class. It is still more obvious that the application of such a principle in the settlement of conflicts between socialist and capitalist States would in present circumstances result in the U.S.S.R. being bound to the will of this or that capitalist government. It goes without saying that this circumstance does not disturb the social democrats. On the contrary, the more evident it is, the more furiously do the leaders of social democracy defend the necessity of the U.S.S.R. accepting the "universal principle of arbitration." The worthy representative of French social democracy and the executor of Poincaré's most reactionary plans, one of the co-authors of the Anglo-French naval compromise, Paul Boncour, is, as is well-known, the most ardent in asserting that the U.S.S.R. should accept the principle of arbitration. It was Paul Boncour who not so very long ago in the French Chamber of Deputies demonstrated the impossibility of Poland and Roumania adopting any other policy towards the U.S.S.R. than that which both these States are already pursuing, and this because the U.S.S.R. refuses to accept the application of the principle of arbitration. It is sufficient to think of any French arbiter in some conflict between the U.S.S.R. and Poland or Roumania in order to see only too plainly all the hidden purport of such declarations on the part of this social democratic thimble-rigger. Besides, the U.S.S.R. has already had an opportunity of seeing the results of such arbitration in the dispute between that country and Roumania. The Paris protocol of 1920, which recognises Bessarabia as a component part of Roumania, is a classic example of such "arbitration."

TO this bourgeois social democratic principle the Soviet diplomacy has always opposed the principle of "agreed procedure." Whilst declaring that there can be no such thing as a neutral judge between the world of socialism and the world of capitalism, the U.S.S.R. has nevertheless never rejected peaceable methods of resolving conflicts during the period of the temporary co-existence of

the two systems of national economy. On the contrary, the U.S.S.R. has always declared and still declares that such peaceable methods of settling conflicts are both possible and desirable. None the less, one condition must be observed always: the complete and genuine equality of the countries, which can guarantee their voluntary, completely unfettered and undictated agreement. Only such an agreement can be accepted by the U.S.S.R., only such an agreement can correspond to the interests of the toilers and to the interests of peace.

Hitherto the U.S.S.R. had not succeeded in concluding one such agreement. With the energetic and active support of the social democrats the various bourgeois governments have always rejected the Soviet proposals in this direction. This was the case during the negotiations with Poland and with the Baltic States. Germany equally had hitherto not consented to a convention on agreed procedure. The German bourgeoisie continually lived in the hope of getting the U.S.S.R. to accept the principle of arbitration. Meantime the growing economic conditions between Germany and the U.S.S.R., and the existence of a number of agreements between the two countries, with the possibility of certain of the clauses of those agreements being interpreted differently by the two countries concerned, have compelled the leaders of German policy to conclude some kind of agreement establishing the methods of settling any conflict that may arise.

GERMANY'S signature to the convention on agreed procedure witnesses first and foremost to the fact that the German bourgeoisie has become convinced of the utter impossibility of binding the U.S.S.R. to any principle of arbitration, just as they have become convinced of the impossibility of compelling the U.S.S.R. to repeal the monopoly of foreign trade. Having thus become convinced, the German bourgeoisie have revealed a certain manœuvring ability and have made an agreement which ensures them a

definite possibility of settling any issue in which they may be interested. There is no doubt whatever that such a convention on agreed procedure and the methods of settling conflicts which that convention provides will be of advantage not only to the U.S.S.R. but to Germany also.

None the less, the most interesting feature of this question is the conduct of the German social-democrats. The German social democrats, which in their fear of revolution have always occupied a still more irreconcilable position in regard to the State of proletarian dictatorship than have the bourgeoisie, who outvied the bourgeoisie in their miserable slander of the U.S.S.R., who have been the pioneers of the "western orientation" in Germany and still insist on that orientation, have now, on becoming a component part of the coalition government, come up against the necessity, in the interests of German capital, of retreating from their "principle" in the arbitration issue. This, of course, does not signify that German social democracy has even for one moment flagged in its anti-Soviet activities. It has taken this step not out of a desire for peace with the country of proletarian dictatorship, but in the interests of German capital, which is now faced with the prospect of the first really serious reparations payments and has suffered a number of serious defeats in its "western" policy.

There is a further feature of interest. Having in their capacity as members of the cabinet, given their agreement to the conclusion of a convention on agreed procedure with the U.S.S.R., how can the social democratic publicists continue their malevolent agitation to the effect that the U.S.S.R. will not accept any measures for the peaceful settlement of conflicts?

For that matter, it is hardly worth doubting that they will find some "suitable" argument in favour of their continuing their anti-Soviet campaign of calumny.

Comintern Instructions to Forthcoming Party Congresses

By A. Martinov

CONGRESSES are shortly to be held in four sections of the Comintern: the Czecho-Slovakian, Austrian, Belgian and American Communist Parties. All these congresses will be held during a time of struggle against the right-wing danger and against all conciliatory attitudes to the right tendency.

The Comintern Sixth Congress was right in its view as to the chief danger at the present stage of development of the world Communist movement. The necessity of reorganising our ranks and tactics in application to the intensifying internal and external antagonisms of the third period of capitalism's crisis, and in application to the developing class struggles, has everywhere come up against a certain amount of inertia. In connection with the new course laid down by the Comintern, everywhere rightward deviations from the Comintern line have arisen, thanks to which certain sections have recently revealed an isolation from the masses, and stagnation or even a decline in the Party membership. As a result certain parties have recently suffered defeats, despite favourable objective conditions. These facts are by no means to be interpreted as meaning that the Comintern sections have taken a step backward in their development, that they are now retrogressing, as the social democrats like to imagine. They witness to the fact that a number of the Comintern sections are, with great difficulty and with great friction—sometimes even the friction of an internal party crisis—taking a step forward, are lifting themselves to a higher stage, one corresponding with the new situation of the intensifying struggle.

THE RIGHT WING IN THE PARTIES

The rightward deviations have taken on the most definite forms and have developed the

most complete ideological expression in the C.P. of Germany. But the same party has resolutely and highly successfully carried on a struggle against the right-wingers. The clarity of the position taken up by the Central Committee of the German C.P. and by the right wing Brandlerites who revolted against the Committee, and also the successful struggle waged against the right-wing fraction are all explained by the fact that the German C.P. is a mass party, that it has accumulated a considerable revolutionary experience since the war, and that its ideological standard is higher than that of other Comintern sections, excluding the C.P.S.U. Consequently, the experience of the struggle which under the direction of the Comintern the German C.P. is waging at the present time against the right-wingers and the advocates of conciliation is very instructive for all Communist Parties. None the less it would be a great error to consider that the methods of struggle adopted by the German C.P. can be mechanically applied in all the other Comintern sections.

In the first place it must be borne in mind that whilst the rightward deviation everywhere has the same common features, none the less they take on distinctive forms according to the various sections, and in dependence on the definite political circumstances of struggle and on the internal state of the Party, on its traditions, its social composition, its degree of development and so on. Secondly, in certain sections of the Comintern which are at a lower stage of ideological development than the German C.P., the rightward trend and the struggle against that trend for this very reason do not take on such a clear-cut form. In these parties the rightward trend more frequently takes on the form of hidden opportunism than it does in the case of the German conciliatory group. The Comintern instructions, and in particular those of the

Sixth Congress are formally acknowledged, but they are subjected to a false interpretation; or else the opportunism is not ideologically formulated at all, but is revealed in practice, which by the way by no means diminishes its danger. Thirdly, the advocates of the rightward and conciliatory deviations are different groupings of the Party in different sections. In certain cases a large proportion of the directing nuclei of the Party and extensive sections of the local party, and especially the trade union responsible workers are infected with hidden opportunism (Czecho-Slovakia). In other cases the directing body of the Party is sincerely endeavouring to carry out the Comintern line and is quite energetically practising the art of self-criticism, but the general Party and particularly the trade union ranks are in practice committing out-and-out opportunist errors (France). In yet other cases, the central committee has gradually adjusted its line to accord with that of the Comintern, but there is still an opposition minority occupying a right wing, opportunist position inside the leadership (Austria). And finally, there is a party in which the majority and the minority among the leaders have been carrying on a stern fractional struggle for a number of years, but this struggle, being a fight for the command of the Party which has no adequate basis in principle, is not rendering it easier, but rather more difficult for the Party to free itself from the rightward deviations which both the one and the other group are following (American C.P.). In view of these heterogeneous conditions it is not everywhere possible to cut the Gordian knot and to amputate the opportunist elements, as was done in Germany. Owing to this fact, in order to overcome the rightward danger the Comintern has not only to carry on a stern and unbending ideological struggle against the offending comrades, but simultaneously to carry on a highly flexible organisational struggle against them in the various sections. It was from this consideration that the Comintern arrived at its previous decisions and at its latest instructions for the forthcoming four Party Congresses.

CZECHO-SLOVAKIA

Immediately after the Sixth Congress the Comintern directed an "open letter" to the

Czecho-Slovakian Party. The Comintern is now sending a second "open letter" to the Czecho-Slovakian Party Congress. In the first letter the E.C.C.I. indicated that "the Communist Party of Czecho-Slovakia is experiencing an internal crisis, the immediate cause of which is the collapse of the Red Day" of July 26th, 1927. But the Comintern recognised the basic cause of the crisis to be the "opportunist lethargy" of the Party, which was especially clearly revealed in the conditions caused by the necessity imposed of taking up a more energetic and initiative attitude with a view to the independent leadership of the class struggle. This cause has its roots in the conditions of the Party's formation: "In the case of the C.P. of Czecho-Slovakia, which at the time of its foundation was endowed with a considerable social democratic inheritance and which has at no time during its existence been steered by a revolutionary fight of the masses, the elaboration of a Bolshevik and revolutionary policy of its own, completely opposed to the policy of the reformists, cannot but be a most difficult task."

The so-called "historical right" which was in command of the C.P. of Czecho-Slovakia, split away after the Sixth Plenum. The openly liquidatorial group which had carried on a struggle against the Comintern decisions along the same lines as the Brandler group, was routed out. Then a Party leadership was formed, consisting of a majority of left-wingers, to which comrade Jilek's group also attached itself. The basis of this new leadership was a bloc between the left-wingers and comrade Smeral's group. This leadership, headed by comrade Jilek and others, also carried on a successful struggle against the Trotskyists. But in the very course of this struggle against the Trotskyists the new leadership flagged in the struggle against the rightward trend in the Party. As a result, as the first letter said: "In spite of the partial successes of the Party in its struggle against the rightward deviations, the opportunist elements retained strong positions, particularly in the extra-parliamentary mass organisations. In the conduct of the economic fight and of trade union activity, social democratic methods remained predominant. . . . Inactivity in the struggle against the danger of war and of Fascism, the exaggeratedly legal

attitude in practical work, and the lack of attention paid to national and peasant questions" are among the "shortcomings of the Party, connected with its social-democratic traditions." Thus the "Open Letter" of September last summed up the state of the C.P. of Czecho-Slovakia under the leadership of comrade Jilek and his adherents. Under such a leadership the Party was not able to reorganise itself in application to the new conditions of the "third period." During "this period, in which the activity of the proletariat rapidly increased and found utterance in spontaneous strikes and spontaneous protests. . . the wrong conception of the consequences of capitalist stabilisation led to tendencies which wholly ignored the contradictions arising on the basis of stabilisation and the aggravation of class differences. The Party remained in the background in relation to the increasing class struggle and to the growing danger of war, and this inactivity gradually assumed a drastically opportunistic character. The Party proved unprepared to effect any rapid mobilisation and re-formation of its ranks. . . The Party consequently committed in the course of last year a series of very significant errors, which caused the sympathies it enjoyed among the working masses to wane considerably, so that on the Red Day the Party found itself completely isolated from the masses." What were the greatest errors the Party had committed? "On the occasion of the demonstrations on March 29th and April 3rd, which embodied a protest against the decline of social insurance legislation . . . the Party allowed itself to be won over to the idea of an agreement with the reformists, actually withdrew the slogan of a general protest strike and of the convocation of a congress of factory committees, and made the rest of the campaign dependent on parliamentary combinations and manoeuvres." Further, owing to the wrong tactics adopted by the Party, the Red trade unions and the Party suffered a serious defeat during the politically important struggle of the metal-workers. When on May 16th the governmental agrarian party organised a demonstration against the working class, in which demonstration tens of thousands of poor and middle peasants participated side by side with the landed proprietors, the Party failed to oppose

it by a counter-demonstration of the workers in order to reveal our agrarian demands to the peasants gathered in Prague. And all this had its consummation in the extreme failure of the Red Day.

From these facts the first September "open letter" drew the conclusion that the Party had lost contact with the masses, and accordingly gave instructions for "the concentration of all the Party forces for a determined fight against the danger from the right," and for the beginning of an extensive discussion in the Party to this end. "In the course of a comprehensive discussion new elections of all leading officials must be organised, from the nucleus to the district administration. At the new elections it is particularly young and truly revolutionary comrades, in intimate touch with the masses, that must be recruited for the most important work in the Party and for work in the mass organisation, starting with the very lowest officials. All that hinder the activity of the C.P. of Czecho-Slovakia and have not yet got the better of their social democratic traditions must be eliminated. The discussions are to terminate in the convocation of a Party Congress."

Such was the estimate of the situation in the Party, and such the practical instructions given in the E.C.C.I.'s September "Open Letter." The second "Open Letter," directed to the Fifth Congress of the C.P. of Czecho-Slovakia, declares that during the past six months the Party has not succeeded in carrying out the instructions of the Comintern, that it has not developed an extensive discussion on the basis of the "Open Letter," that almost to its close the discussion was of a superficial character, that in its direction of the re-elections of all the leading organs the Party had not sufficiently attached "young comrades, free from social democratic traditions, who have assimilated the revolutionary idea and have received a practical course of work in the lower organisations." At the same time the Party has continued to commit opportunist errors. "The Party has still not entirely renounced its inaccurate view that the social democratic party is a party of the working class equally with the Communist Party. The Party continues to criticise blocs with the leaders of the reformists and shares with them the leadership of the insurgent masses (the

struggle against the disadvantageous changes in the social insurance law, the miners' movement in Mährisch-Ostrau), the Party continues to be lethargic at important political moments, such as, for instance, the celebration of the tenth anniversary of the Czechoslovakian republic." As a result, the Party influence with the masses has weakened, especially in the Czech areas, as is shown by the last municipal elections, and this despite the strong leftward movement of the masses, despite the fact that the activity of the working masses sometimes reaches a very high level (The miners' strike in Kladno, etc.).

At the same time this second "Open Letter" declares that the discussion has already had one positive result. "The positive result of the discussion was that during its course an opposition, with comrade Gottwald at its head, emerged, took on a definite formation and consolidated its position, embracing the leading active sections of the Party, and not only acknowledging the "Open Letter," but insistently struggling for the realisation of the tasks set by it. This opposition had to carry on the struggle both against the former Trotskyists (the Neurath group) who endeavoured to unite around a platform which had little to distinguish it from the views of the right wing liquidators, and also against the Jilek group which, whilst formally acknowledging the E.C.C.I. "Open Letter," in reality took no steps whatever to develop a discussion and were passive in the struggle against the openly right wing, liquidatorial tendencies."

To these words, taken from the last "Open Letter," we may add that the Gottwald group which has energetically carried out the policy of the Comintern can now no longer be called an "opposition," inasmuch as it now has a majority in the Central Committee and inasmuch as Party conferences in the four most important Czech regions, in Prague, Kladno, Ostrau and Koenigratz have already declared in its favour—a highly significant fact, since the right wing danger was strong in the purely Czech areas.

The second "Open Letter" says: "That which failed to be achieved before the congress must be brought into existence after the congress by the new C.C. which is to be elected there." Judging by the successes which the

group headed by comrade Gottwald has recently achieved, one can say confidently that the hopes which the second "Open Letter" sets in the Fifth Congress of the C.P. of Czechoslovakia are absolutely justified.

AUSTRIA

The E.C.C.I.'s Open Letter to the Tenth Congress of the C.P. of Austria begins with a survey of the situation arising in Austria after the July, 1927, rising. "The period since the Ninth Congress of the C.P. of Austria has been distinguished by a decisive change in Austria's political situation and particularly in the policy of Austrian reformism. On July 15th, 1927, when the Viennese proletariat rose spontaneously to struggle, social democracy ranged itself in a united front with the bourgeoisie. The agreement concluded on October 7th between them and the Fascist bands of the Seipel government signifies that at last they have thrown off the "left wing" mask of Austro-Marxism. The period since July 15th, 1927 has seen a systematic attack on the living standards of the working class by the Austrian bourgeoisie. The development of rationalisation on the one hand, and the Fascist offensive on the other—these are the characteristic features of this period. "The consolidation of the State power," i.e., the attempts to betray democracy by methods of open dictatorship, the governmental support of the Fascist organisations, the bloc of the social democrats and the Fascists (7th October), are all facts which to every worker in Austria clearly indicate the change in the situation since July 15th."

This new situation in Austria and especially the political bankruptcy of Austro-Marxism, which had previously occupied a monopolist position in the Austrian workers' movement, has created favourable objective conditions for the development of the Austrian C.P. However, in order to exploit these conditions the Austrian C.P. should have freed itself from the very strong social democratic vestiges which still remain in it. With the active intervention of the Comintern this process of "bolshevising" the Austrian C.P. has been proceeding for the last eighteen months under great difficulties and accompanied with internal friction. Owing to this fact after the

July rising the Party's influence among the masses did not at first increase, but rather declined, and that at a time when the Austrian social democratic party succeeded in enlarging its membership at the expense of the petty bourgeoisie, who had recovered from their fright.

The Executive of the Comintern passed a resolution on the July, 1927 rising immediately after its occurrence, noting in that resolution that the Central Committee of the Austrian C.P. had in the main taken up a sound position during the July days, in so far as it had regarded the July offensive of the Austrian proletariat as a genuine rising and in so far as it had at that moment raised the slogan of the overthrow of the Seipel government and the formation of a workers' and peasants' government. At the same time the E.C.C.I. resolutions noted two serious errors committed by the Austrian C.P.: the first consisted in the fact that it had not at that moment put forward the slogan of a Soviet of workers' deputies and the slogan of the organisation of proletarian self-defence, on the lines of the German Red Front Fighters. The great error of the Austrian C.P. as the E.C.C.I. noted in its second resolution, consisted however in the fact that even after July 15th the Austrian C.P. did not expose the true character of the Austrian social democracy to the worker masses. From an inaccurate estimate of the Austrian social democrats arose a number of the errors committed by the Austrian C.P. after July 15th. For instance, the slogan of municipalisation of the police, which engendered the illusion that the social democrats can still be compelled to carry on a revolutionary struggle. A mistake was made when the C.P. did not put forward its own candidates at the elections at Wehring and Brück. A mistake was made in that the Party took the initiative in organising red front fighters only after great difficulty. A mistake was made in that the Party frequently interfered in the economic struggle of the proletariat only after great delay and in that struggle frequently followed at the tail of the trade union bureaucracy. This involved the absence of any independent policy irrespective of that of social democracy. In certain cases, in Obersteinmarkt for instance, the C.P. absolutely perverted the struggle against the

social democrats in the interests of a mistakenly understood united front against Fascism.

With these mistakes was associated an inaccurate view of the methods of transforming the Austrian C.P. into a mass party. The Comintern Executive pointed this out in its resolution on the Austrian problem adopted in February, 1928. In this resolution we read: "Whilst the political development, whilst the bankruptcy of Austro-Marxism as an ideology is quite clear and evident, none the less the development of the Austrian social democratic party's attitude to the Austrian working class has quite specific features and takes on a particular form. . . . The peculiarity of the situation consists in the fact that the process of radicalising the working class proceeds through organisational forms to a minimum degree. That was the state of affairs before July 15th, and that largely remains the state of affairs to-day. The radicalisation of the working class is being effected inside the social democratic party (in which the workers' trend towards a single political class organisation is expressed) and only to a very small extent is it being revealed in an influx to our Party. This explains why before July 15th our Party overlooked the entire process of radicalisation, until it came clearly to the surface in the July days. That explains the elemental character of the movement during the July days." "Owing to the fact that no split occurred in the Austrian social democratic party during the period of the greatest shocks to capitalism (the war and post-war days) the development of the Austrian Communist Party into a mass party is proceeding along a different road from that of other countries. It is unsound to presuppose that an extensive split may occur in the social democratic party of Austria such as occurred in other countries. It is true that the possibility of such a split is not entirely off the cards, but the view that without an extensive split in the Austrian social democratic party the Austrian C.P. cannot effect its transformation into a mass party is an extremely dangerous one and renders difficult the formation of an independent Austrian C.P., and in reality degrades the C.P. to the role of being a left wing of the social democratic party. It is no accident that those very

people who consider an extensive split in the Austrian social democracy a pre-requisite to the formation of a mass C.P. have almost entirely overlooked the process of radicalisation which was taken place inside the working class." In accordance with this peculiarity in the development of the Austrian working class movement, the resolution we have quoted recommends the Austrian C.P. not to wait for a split in Austrian social democracy or to associate the formation of a mass C.P. with this prospect, but to act everywhere absolutely independently, "clearly and definitely revealing its Communist features," endeavouring to get contact with the masses, placing itself at the head of the radically developing strata of the working class, and simultaneously organising a worker opposition inside the social democratic party.

In its September resolution on the Austrian problem the E.C.C.I. Presidium emphasised that the majority of the Central Committee of the Austrian C.P. had acknowledged the Party's errors and had taken up a sound position. In the same resolution the Presidium pointed out on the basis of experience that the weakening of the Austrian C.P. which occurred after July 15th was to be explained first and foremost not by objective causes, but by the previous errors and defects. "It is noteworthy that the Party has lost a large part of its influence and has been deprived of the greatest number of members in those very places where it has been weakest in drawing a line of demarcation between it and the social democracy and the trade union bureaucracy, and has least of all preserved its own character and independence of activity in relation to them." On the other hand, the resolution says: "The experience of work with the Red Front Fighters, in which the C.P. of Austria has succeeded in organisationally consolidating the social democratic workers, is worthy of the greatest attention. Only incessant energetic work in mass demonstrations in conditions where a sound political line is observed will provide the Party with the opportunity to break away from its present dangerous situation." In order to bring the Party to a more healthy condition the Presidium's September resolution proposed that before the congress the Party should carry on

an extensive internal Party discussion, drawing all the members into it.

The theses adopted by the enlarged Presidium of the Austrian C.P. Executive Committee against five dissentient votes shows that the majority of the C.C. have now taken up a basically sound position in agreement with all the preceding resolutions of the Comintern. The E.C.C.I.'s Open Letter to the Tenth Congress of the Austrian C.P. recognises this fact. At the same time, it says: "The basic causes of the failures of the C.P. of Austria consists in the fact that the Party was not in a state to carry out the necessary change in its tactics in regard to the social democratic party, or to oppose its own demands to the demands of the social democrats in all spheres of the day-to-day struggle. This in turn is explained by the fact that hitherto a right opportunist group has been working in the C.P. and no adequate and resolute ideological struggle has been carried on against it. Hitherto the Party and its leadership have maintained a highly tolerant attitude to the right wingers, and this could only hold up the development of the Party. An open discussion on the differences in principle with the right wing groups is indispensable, but it must not follow the line of the previous indefinite, personal internal Party attacks."

The Open Letter subjects the platform proposed by the right group of Schlamm and Scheinfelder to severe criticism, especially its exaggeration of the stabilisation of capitalism in Austria and its depreciation of the immediate danger of Fascism, which it regards "as a means of the bourgeoisie's bringing pressure to bear on the social democrats," not observing the decisive fact of social democracy's agreement with Fascism. The Open Letter declares that this platform persists in the errors of the right wingers already condemned again and again, and that it passes over in silence the schismatic activities of the right wingers (the Brandler adherents) in Germany. And the theses of the majority of the Central Committee adopted on December 6th also specify in detail, even in greater detail, the opportunist errors of the right wing, opposition inside the C.C. But it is not only a question of recognising the existence of opportunist errors, but of a resolute struggle

with the right wingers. The last "Open Letter" of the E.C.C.I. calls for such struggle. "In the realm of internal Party work, the Tenth Party Congress must carry on an extremely energetic struggle against the right wing danger and must with ruthless energy struggle to overcome any tolerant attitude towards that danger. It must draw a definite line of demarcation between the Party and the right wing group and must adopt the following measures to improve the Party life: (a) the re-elections of all Party organs after the congress (especially in the Viennese organisations) beginning with the nuclei; (b) the renewal of the Party cadres by the introduction of young revolutionary workers into them and their systematic preparation in the spirit of Leninism; (c) a re-animation of the nuclei and a transference of the central point of Party work to the production nuclei . . . ; (d) the improvement of the "Rote Fahne" and its transformation into a genuine organ of struggle."

BELGIUM

In order to prepare the Belgian C.P. for its congress, the Comintern Executive has addressed a letter to the political bureau of the Party. In this letter the Executive subjects the theses published by the Central Committee of the C.P. of Belgium to criticism. The E.C.C.I. letter points out that the Central Committee's theses only repeat the political theses of the Comintern Sixth Congress, and that not always with clarity, and it adds: "It would be very much better—and this is absolutely necessary—to connect up the analysis of the international situation with the analysis of the internal situation in Belgium, so as by the clearest examples from Belgium's economic and political life to show the exactness of the analysis of the international situation and of the role of social democracy given by the Sixth World Congress." After making good this deficiency the E.C.C.I. further says: "It is not without surprise that we notice that the congress agenda contains no special item devoted to the trade union problem." After giving instructions on this problem in the spirit of the decisions taken by the Fourth Congress of the Profintern and the Sixth Congress of the Comintern, the Open Letter notes

the errors which have been committed by the C.P. of Belgium in the trade union sphere: "The trade union report of the Brussels Federation should have been subjected to criticism owing to the fact of there being a number of impermissible formulas in it, in which formulas a complete policy in regard to trade union activity found expression which was in contradiction to the decisions of the Profintern Fourth Congress. . . . The central slogan put forward in this report was the conquest of the leading positions in the trade unions." This slogan by no means conveys the exact purport of our work in this realm. We must rather say: "The conquest of the masses of the trade unions, the expulsion of the reformist leaders who are betraying the interests of the proletariat. . . ." The same may be said of the more general slogan put forward in this report: "Despite all opposition to carry the struggle for the class approach into the heart of the trade union organisations." This slogan ought to be resolutely rejected. The trade unions which are members of the Central Commission of the Belgian Labour Party have nothing to preserve from the aspect of the class struggle; our task is to assist them to assimilate or to regain that line of class struggle, in dependence on the circumstances, which has long since been obliterated in them owing to the influence of the reformists."

The E.C.C.I. letter further declares: "We also consider it necessary that the congress agenda should include a special item devoted to the Flemish problem or at the least to a special report on that problem." The letter deals in detail with the C.P.'s tactics in regard to the national movement in Flanders, noting the opportunist errors committed in this sphere and laying down a sound policy for the Party. The letter reads: "The tactics of renouncing a Party candidate in favour of Worms was sound, as Worms was a candidate not of the Frontist party, but of the worker and peasant masses, for whom he was a symbol of the struggle for the liberation of Flanders from the Belgian State and the imperialist bourgeoisie. But the proposal made to the Frontist party to form a united front with them was a political error, as that party is a bourgeois party and in addition is bound up with the Belgian imperialist State,

which has no other aim in view than to draw the worker and peasant masses off the road of a revolutionary struggle and to drag them at the tail of capitalist, bourgeois hypocrisy, exploitation and oppression." At the end of its instructions on the national question the letter says: "Whilst affording the revolutionary movement of Flanders direct assistance in the task of forming a State independent of Belgium, the C.P. should at the same time incessantly affirm and explain that only a Soviet system is capable of realising a genuine equality of nations, by uniting the proletariat and toiling masses in the struggle against imperialism. And for this reason simultaneously with the slogan of self-determination even to the separation of Flanders from Belgium, it is necessary to put forward the slogans of a workers' and peasants' republic in Flanders, and a workers' and peasants' republic for the Walloons."

In its final clause the letter directs attention to the problem of the struggle against the war danger, and points out and lays down a sound policy in regard to the Trotskyist opposition on the one hand and the right wing danger on the other. Regarding the struggle against the Trotskyist opposition the letter says: "It does not follow at all that this struggle is to be neglected, even though it is of a secondary character; it is particularly necessary to expose the social democratic roots of this opposition, which in the trade union sphere has become an accomplice with the reformist trade union bureaucracy, and which whilst on the Flemish problem hiding itself behind radical phraseology has in reality co-operated with social democracy and the government." The letter takes a more serious view of the right wing danger in Belgium. "A cursory analysis of the errors committed by the Belgian C.P. of recent times convinces us that the right wing danger represents a very serious threat to the Party. In particular, on the questions of the trade union struggle and on organisational questions this danger threatens to stultify all the efforts of the Party, despite the growth of the latter's political influence among the worker masses."

Parallel with the foregoing letter the E.C.C.I. addressed a special letter on the peasant problem (the question of rental agreements) to the Central Committee of the Bel-

gian C.P., which letter took as its starting point the view that the vacillation in the Party policy in regard to the Flemish national problem is closely bound up with the fact that the Party is completely ignoring work among the peasantry, and that the resolution of the national Flemish problem is quite impossible without a resolution of the peasant problem in Flanders. In this supplementary letter, in connection with the bill on the peasant question which is to be considered in parliament, and owing to the technical impossibility of the C.P. introducing its own bill, the E.C.C.I. proposes first that a statement of principle should be read in Parliament covering an exposition of the basic features of the Party's Communist agrarian programme. Secondly, it should introduce its own amendments to the bill, dealing with the peasants' immediate partial demands, even though the deluded peasants declare themselves the enemies of the Communists. These amendments must be put forward as being in contradistinction to the position of the bourgeois parties and of the social democratic party. Whilst under present conditions supporting the principle of long-termed rental agreements, the C.P. should in accordance with the E.C.C.I. instructions at the same time insist on the "right of the small leasehold farmers to demand the right of re-consideration of the agreements in the event of a fall in the prices of agricultural products. This reconsideration should be carried out on the demand of the organisation of small-scale leaseholders."

Further, the amendments should demand that "the landowners should have no right to refuse to renew rental agreements, whenever that refusal is recognised as unjustifiable by the organisation of the small-scale leaseholders." Further, the amendments should prohibit all sub-letting. The amendments should demand that the extent of remuneration of the small-scale renters for improvements should be fixed by their own organisation. Then the amendments should demand the establishment of a minimum harvest in kind or in currency which should be guaranteed to the small-scale renters for the maintenance of their and their families' existence. Further amendments should demand loans not bearing interest from the landowners to the small-scale renters to enable them to carry on

their husbandries and should demand the establishment of a genuinely progressive tax by the State together with the complete elimination of taxation of the peasant poor. These partial demands, which are drawn up with a view to drawing the peasant masses away from the bourgeoisie and their attraction to the side of the working class, are by the E.C.C.I. associated with the programme demands which have to be formulated in the declaration (the confiscation of large landed estates and the uncompensated transference of the land to the agricultural labourers, the landless peasantry and the petty farmers): with demands which can never be realised by a bourgeois parliament, but can be realised only by a victorious proletarian revolution.

AMERICA

The last letter addressed by the E.C.C.I. to a forthcoming congress is the "Open Letter to the congress of the American Workers' (Communist) Party." This letter declares that the Sixth Congress of the American C.P. "marks an exceptionally important stage in the process of change through which the Party is passing at the present time." The Party is only just beginning to be transformed from a propagandist organisation into a party of political action," it is "only taking the first steps along the new road," whilst meantime "there is an accelerating development of conditions which are confronting the Workers' Communist Party of the United States with enormous tasks, with the necessity of being at the centre of gigantic mass conflicts." "American imperialism is striving to occupy a monopolist position in world economy and politics, and is being drawn more and more into the universal crisis of capitalism, is more and more being subjected to the influence of the growing instability of world capitalism. The striving towards hegemony in world politics is on the one hand driving American capitalism into a ruthless capitalist rationalisation, throwing a considerable section of the proletariat out of production, so leading to an extreme intensification of labour without corresponding compensations, to a colossal growth of unemployment (three to four millions) and to a general worsening of the situation of the working class. On the other

hand it is compelling frenzied jumps in armaments, which impose fresh enormous sacrifices on the toiling masses. All this, plus the threat of serious war miseries, is creating a feeling of insecurity, of uncertainty in the proletariat. And this soil is engendering the growth of a leftward trend in the masses of the American proletariat, a growth in its activity, and of a struggle for defence, which in places is passing into a striving towards attack."

The American C.P. thus stands confronted with a prospect of "great class conflicts," for which it is "still inadequately prepared." In order to achieve the mastery of the situation it must "as quickly as possible become a mass political party of the United States working class. The chief obstacle to this is the character of the Party, which down to the present consists of immigrant elements, in consequence of which the Party is out of contact with the vast masses of the American proletariat. And in association with this factor, is the six-years' factional struggle between two groups for dominance in the Party. The "Open Letter" emphasises this: the factional struggle is based on the fact that for many years the Party has been an "organisation of foreign worker Communists having little connection with the political life of the country," and is very largely a little group of immigrants. This struggle has been preponderantly one "not based on principle, and in consequence it has not conducted to the outliving of the errors, chiefly right wing errors, of which both majority and minority have been guilty. The error common to both factions consists "in an unsound conception of the character of the connections between American and world economy, and an under-estimation of the growing attraction of American imperialism into the swiftly developing general crisis of capitalism. Both parties have a tendency to regard American imperialism as isolated from world capitalism, as independent of it and as developing according to its own laws." In this connection both majority and minority have committed one other (right wing) mistake: "An utter depreciation of the leftward trend of the working masses in other capitalist countries. In the theses of neither group is there any attempt either at an estimate, or even at a simple understanding of such im-

portant facts as the strike at Lodz and the Ruhr lock-out." From this inability to understand the close connections between American economy and the general crisis arises the tendency of the majority to over-estimate the economic might and the enormous growth of technique in the U.S.A., "which it compares to 'a second industrial revolution.' The majority do not see that with this growth in technique and in capitalist rationalisation is bound up an enormous over-strain of labour, a swift exhaustion of the worker and his earlier elimination from production. For the same reason the majority has a tendency to under-estimate the leftward trend and the process of differentiation which is taking place in the ranks of the working class." And from the same lack of understanding of the close connection between American economy and the general crisis of capitalism arises the tendency of the majority to "a great exaggeration of the role of American capitalism in the stabilisation of Europe." The majority does not see that "the swift development of American capitalism will not save either the United States or any other capitalist States from the crisis, but on the contrary will intensify the general crisis of capitalism." All these have undoubtedly to be regarded as "right wing errors," "distorting the revolutionary prospects bound up with the third period in the decisions of the Sixth Congress." Inasmuch as the majority are committing right wing errors, in their theses they "do not draw a clear line of demarcation between the openly right wing opportunist deviation and Trotskyism which represents an opportunism hidden behind left wing phraseology."

Through their lack of understanding of the close connection between American economy and the general crisis in capitalism the minority come to other conclusions from those of the majority. The minority regard "the forthcoming crisis of American capitalism as evoked exclusively by its internal antagonisms." In contradistinction from the majority the minority "over-estimate the degree of the leftward trend in the American working class at the present time, seeing in the fact that part of the workers voted for Smith at the presidential election, a demonstration of a leftward movement in the proletariat, which is absolutely unsound." In contradistinction

from the majority, the minority "not only under-estimate the Trotskyist danger, but in their theses make no mention of the fact that even openly right wing elements (such as Sulkanen and Askeli) who have nothing in common with left wing phraseology, have entered the Cannon group, and that the Cannon group is forming a bloc with Lore and Eastman, and further remarks that Cannon has taken with him workers out of the Party, which has the objective result of giving weight to the Cannon group and of weakening the struggle against American Trotskyism."

In making such an estimate of the errors of the majority and of the minority, the E.C.C.I. Open Letter refuses to associate itself wholly with either the one or the other faction, and in accordance with previous Comintern decisions it demands a complete cessation of the factional struggle inside the American C.P. as it is a struggle which has an insufficient basis in principle. The Open Letter considers the chief task of this Party to be its transformation into a mass party and indicates how this task can be achieved: "The Party can become a mass workers' party only provided that, whilst maintaining its basis of support in the revolutionary worker emigrants, it extends its basis, setting up its chief basic points in the ranks of the thoroughly American workers, especially those in the strategic spheres of industry, and also among the negro proletarians. . . . The four basic conditions indispensable at the present time to ensure that the Party should resolutely take the road leading to its transformation into a mass Communist Workers' Party in the U.S.A. are: (1) The achievement of a correct estimation of prospects in the analysis of the general crisis of capitalism and of American imperialism as a part of that capitalism; (2) making the everyday interests of the working class of the U.S.A. and especially the demand for a seven-hour day and for all forms of social insurance at the cost of the employer and the State the central feature of the Party's work; (3) the transference of the Party from emigrant exclusiveness and placing it on a broad basis of thoroughly American workers, in so doing giving the necessary attention to work among the negroes; (4) the eradication of factionalism and the attraction of workers into the leadership."

Are there any chances that the American C.P. will be able to fulfil these tasks and "within a brief historical period effect its transformation into a mass party"? Judging by the first steps already taken in this direction one can give an affirmative answer to this question: "Since the last congress in 1927, the Party has acted more and more as a steadfast leader of the proletariat's mass demonstrations, and is extending its influence with the thoroughly American workers. The strike of the furriers and tailors, the coal-miners' strike, the textile-workers' strike in New Bedford and Fall River, and also that of the workers in the silk industry in Paterson, New Jersey—in all these the Workers' Communist Party has for the first time appeared in the role of a party of political action, capable of connecting up the economic life of the proletariat with its political aims."

Such are the instructions given in the Comintern's Open Letters to the forthcoming congresses of various Communist Parties. In these letters the Comintern ruthlessly exposes

the errors of those parties, and their right wing errors first and foremost, these being predominant at the present stage of their development. The errors and the weaknesses of the Communist Parties have always come strongly into evidence during a transitional period in which the movement has to accomplish a change-over to a new, higher stage. We are passing through such a period at the present time. Anyone who knows the history of the oldest and at the same time the strongest of the Communist Parties, the C.P.S.U., knows that at every sharp change in its course vacillations and crises have arisen in its ranks. But the Bolshevik Party grew and became strong in the struggle with those errors and vacillations and in living through these internal Party crises, until it became a party capable of conquering political power and of maintaining its hold on that power for a decade, continually strengthening its position the while. The other sections of the Comintern will traverse the same road and will achieve the same result.

The Last Session of the League Against Imperialism

THE last session of the enlarged Executive Committee of the League against Imperialism, held on January 15th and 16th, marks a further stage in its development. The League has now entered on the stage of gathering and uniting all the active forces for the genuine struggle against imperialism and national oppression. This session was in the nature of a preliminary conference for the congress to be held this year. In addition to the members of the Executive, the Secretariat and the General Council of the League, representatives of the various national-revolutionary and workers' and trade union organisations, also participated in the session. For the first time in the League's existence delegations from the Profintern, the General Council of Soviet Trade Unions, and other revolutionary trade union organisations took part in the session. Their participation and the interventions of their representatives introduced a fresh current and will undoubtedly entail an increase in the importance and the vitality of the League. This circumstance was taken into account and correctly evaluated by the leaders of the League themselves. "The Executive Committee considers the collective adherence of the Russian trade unions to the League against Imperialism as a step of decisive importance to the development of the anti-imperialist movement on a world scale," says the session's address of welcome to the Russian delegation. The Executive Committee notes with satisfaction "that the adherence of the Russian trade unions has coincided with the adherence of the Furnishing Trades Association of Great Britain, and of a number of trade unions of India, South Africa and Latin America, and it expresses the hope that all trade unions, both in imperialist and in colonial and semi-colonial countries will shortly follow their example."

ABSENTEES

But a number of organisations and persons formerly actively participating in the work of the League were absent on this occasion. And this was no accident. The League against

Imperialism is a conglomeration of the most varied tendencies and groups, from petty bourgeois, national-revolutionary organisations and certain "left-socialist" groups to Communists inclusive. The League received the especially strong sympathy of the petty-bourgeois nationalist and "left-socialist" groups during the period when the Cantonese army was triumphantly marching from Canton to Shanghai, when the Chinese revolution still had a "general national" character. But when, under the influence of the fire of the agrarian revolution, the Kuomintangites passed over to the counter-revolutionary camp, when with the connivance of the Second International and the social democratic parties, and the aid of the old and new Chinese militarists, the imperialists succeeded in suppressing the workers' and peasants' movement, that sympathy swiftly died away.

At the Brussels Congress of the League against Imperialism in 1927, Lansbury, of the British Labour Party, and Marrot, a social democratic deputy of Belgium, both had seats in the Presidium. Not only the Viennese "Arbeiter Zeitung," but also the central organ of the Belgian social democrats, "Le Peuple," regarded themselves as bound to remark on the League congress in favourable tones. But when the Chinese national bourgeoisie turned their weapons against the revolution, when it became clear that the Chinese revolution was taking on the character of an agrarian revolution, and when on the other hand anti-imperialist organisations giving support to a genuinely revolutionary movement began to develop in other countries, the Bureau of the Second International with Friedrich Adler at their head began a slanderous campaign against the League against Imperialism, representing its activities as a purely Communist device, as a "manœuvre of the Comintern," and so on. In the autumn of 1926 the Executive Committee of the Second International called upon all social democratic parties to cut off all relations with the League. Under this pressure the Dutch social democratic group ceased its activity in the Dutch section of the League in

the autumn. The chairman of the League himself, Lansbury, was one of the first to drop out of its ranks, and humbly submitted to the decree of the Second International.

WORK WITH REFORMISTS

Of course, at a certain stage the petty bourgeois nationalist groups and certain "left socialist" elements may be in opposition to imperialism, but one must not ignore the fact that they are not capable, nor are they desirous of carrying on a consequential revolutionary struggle against imperialism. Joint participation with them in the League against Imperialism may be expedient. But this co-operation must proceed on the basis of a definite, concrete program, and, of course, in no circumstances may it be carried on at the cost of concession of principle on the part of the revolutionary wing, or at the cost of its renunciation of the right of free criticism of their inchoate and indefinite position. This was indicated in the speech of the representative of the Soviet Trade Union delegation, who rightly pointed to the fact that the Soviet trade unions cannot abrogate their right to free criticism and for their part will prohibit no one from subjecting the policy and activity of the Soviet trade union movement to criticism. It is quite obvious that it would be profoundly unsound to renounce the right and the possibility of criticising Maxton, Cook, Fimmen and their political followers for their half-heartedness, for their failure to conduct an energetic and open struggle against British and Dutch imperialism. In exactly the same way it would be impossible to justify the renunciation of criticism of inactivity in regard to the struggle against war preparations and attacks on the U.S.S.R., made by the International Federation of Transport Workers and its responsible leaders. The struggle against the danger of further slaughter must be based on a concrete program of action, and must not be restricted merely to bare demonstrative declarations. More than that, it must be strengthened by a definite, positive activity directed to the practical realisation of the proclaimed principles and slogans. The adherents of the League must get their parliamentary representative to declare against the imperialist policy of their bourgeois governments,

must obtain their vote against war credits, and the recall of naval and military forces from the colonies. The adherents of the League must at the same time provide moral and material support to the economic struggle of the workers' and peasants' movement in the colonies. This necessity of supporting the workers' and peasants' movement in the colonies found expression in the resolution adopted on Cook's report.

The disagreements which have been revealed must by no means be stifled, or concealed for the sake of achieving a "unanimous" decision, but must be disclosed and subjected to wide discussion. It is to the point to mention that the League against Imperialism is one of the organisations where the most varied anti-imperialist groups can co-operate, where free discussion is possible. Of course, as comrade Münzenburg correctly remarked in his speech, the League is not a Communist organisation. Together with all the honest forces permeated with a sincere desire for the emancipation of the colonial and semi-colonial peoples from imperialist oppression and for the struggle to annihilate imperialism universally, the League unites elements only partially ready to support that struggle.

REFORMISM AND IMPERIALISM

World reformism is the finest bulwark of imperialism. Undoubtedly the Second and Amsterdam Internationals fulfil the role of agents of imperialism among the working class and the workers' movement generally. By political class co-operation they disintegrate the workers' movement from within, weaken its fighting powers, break up the united ranks of the proletariat, strive to subject the interests of the proletariat to the interests of the bourgeoisie. They vote war credits to their imperialist governments, introduce imperialist bourgeois ideology into the mass consciousness, raise the slogan of defence of the bourgeois fatherland, concealing their solidarity with and support of the imperialist policy of their governments in the colonies under "socialist" phraseology. The French reformists supported their government during its war in Morocco, the British Labour Party supported and continues to support the Conservative government's policy in China, India

and Egypt, the German social democrats openly act in concert with their bourgeoisie in support of the construction of cruisers, despite the indignant protests of the masses of toilers. The American Federation of Labour is the direct channel for the imperialist policies of the American bourgeoisie in the countries of Latin America, giving its support to the introduction of United States capital into those countries, as Professor Goldschmidt very eloquently related in his report. The Japanese reformists are striving to create a Pan-Asiatic International with the aim of bringing Japanese imperialist influence to bear on the eastern countries by its means. This fact has to be stated, and the activities of international reformism have ruthlessly to be exposed. However, these questions found no expression in the main report of the session: the report given by Cook. Cook endeavoured to represent the leaders of the General Council as wandering sheep, as people who did not understand what they were doing. Of course, such a qualification of the line of conduct of the reformist leaders is radically incorrect. And it was quite natural that this estimate of the reformists' policy and all Cook's opportunist argumentation met with severe criticism from the representatives of the revolutionary wing. Despite the fact that the League adopted the resolution on Cook's report unanimously, the discussion clearly revealed the difference in views as to the role and attitude of the reformists to the anti-imperialist movement. Cook and his adherents find that the reformists adopt a negative attitude to the genuine struggle against imperialism only because they do not understand the situation. The representatives of the revolutionary wing proved beyond all shadow of doubt that the social democrats have long since become active agents of imperialism, and that they are quite consciously aiding imperialism in its policy of exploiting the colonies. The unanimous acceptance of the resolution by no means indicates that success was achieved in obtaining a unity of views on the aims and the methods of the anti-imperialist activity of the trade unions and the latter's tasks. One thing was established beyond all doubt; namely, that the role of the organised working class in the struggle against imperialism is becoming steadily more considerable, not only in

imperialist countries, but also in the colonies and semi-colonies. Even when they attach themselves to the anti-imperialist front the bourgeois democratic nationalist groups in colonial countries are far from dependable participants in the struggle. The struggle against imperialism is being put more and more on the shoulders of the toiling masses of the colonies. Consequently the Executive Committee of the League took up a sound position in the resolution adopted, in emphasising that the workers' organisations in the colonies can only fulfil the task of leaders of the struggle against imperialism if they carry out a strict class policy and are completely independent of the national democratic parties.

INDIA AND THE EAST

Recent events in India, and the decisions of the Indian Congress dictated the necessity of the session occupying itself with the situation in India, and on this subject it received a report from Saklatvala. The Indian Congress decision amounting to a rejection of the slogan of absolute independence, and an attempt at a compromise between the bourgeois elements of the national emancipation movement and British imperialism, undoubtedly constitutes an event of great significance, and one which is fraught with political consequences of no small importance. This decision once more witnesses to the vacillations and hesitations of the petty bourgeois nationalists and to the beginning of their retreat from a consequential struggle against imperialism. Saklatvala quite accurately qualified the Indian Congress decisions as a step backward, and in his report pointed to the necessity of consolidating the forces of the national revolutionary movement for a further struggle for India's complete independence and against imperialism.

At the same time he remarked, not without justification, that the anti-imperialist movement in India must create a mass basis for itself, must build up on the workers and peasants, and that this is a pre-requisite to any further successful struggle against imperialism and for the independence of the colonies.

The Chinese problem was not on the agenda, but none the less on Cook's report the representative of the All-China Federation of

Labour succeeded in giving a survey of the problem of the Chinese revolution and the struggle against imperialism, in exposing the imperialist policy of the large bourgeois States: Britain, the United States and Japan, and in disclosing the role both of the right and of the "left" Kuomintang. He gave a clear characterisation of the role of the so-called "third party," which is still hoping to find a common language and contact with the official leadership of the Kuomintang, and is still living on the illusion that it is possible to re-organise the Kuomintang, to thrust it leftward, to give its activity a fresh, more radical content.

As we know, at the Brussels Congress of the League against Imperialism, the Kuomintang was represented by a large delegation. At that time it was seeking for a basis and support in the national revolutionary groups of workers and trade union organisations in their struggle against the imperialists and in defence of the Chinese revolution. An imposing manifestation of solidarity with the Indian national emancipation movement was effected at the congress. It was decided to form a special committee jointly with the Indians for active support to the Chinese revolution. At a time when all the abuse was being hurled at China, all the sympathies of the oppressed peoples and races were on the side of the toilers of China. At that time speeches were sharper, and the demonstrations of the Indian Swarajists against British imperialism were more definite. Only the Second and the Amsterdam Internationals occupied an openly hostile position in regard to the Chinese workers' movement, refusing to afford it any active assistance, and declaring itself against the sending of a special delegation to China. Since then times have changed. The workers' and peasants' movement has been temporarily suppressed by the Kuomintang with the aid of foreign imperialists. The Kuomintang has been transformed into a party of counter-revolution and an instrument of imperialism. Thousands of revolutionary workers and peasants have been executed, the revolutionary movement has been driven underground. The Kuomintang has turned its back on the League and has taken up a highly hostile attitude towards it. And now accordingly the attitude of the reformist leaders to the Kuomintang has

changed so much that they have decided to send a delegation to China. Now that the workers' movement is driven underground, now that yellow and Fascist unions have been formed with the aid of the Kuomintang government, now that thousands of the finest militants have been tortured and executed, the Second and the Amsterdam Internationals have at last developed an interest in China, and are taking active steps to draw the Chinese workers into their maw. The preparatory work to this end has been undertaken by Albert Thomas, Chairman of the League of Nations International Labour Office.

TASKS FOR THE LEAGUE

Only in the U.S.S.R., the first republic of labour and the brotherly alliance of peoples in the world, have the toilers and the oppressed peoples and races a faithful and dependable ally. The revolutionary role of the U.S.S.R., which by the one fact of its very existence is a living example and challenge to struggle for national independence against imperialism, is clearly understood by the imperialists. Evoking as it does the warmest feelings of sympathy and solidarity from the toilers and oppressed peoples of the whole world, the U.S.S.R. concentrates on itself all the power of class hatred and hostility of which its class enemies are capable, and provokes unceasing attempts to strangle the U.S.S.R.—the fatherland of the world proletariat. In this hostile policy an active part is played by the reformist agents of imperialism, the leaders of the Second and the Amsterdam Internationals, who ardently spread the legend of "Red imperialism," striving by so doing to arouse a feeling of alienation from and hostility to the U.S.S.R. in the proletariat, and to weaken its sympathy for the U.S.S.R. and its readiness to come to its defence against the imperialists in the event of an attack being made on it. The first duty of the League is an energetic defence of the U.S.S.R. against the imperialists' concupiscence and against the reformist agents' preparation of the masses for the forthcoming war. The League expressed its attitude to the U.S.S.R. and to the preparations now being made for an attack on it in the address to the Soviet delegation on its first participation in the sessions of the League.

"In the delegates of the Russian Trade Unions," reads this document, "the executive committee simultaneously welcomes the representatives of the Soviet Union, which by the fact of its existence and the development of its economy and cultural level is filling the peoples still under oppression with faith and hope for their own emancipation from imperialist and capitalist slavery. The Executive Committee avails itself of the adherence of the Russian trade unions to direct the attention of all the organisations and the friends of the League to the continually increasing danger of war on the Soviet Union, and calls on them, out of solidarity with the Soviet Union, and in the interests of the mighty development of the anti-imperialist movement, to put every obstacle in the way of preparations for war against the Soviet Union. In the Soviet Union the League against Imperialism sees the strongest guarantee for the achievement of victory in its own anti-imperialist struggle."

In the struggle against imperialism and the war danger, the League can undoubtedly play its role, but this is conditioned by the necessity for first and foremost increasing the influence of the organised proletariat within the League, for drawing into its ranks more and more of the mass workers', trade union, and then the peasants' and national revolutionary organisations. Not one of those participating in the League can be or ought to be a passive member, sharing in its program but for one reason or another holding back from active service, from open and public demonstrations. At the present time the League unites not only organisations and groups, but also a number of prominent social publicists. None the less the basic method of working should consist in the attraction of mass organisations. The

entire policy of the League should be based on such organisations, and not on this, that or the other very prominent and popular personage's attitude to this or that question. Only such a principle will ensure the League development and success in its activities.

The League should concern itself primarily with the strengthening of its bases in the various countries. In this regard the League is right in expecting great activity from its British friends and should work for the formation of a solid and militant organisation in Britain. The same has to be said of France, concerning which the session adopted a special resolution to this effect. The next congress is to be called in July, but a number of circumstances indicate the expediency of postponing the congress and holding it not earlier than November or December. As is well known the Latin-American Congress of Trade Unions is to be held in May, and the Pacific Ocean conference in August, and during the summer a negro congress is to be called also. The League should set itself the task of drawing these great organisations into its ranks and should afford them the possibility of preparing to send an authoritative delegation to the congress, and to this end should carry on work for the explanation of aims and tasks of the League. One may expect that the League Presidium will take all these circumstances into account and will early decide on postponing its congress with a view to allowing of more general preparation for it and to ensuring delegations from the above-mentioned organisations. Only in that case will the forthcoming congress be a genuinely powerful demonstration of the forces of the anti-imperialist movement and mark a serious stage on the road to the further consolidation and development of the League.

Trust Socialism

The Trustification of German Social Democracy

By M. Leonid

I.

THE policy of German finance capital shows two stages of development. The first stage which has, in essentials, come to an end, was the centralisation of the great industries producing means of production and of the mobile bank capital under the command of the greatest monopolist clique—the Ruhr trust, the chemical trust and the bank trust.

In the second stage which is now proceeding, finance capital is trying to draw under its sway the capitalists who have up to the present been “outsiders”—manufacturing industry and agricultural capital. An equally important aspect of this second period is the direct connection between finance capital and the leadership of the social democracy and the trade unions. In its anxiety to obtain complete monopoly, to obtain economic and political absolutism, German finance capital is not only tearing down the last barriers which once separated it from the manufacturers and large landowners, it is going further, beyond the boundaries of capitalism itself, and entering the “buffer State” of reformism. Those who were formerly the irregular troops and allies of the general staff of finance capital, have now come in on full pay.

This capitalist advance of German reformism is expressed in the general political adherence to ruling finance capital, in the great coalitions, the active co-operation of social democrats in the organisation of the new German imperialism (armoured cruisers, colonial policy, anti-Soviet front) and in their open support of the employers in wage struggles (Severing in the Ruhr dispute). This is accompanied by structural changes in reformist machinery brought about because of its permeation by finance capital. This is done not merely by the direct financing of the S.D.P. and trade union machine, not merely by individual reformist

leaders taking up positions in capitalist undertakings, but by the establishment of capitalist organisations (labour banks) within the reformist apparatus itself, by a unity of interests between these organisations and finance capital and finally by the concealed positions of these organisations as leading reformist bodies. In other words, no longer is the connection between finance capital and reformism established merely by theoretical treachery in Party principles and the personal treachery of individual leaders; it is established by a purely capitalist apparatus. Formerly certain social bonds attached the labour aristocracy of reformism to the bourgeoisie, but to-day solid bridges have been built between the social democratic party and finance capital. We repeat—finance capital, because in the former period it was usually the “outsiders,” more or less loyally opposing finance capital as embodied in Ruhr finance, which were the allies of the S.D.P. The labour aristocracy gravitated towards the petty bourgeoisie, the Weimar “left coalition” expressed the alliance between the S.D.P. and manufacturing industry, trading capital, etc., and the personal and financial connections of the S.D.P. also led to this group. To-day, finance capital has everywhere taken its place as the business ally of the S.D.P. The Labour banks, supported by the Labour aristocracy, are associated with trust capital. The great coalition is an alliance between the S.D.P. and heavy industry (the German People’s Party and the Centre). The trusts have even relieved the liberal individual capitalists of their function as contributors to the reformist machine and the reformist leaders.

This movement of the S.D.P. from the periphery to the centre of German capitalism, monopolist finance capital, the S.D.P.’s path to trust socialism, will be dealt with later on. While the theoretical and practical develop-

ment of the S.D.P. in this direction is quite obvious, and needs no illustration, the facts which reflect the same tendency in direct connection between the S.D.P. and capital, are less known, but not less significant.

II.

The first post-war period in Germany, which preceded that of the relative stabilisation of capitalism, and the establishment of a monopolist financial centre, witnessed the S.D.P.—in Parliament, in the Government, in the street and behind the scenes—working together with two capitalist groups which could be called the “anti-Stinnes wing” of German capitalism.

At that time the S.D.P. formed alliances with

1. The “finishing” industries (Rathenau group) ;
2. The young “outsider” concerns clamouring for protection (Barmatism).

1. The political trade mark of this combination of interests was the “Weimar coalition” or “left bloc.” Its standard bearer was Rathenau, the electrical manufacturer. Rathenau came forward as representing manufacturing industry and as such he organised the political defence against the attacks of heavy industry. This was the real meaning of the Weimar coalition. Strong in the monopoly of raw materials, coal and iron, in the higher rates of profits earned by heavy industry, particularly favoured by inflation and by the credit and subsidy policy of the State, Ruhr capital, led by Stinnes, attacked the manufacturers of the finishing industries, weaker both in finances and organisation, and one by one gained possession of their concerns. Stinnes’ anxiety to found the “vertical trust,” that is, to unite in one profit-making concern the whole production process from raw material to finished commodity, and to isolate independent manufacturers ; his success, as in incorporating the important Siemens work, and his attempts to buy up other works such as the A.E.G.—all this shook the very foundations of the old independent manufacturing industry, and compelled it to defend itself against Stinnes’ capital. The defence was not confined to manufacturers. Almost all the banks (with the exception of Gold-

schmidt’s) were included. For Stinnes’ real object was the triumph of finance capital under his own leadership, avoiding the banks, or even fighting them. Because of inflation, the banks’ fluid capital became worthless paper. The same inflation assured to Stinnes real fluid capital—in the form of wage reductions through depreciation of currency, of accumulation of gold by exporting goods at a very low price. The capital which had once been invested with the banks by the people generally—savings and small deposits, and reinvested in industry, now, in the processes of inflation wages or cancelled bank credits, reached the monopolist Stinnes, and was used by him to buy up the banking machine at very low cost. The danger which this threatened to the manufacturers and banks was very great, and continued until Stinnes controlled the State machine and could therefore handle the question of inflation at his own pleasure. With this stage, the competitive struggle between heavy industry and the banks changed into a political struggle for State power.* Stinnes controlled the “right,” from the nationalists to the right democrats. Rathenau mobilised the left. Stinnes was in favour of a “bourgeois bloc,” Rathenau preached the “gospel of Wiemar.” Stinnes began to organise Fascists, Rathenau called on the S.D.P.

Long before this the S.D.P. had already chosen its course as between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie. It was with the capitalists against the working class.

But within the limits of that capitalist attitude, there was a choice still left as between the different capitalist groups. And the S.D.P. chose alliance with the manufacturers and bankers, it chose the “Weimar coalition,” the “left bloc,” less from theoretical reasons (as the traditional friendship between reformism and liberalism) than for practical reasons. Since it would be extremely diffi-

* The diary of Lord d’Abernon, at that time British Ambassador in Berlin, throws a clear light on this question. He says: “Stinnes said to Rathenau, ‘You and I, as large industrialists, are too powerful to take office. Will you promise me that you will refuse any official post if it is offered to you? I am ready to give you the same promise.’ But Rathenau rejected this proposal.” (Re-translated from the German.)

cult for the social democratic masses to understand the leap from Marx to Stinnes, the best plan would consequently be only a slight and not very obvious connection with the liberal bourgeoisie. But Stinnes was too much of a danger to the S.D.P. and the trade union bureaucracy. He couldn't understand a joke. He would enter into a coalition with nobody, for he wanted no partner, but only subordinates, and similarly he wanted his "own" working class movement, national alliances on the American-Italian model, and—worst of all—he was already establishing his own machinery for that purpose, without worrying in the least about the honourable greybeards in the S.D.P. offices. He financed the yellow trade unions, enrolled in his service social democratic renegades like Leusch, he set up "labour lieutenants" from the ranks of the labour aristocracy in all his concerns, and supported the greatest rival of reformism, the "National Socialist Workers' Movement" of the Fascists. It is true that Stinnes named one of his ships "Legien," after the leader of the trade union bureaucracy. It is true that he had nothing against helping the treacherous work of the S.D.P.—and he did so whenever the opportunity occurred.* But the payment which Stinnes offered was very low—the prospects of the S.D.P. bureaucracy in his service were too bad—he wanted his own bureaucracy. On the other hand, the other capitalist group around Rathenau offered excellent prospects to the reformist leaders—a maximum number of cabinet and administrative posts, relative security against opposition in the working class movement, the common belief in bourgeois democracy and a united "opposition," the tradition of a "free trade bloc," etc. To the social democratic masses, all these factors made such an alliance seem infinitely preferable to any coalition with the detested Stinnes. In addition to all this, Rathenau—and the capitalists he represented—offered the reformist leaders money and positions in their concerns.

There has always been among capitalists a certain "humanist" type "sympathising" with the reformists and occasionally helping them. These "idealist" capitalists were

* In 1920 the S.D.P. received 250,000 marks from Stinnes—through K. Erdmann—as an election contribution.

nearly always drawn from the ranks of the small manufacturers, bankers and speculators. As long as this was confined to sporadic individual cases and had not become a system, the matter had no political significance. For example, Hugo Simon, one of the wealthiest Berlin bankers, was well known as a financial supporter of the independent social democrats; after the November revolution he was appointed Prussian Minister of Finance by the party. To-day Simon still plays the part—behind the scenes—of "host" to any unofficial clique of leaders or circle in the S.D.P. which controls the party machine. He is the active head of his banking establishment, Bett, Simon and Co., which carries on a great deal of business with manufacturing industry, particularly textiles, glass, bicycles, machines and similar concerns. Other banks are also connected, personally and financially, with the S.D.P., as the Schroeder Bank; but these connections only became a system—and a well organised system—after the Rathenau-S.D.P. alliance, and it was Rathenau's concern, the A.E.G., which became the centre of the illegal personal and financial bonds between manufacturing industry and the S.D.P. It is difficult to determine the actual amounts paid by the A.E.G. to the election expenses of the German Social Democratic Party; but it is a fact that the house of Deutsch, the General Director of the A.E.G., was the seat of the Weimar Coalition. "Deutsch's house was one of the few private houses visited by Ebert, the first German president. And he was accompanied by his Party colleagues Breitscheid, Hilferding and Löbe"—so wrote a reporter in the capitalist "Abendblatt" of 28-1-28. The fraction meetings of the "left bloc" took place under the patronage of the A.E.G. The government included the social democrats Bauer, Köster, Radbruch and Tollman, with Rathenau, proprietor of the A.E.G. as Foreign Minister, and Raumer, supervisor of the A.E.G. as Industrial Minister. Financial channels were also established through the banker Andreae, a brother-in-law of Rathenau and head of the Hardy banking establishment. This was again shown later, when Hardy declared his "most friendly attitude" towards the labour banks organised by the S.D.P. and trade unions (cf. "Berliner Tageblatt," 4-8-28). The example of the A.E.G.

was followed by other manufacturers. They invited S.D.P. leaders to meetings of their supervisory committees. One of the leaders of the party and a former finance minister, Dr. Albert Südekum, sat on the committee of many companies during 1923, including the Novalk Automobile Works, the Badische Motor Locomotive Co., the Berlin Telephone Works. At the same time the social democrats, in the Cabinet, in the Reichstag, in the Committees and in the Administrative services, were fighting heroically for the rights of manufacturing industry. But they were fighting not only for the manufacturing industry.

III.

While the manufacturing industries had thus taken social democrats as partners, and thus made them, to a certain extent capitalists, a special capitalist section gradually became manifest within the S.D.P. itself. This arose out of the protection introduced by the social democrat government.

The great economic crisis experienced under the social democratic government in the first post-war period, gave excellent opportunities, like every other crisis, to a particular section of the capitalists, the speculators. The speculator profited by the shortage of food and commodities, the speculator profited from inflation by gambling on the exchange, the speculator wrung great profits out of the shortage of capital in the first period after stabilisation. But the State machine is the chief source for speculation profits in times of crisis. Every bourgeois government, in times of crisis, creates its own privileged group of speculators. These are the favoured capitalists to whom the government transfers the duties of buying food and supplying the needs of the Civil Service bureaucracy and the army, for whom it establishes an import monopoly and approves tax reductions, by whose agency the government creates money and to whom secret political information is given for business purposes, and at whose disposal the State's finances are placed. It is an unwritten law of "democracy" that every bourgeois government should give these concessions of State speculation to the business men of that government. And when the S.D.P. controlled these concessions in post-war Germany, a number of requests came from the party itself, from little

social democratic capitalists and speculators. This was the origin of Barmatism.

The best known of these capital-socialists were Barmat, Sklaez and Bosel. Barmat was originally a commercial assistant in the social democratic party machine—an indispensable part of reformist organisation. He rented rooms for meetings, carried through occasional business matters, advanced credit to party congresses, etc. He was, therefore, the very man to be nominated to the Banking Board of social democracy when that party was in control. In 1919, during the most frightful famine in Germany, the social democratic Industrial Minister, Schwarz, gave Barmat a virtual monopoly of Saxon food supplies. How much Barmat made out of it is unknown, but we know how much the Saxon State lost, and that was from 150 to 195 million marks. The food import business from Holland to Germany, destined mainly for State concerns and social democratic co-operatives, was the basis of Barmat's fortune which increased, on his own admission, by three million Dutch guildens. The protective measures introduced by the S.D. government allowed this fortune to grow still greater. Barmat obtained the monopoly for the import of vegetable oils and cheap clothing, and through the offices of the social democratic ministers Bauer, Gradnauer and Heilmann, he became the principal creditor of the Prussian State Bank (with a loan of 12 millions). After stabilisation, he received government credits of 12-14 millions, and objections were met with the reply "The financing of the Barmat concerns has the full approval of the Cabinet."

The national insurance for government employees gave Barmat 6 millions and provincial State banks about 7½ million; the highest officials of the State Bank and Ministry of Finance—Dr. Hellwig, Director Kantz, etc.—openly entered Barmat's service, and the S.D.P. requested MacDonald to arrange credits for Barmat in the City. The social democratic Chancellor, Gustav Bauer, regularly gave him inside political information, and in short, the accumulation of the "socialist fortune" developed at great speed.

The S.D.P. bureaucracy shared in this fortune, both as a body and individually. A certain percentage of the Barmat profits had to be paid into the party funds. In December,

1924, 20,000 marks were contributed to the general election fund. Two provincial S.D.P. organisations received respectively 15,000 and 200,000 marks. Bauer received 10 per cent. for his services, and controlled many positions in the Barmat concerns. Heilmann, president of the S.D. Reichstag fraction, became general secretary of the Barmat concerns, Ebert's son was appointed "social adviser," Scheidemann's daughter married the brother of director Hellwig, etc. Some crumbs also fell to the share of the Second International. Barmat lent 380,000 florins to the Dutch "Vorward," and the other members of the "left bloc" got their share. Barmat gave a subsidy to the Catholic Centre Party and some of its leaders like Hoefle and Lange-Hegermann, took up positions in his business.

Barmat was the clearest embodiment of the new social democrat, but he was not the only one. A large number of speculators sunned themselves in the light of the S.D. government. These included the well known contributor to the party and Scheidemann's friend, Leon Sklarz, general director of many speculative undertakings, and famous for his financial exploitation of the Vienna Arsenal. Then the Austrian social democrat, Siegmund Bosel, at one time a small dealer, then speculator and financial advisor in the Austrian social democratic government, supporter of social democratic co-operatives and newspapers, owner of a fortune of 200 million Swiss francs, and at one time the greatest capitalist of his country, and rival of Stinnes. Bosel was given the same chance as Barmat, and given charge of supplies required for the Austrian police, and in doing this, according to Felix Pinner, the well known bourgeois economist, he "prevented the spread of the Communist movement from Budapest to Vienna." When necessary, Bosel was granted a loan of 80 million schillings from Post Office savings—and only 10 millions were paid back. But in place of the missing money, he financed the suppression of Communism, and saved the ministerial posts of his social democratic friends and his own fortune.

Social democratic capitalism grew so strong that at last it became a serious rival of the central capitalist forces. For the capital which Barmat accumulated out of his State credits and monopolies was used by him to build up

his own finance capitalist system. He lent the money at usurious rates to banks and industrial undertakings, and then exercised his right of distraintment—it was the time of great shortage of capital, immediately after stabilisation—unmercifully. Thus there grew up one concern, made up of numerous iron works, machine foundries, paper, cotton and artificial silk factories, and banks, employing thousands of skilled, exploited workers, and having usually social democratic supervisory councils.

The Stinnes' group sounded the alarm—the systematic State subsidising of the Barmat concerns endangered their power and limited their own area for expansion. The new concerns generally provoked the jealousy of the old-established capitalists. Politically, the hostility between the old and the new concerns was exacerbated by the fact that the social democratic business men usually came from Jewish merchant circles, and, therefore, afforded the heavy industry party an excellent subject for agitation. Stinnes realised that Barmat could only be overthrown by political means. So long as the social democratic and centre Cabinet was in office, Barmat was unshakable. At the end of 1924 this Cabinet was defeated and replaced by a right coalition, At the same time judicial proceedings were started against the Barmat concern, and Julius Barmat was imprisoned. It has been proved that this attack on Barmat was made at the instigation of Stinnes, the representative of heavy industry.*

The large banks, which a few months later were incorporated with Stinnes' and had already drawn up plans for the organisation of the new German monopoly capitalism, dissociated themselves from Barmat and refused to support his business. A year later Bosel also fell. It was the triumph of "pure" finance capital. Social democratic capitalism was dead. Germany came under the dictatorship of Ruhr finance. The steel trust group and

* The facts against Barmat were collected by Tannenzapf, an agent of Stinnes, from Barmat's employees, who were in return promised good posts in Stinnes' concerns. Leopold, a Stinnes director, promised Kussman, Public Prosecutor, and other State officials, good posts if "anything happened to them." The S.D. "Vorwaerts" became hysterical over the affair.

J. Goldschmidt became the advocates of the new State capitalism. The other groups, voluntarily or under compulsion, declared their subjection. The chemical trust concluded a gentleman's agreement with the Ruhr trust. Manufacturing industry capitulated to raw materials. The A.E.G., Rathenau's old fortress, gave up the fight and took on half a dozen Ruhr plenipotentiaries. The shipping agencies of Hamburg and Bremen became the transport agents for heavy industry. The agricultural capitalists of Upper Silesia, Bavaria and east of the Elbe became a part of the Ruhr and Hugenberg bank system. The government consisted of Ruhr directors. Stresemann entrusted the secret funds of the Foreign Office to Goldschmidt, the Ruhr banker. The new German imperialism raised its standard.

German social democracy could not remain indifferent to this development. It could not, and did not wish, to remain outside. Finance capital called, and social democracy flew to answer.

By this time Reformism had grown ripe for such a change. It had fulfilled its historical post-war task of handing back the German State to the bourgeoisie, from the revolutionary workers of November. In the critical period of autumn, 1923, social democracy had entered into the great coalition with Ruhr capital, to achieve the same object. But, apart from this united front against the proletariat, the S.D.P. had not yet reached any more intimate relationship with heavy industry. Barmat's fall made it clear to the S.D. bureaucrats that they could not count on any "equality" or "community of interest" from heavy industry—the Ruhr needed no partner, but only disciplined subordinates, who would be well paid. Their old capitalist strongholds were weakened. Their one time colleagues, the manufacturers and bankers, were now in the opposing camp. The bourgeoisie was centralised. The reformist bureaucracy was threatened with isolation—from ministerial posts, and subsidies, from all the good things which a government can give to its participants. They were wholeheartedly opposed to the seven fat years giving way before the seven lean. Barmat and Rathenau were no longer there, there was only Jacob Goldschmidt, and, therefore, they turned to him.

At the same time centralised finance capital was being drawn more and more in the direction of the reformist bureaucracy. The capitalists again needed the S.D.P.—to hide their new attack on the German working class, the attack of "rationalisation." The new trust imperialism had to be built up—at the expense of the proletariat, and, therefore, traitors, spies and slave-drivers were needed in the proletarian camp. So the financiers approached the S.D. and trade union leaders. But even apart from the requirements of the rationalisation period, trust capital needed a constant, well organised system of "labour lieutenants," it needed the same sort of "labour movement" in Germany as Gompers had organised for the American trusts. In short, the centre of finance capital wanted a labour department.

In October, 1926, the offer was openly made: the speeches of Silverberg, the Ruhr magnate, and Duisberg, the chemical magnate, at the Ruhr Congress, contained the following declaration: "German social democracy must be drawn in as a responsible co-operator." German social democracy accepted this offer of a share in finance capital and looked round for an excuse.

Even in 1925 there had been, now and again, "trial contacts" between the S.D.P. and heavy industry. For example, in 1925 Karl Erdmann and Baumeister, both well-known members of the S.D.P., and Ebert's son, founded a publishing company—"Firn"—which began with a series of "socialist" writings for workers. These works, real bosses' literature, were warmly recommended in the General Trade Union Federation "Journal." Later it was established that the money to start the company had been given by the "Association of German Employers," and that it was quite usual for Erdmann to receive sums amounting to 100,000 marks from Borsig. Erdmann was officially expelled from the S.D.P., but the real owner of the publishing company, Baumeister, is still a paying member of that party.

At the same time other business socialists began to turn, inconspicuously but surely, to heavy industry and finance capital. Dr. Albert Südekum, a shareholder in an Upper Silesian steel works, voted for its amalgamation with the Upper Silesian steel trust, whose

shares were controlled by the Ruhr Steel Trust. The same Südekum also became president of the German Match Company, the German section of the Swedish world match monopoly, controlled by Kreuger. In this way the two leading capital groups of Europe, the Ruhr and Krueger, were "socialised" by a former social democratic Finance Minister.

Such cases have become usual in Germany as in America. A short time ago a president of the German Miners' Union, Waldhecker, became business manager of the East Elbe brown coal syndicate. But we are no longer concerned with such individual cases. The fusion of interests between the reformist bureaucracy and finance capital is taking place less through individual persons than through organisations, and capitalist organisations of reformism at that—the new banks.

For a long time the reformist leaders have had at their disposal three sources of income—the funds of the trade unions (and the sick funds), the funds of the social democratic party and the savings of the labour aristocracy. The trade union funds, the result of long accumulation which are very seldom used by the bureaucracy for industrial struggles, and then only to very small amounts, in some unions amount to many millions. The amount of the social democratic party funds is shown by the following figures from one of its own papers: the total incomes of S.D.P. concerns (newspapers, etc.) amount to 66,500,000 marks (of which about 30 per cent. comes from capitalist advertisements), capital amounts to 22,000,000 marks and 18,500 persons are employed. In addition there are the savings of the labour aristocracy and the better-paid social democratic employees, etc. The whole therefore is a very large sum, and since the S.D.P. is a reformist, and not a revolutionary, body, it decided on Hilferding's advice, to employ all this capital in finance.

A "bank for workers, employees and officials" was founded in which the deposits have been annually 9,000,000, 36,000,000, 76,000,000 and 114,000,000 marks. A hundred and fourteen million marks of proletarian money afford an excellent basis for the finance-capitalist work of the S.D.P. bureaucracy in the bank management—Hilferding, Leipart, Aufhäuser, etc. For this capital is not used,

as announced, on behalf of the working class—to finance working-class co-operatives or disposes, but merely for the purpose of profit-making (10 per cent. dividend each year) by means of financing private capital. The bank obtained a large number of industrial shares, and bought a majority of the shares of the Hanoverian Land Credit Bank; the bank shared in the acquisition—costing 27,000,000—of the Mühlen concern, rescued a bankrupt bicycle factory, financed the capitalist State by subscribing to a State loan—in short, the "labour bank" went full steam ahead for the capitalists, and, as Hilferding prophesied, expanded in the correct finance-capitalist manner.

Every new bank which, in the desire for profits is forced to expand its fluid capital—and even the labour bank is subject to the internal laws of finance capital—must sooner or later come into conflict with older finance capitalist groups, must either compete or fuse with them. The labour bank consciously chose the second alternative. Practically all its transactions were carried out in agreement with other banks. Five other banks were concerned in the Hanoverian Land Bank deal, including the most powerful private bank, Arnhold and E. Meyer. This financial community of interest between the labour bank and other banks necessarily led to organisational connections. And it is a fact that a short time ago the management of the labour bank was placed entirely in the hands of professional bankers. This reorganisation took place under the ægis of the greatest leader of German finance capital, the Ruhr banker, Jacob Goldschmidt.

Since the beginning of the S.D.P.'s orientation to heavy industry, Goldschmidt has had financial connections with the party apparatus. In 1926 "Vorwärts" received credit of 800,000 marks from him. Rooms in one of his businesses were let to a social democratic journal. But the founding of the labour banks formed the real bridge between the two groups. I. Stern, supervisor of a Goldschmidt bank, stood godfather to the labour bank—according to the "Berliner Tageblatt"—and worked in it for many years. Later the two S.D.P. directors of the bank (Meyer and Schönherr) were dismissed and the posts filled by two pro-

professionals from the German Union Bank. They obtained the posts on Goldschmidt's recommendations. One further example: One of the directors appointed by the labour bank to the Hanoverian bank was Julius Schwarz, Goldschmidt's personal friend.

The whole position can be put as follows: the S.D.P. bureaucracy is mobilising the savings of the working class, intended for use in the class struggles, on behalf of finance capital, and in return is being included in the dealings of finance capital. There is no longer the autonomous social democratic capitalism, but the reformist bureaucracy as an integral part of the capitalist system of trust finance. This is the characteristic of the most recent stage of social democratic evolution in Germany.

V.

This inclusion in trust finance puts the finishing touches to social democracy's treachery to the working class and socialism. The earlier personal treachery of a few leaders has become a working system, and the power working that system lies outside social democracy and in the hands of finance capital, which is the dominant member of the trinity—trust finance, the reformist bureaucracy and the labour aristocracy. The official party leadership acts as the executive, and that is composed to an increasing extent of "trust socialists"—people like Bachem, Südekum and Naphtali, "practical men" of the business world, and not of the working class, who regard the working-class movement as an unpopular disturbance of the "regular economic process"—that of capitalist accumulation, in which they themselves share. The new trust socialism has its own supervisory body.

Like every business undertaking, trust socialism has its prospectus, and it is called "economic democracy." Marxism, the theory of Communist society, yields to the theory of amalgamation into the capitalist State. The proletarian class struggle is replaced by the struggle for a share in business and in the policy of finance capital. Social democratic internationalism is transformed into the internationalism of capitalist cartels. Anti-militarism is replaced by acknowledging the "defence ideal" of the German bourgeoisie and armaments industry. And like every

other prospectus, "economic democracy" promises good dividends—a share in capitalist profits.

The actual dealings of trust socialism correspond in every detail with the prospectus. Social democracy has become a part of the capitalist State by joining the great coalition, and the social democratic Finance Minister, Hilferding works alongside the Ruhr director and Industrial Minister, Curtius. The S.D.P. is supporting the exploitation of the German people by finance capital, the S.D.P. is squandering millions of the people's money to subsidise private concerns like the Silesian coal trust; the S.D.P. sanctions the usurious prices of the industrial monopolies. The S.D.P. has also become a part of German imperialism—it is helping to build the armoured cruisers and is supporting the imperialist colonial policy; it joins the anti-Soviet front at Lugano and declares that the War Minister's military preparations are a "necessity." The S.D.P. has also become a part of the capitalist offensive. Wissel, the social democratic Labour Minister, prevents wage struggles by "arbitration" awards, the S.D.P. Minister for the Interior, Severing, sanctions the lock-out of the Ruhr workers while the S.D.P. Minister for Police holds the gendarmerie ready.

In his "Imperialism and Communism," Lenin wrote: "It is clear that these huge profits... enable the bourgeoisie to buy the Labour leaders and the upper sections of the labour aristocracy. The capitalists of the most advanced countries really do buy them, by innumerable direct and indirect, open and hidden ways." The wholesale buying of the German social democratic leaders is not a special phenomenon—it is typical of modern monopoly capitalism generally, for it is one of the most profitable concerns that capitalism can set up.

Trust socialism means the amalgamation of finance capital and the social democratic Labour leaders. So long as the social democratic workers fail to recognise this, so long as they fail to see that the class interests of the enemy determine the policy of their party—so long will the trusts rule their party. Trust socialism must be utterly destroyed before the proletariat can be free.

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Book Review

Lenin as Man and Statesman. By Olav Scheffo. Oslo, 1928.

Scheffo, one of the founders and at one time one of the foremost members of the Communist Party of Norway, left it early in 1928. He left the Party after having tried for years to hold up its development by tiresome opportunist vacillations. It is significant that he left it at the moment when the Norwegian Labour Party, by the formation of the Labour Government after an alliance with the old Social-Democratic Party, took up an openly reformist attitude on all practical questions of the class struggle and cast off its centrist pseudo-radicalism. Shortly after Scheffo began to agitate for his acceptance into the Party of Ministerial Socialism, and only a petty detail of formality has so far prevented his admission into the Norwegian Labour Party.

In this work Scheffo has tried to describe Lenin's revolutionary development, his participation in the national and international revolutionary movement against the background of the position and development of the Russian working class before and after the October revolution. The conclusion is a picture of Lenin as an overmastering personality.

It is not worth while to enter into the many weaknesses, mistakes and inadequate knowledge indicated in Scheffo's work, which can be found on every page. The author has only the most meagre knowledge of the development of the Russian proletariat, and is absolutely ignorant of the history of Russian industry. His acquaintance with the life and works of Lenin shows but a very poor knowledge of what is available, at least in the German language. But these are only "trivial matters" for the moment. The decisive question for us is, What has Scheffo made of Lenin and of his great world-historical work? As to the first, the opening of the book is sufficient answer. Using the terminology of an old Norwegian fairy tale, Scheffo states that Lenin did not put away any treasure—that he neither em-

bezzled nor stole. This sort of idea in the minds of the Norwegian petty bourgeoisie is not accidental. The second characteristic of Lenin, it is affirmed with extreme regret, was that under a liberal regime, he had the capacity to become a great scientist (p. 9). Scheffo's petty-bourgeois way of looking at things is expressed even more clearly in this bowing down to the liberal regime, and in the importance which he attaches to "scientist," as well as in his denial of the fact that Lenin, along with Marx and Engels, must be considered as one of the greatest theoreticians. Scheffo, like bourgeois science, seems to take up the point of view that science and a belief in the class struggle cannot be combined. Even if Scheffo has not yet heard of that most important work on "Empirio-Criticism," Lenin's masterly use and description of the dialectical method is in itself a considerable scientific achievement.

And as though that were not enough, Scheffo also thinks of Lenin as a bourgeois statesman and writer by maintaining that, as opposed to the Communist "theses writers," Lenin changed his theories, like Scheffo changed his Party. Scheffo is more than slightly confused about theories and their adaptation to concrete circumstances, and makes it quite clear that he does not understand either Marxism or the developments of Marxism by Lenin.

We shall omit other typically bourgeois ideas about Lenin, such as Scheffo's lament about Lenin's hard and pitiless methods with all renegades and enemies of the proletariat. What is it which, in Scheffo's opinion, made Lenin so great a man that even he, Scheffo, could not but devote a whole book to him? According to Scheffo, Lenin's greatness consisted in this: "We can say of Lenin that he gained complete power over a mighty empire, and that he won it by the force of his intellectual gifts and the singleness of his character. He had a brain such as few have." And Scheffo goes on to say that it would be difficult to determine who was greater, Lenin, Cæsar, Cromwell or Robespierre.

It is by such an attitude that Scheffo betrays

his utterly Philistine and bourgeois individualist standpoint with regard to "great men."

But that is not all. Scheffo weighs the greatness of these men independently of the social forces which enabled them to become such powerful factors in history. It is pushing even the bourgeois historical standpoint to extremes when Scheffo compares the power that Cæsar won, based on the slave-owners and the landed oligarchy of Rome, with the influence (not the power) wielded by Lenin when the Russian proletariat, in alliance with the peasantry, won power under the genius of Lenin's leadership. This fact, unique in world history, of the actual transference of power, not to Lenin, but to the proletariat as a class, the fact of the opening of the greatest period in the proletarian revolution, the period which marks the end of the "early history of humanity," the part which Lenin played in this gigantic world change—Scheffo compares this with the achievements of the first great bourgeois revolutionary. This is perhaps the sportsman's way of looking at things, who measures the greatness of a man by the number of square metres he has won, irrespective of whether the power is won by slaves, mercenaries, financial manipulations, or the proletariat fighting for its freedom.

The intrinsically petty-bourgeois character of the book becomes really counter-revolutionary. For in his attempt to portray Lenin as one of the band of "unique individual heroes," the author is compelled not only to keep silent about the other aspects of Lenin's peculiar greatness, but also to falsifying facts. He describes Lenin as a dictator who with the methods of a Mussolini ruled his party auto-

cratically and used it as his tool against its will. This falsifies both the nature of the Party and the character of Lenin. Lenin's greatness consists largely in this, that by developing the Russian Bolshevik Party, and later the Communist International, he developed the one means which can lead the proletariat to victory and to Communism. Lenin devoted his forces to this, not as a dictator, but as the great proletarian leader.

In this instance, too, Scheffo, like all bourgeois and social-democrats, fails to see the difference between the Party of the revolution and Lenin's attitude towards it and towards the reformist Parties, and the attitude of the reformist leaders to their parties and party colleagues.

This counter-revolutionary *volte-face* has, of course, its personal background. He wants to eliminate the Communist Party so that he can himself stand out as a great leader, as an "independent thinking human being," *i.e.*, so that he can declare himself a Leninist without being a Communist.

Up to the present the Norwegian working class has not recognised him as the "only Leninist in Norway." But, as compensation, the "Tideus Tegu" (after he left the Communist Party), called him the "dominating figure" in the Norwegian working-class movement.

This work on Lenin is bourgeois, counter-revolutionary, and has nothing in common with the proletarian standpoint. It does not contain a single truth—not even a half truth. It contains but one lie—that of a renegade.

R. SOUTER.

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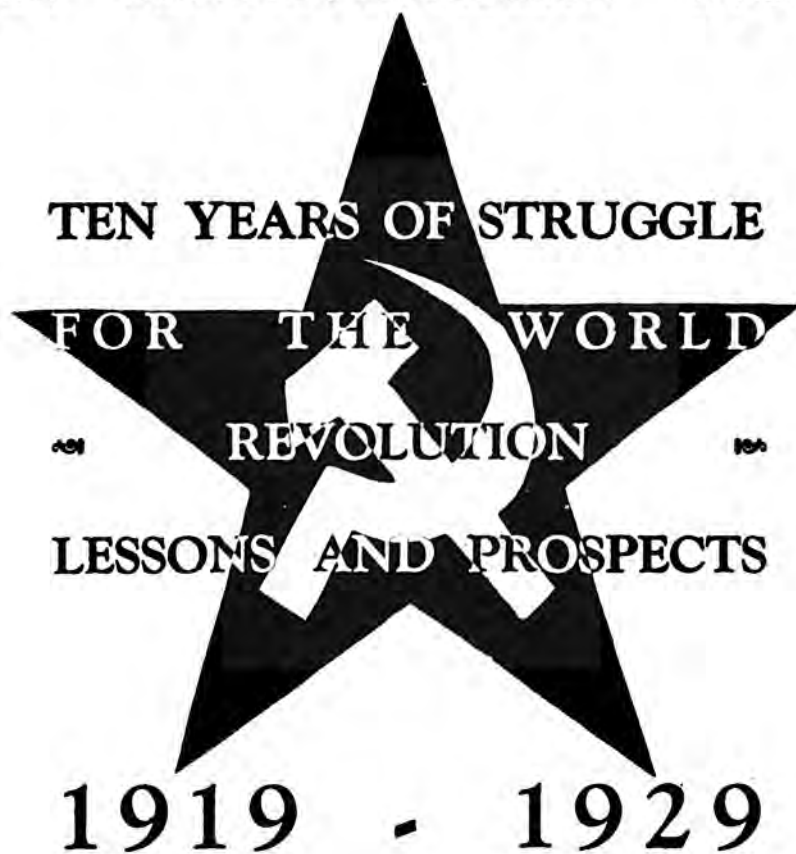
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The Road of the Comintern

“**T**HE universal historical importance of the Third, Communist International consists in the fact that it has begun to realise the greatest of Marx’s slogans, the slogan which summarised the age-long development of socialism and the workers’ movement, the slogan which is expressed in the conception of the dictatorship of the proletariat. . . . A new era in world history has begun. Humanity is throwing off the last form of slavery: capitalist wage slavery.” So Lenin defined the importance of the Communist International, in his article “The Third International: its Place in History.”

The Communist International was founded in 1919, but its story begins even earlier. At the very beginning of the world war, impressed by the bankruptcy of the Second International Lenin raised the question of the foundation of a new International. The manifesto of the C.C. of the Russian Social-Democratic Labour Party, issued on November 1st, 1914, reads: “It is impossible to fulfil the task of socialism at the present time, it is impossible to achieve a true international concentration of the workers without a resolute break with opportunism and an explanation of the inevitability of its collapse to the masses. . . . The masses will create a new International despite all obstacles.”

With a view to preparing elements for the new International during the war, Lenin began to organise the “Zimmerwald Left Group” at the conferences at Zimmerwald and Kienthal. When the February revolution broke out in April, 1917, the All-Russian Conference of the Russian Social-Democratic Labour Party (Bolsheviks) declared in its resolution: “The task of our party, operating in a country where the revolution has begun earlier than elsewhere, is to take on itself the initiative in the creation of a Third International, making a final break with the ‘defencists’ and also resolutely struggling against the intermediary policy of the ‘centre.’ In order to realise this task, says the same resolution, one pre-requisite was indispensable: “The new Socialist International

can be created only by the workers themselves by their revolutionary struggle in their own countries.” This pre-requisite was assured by the triumphant October revolution. The Third International began to have existence in fact when the proletariat in Russia seized power, when the Bolshevik Party renamed itself the Communist Party, when a Communist Party was founded in Germany also, when throughout the whole world the proletarian masses showed a general trend towards the Soviets, and the first congress only gave formulation to that existence. Thus the Third International was a reaction to the bankruptcy of the Second International and was the revolutionary child of October.

* * * * *

WHAT are the objective conditions requisite to the realisation of the tasks the Third International sets itself? This question was answered in 1919 by the “Appeal for the calling of the first congress of the Third International”; “In our opinion the new International should be based on the acceptance of the following propositions. . . . (1) this is the epoch of the decomposition and break-up of the world capitalist system, which will mean the break-up of European culture in general if capitalism, with its irreconcilable antagonisms, is not destroyed. (2) The present task of the working class is the immediate seizure of State Power. . . , etc.”*

Ten years have passed since the founding of the Communist International, and we have to ask ourselves whether the first proposition which lies at the basis of the new International remains true even to-day, whether the proposition that “this is the epoch of the decomposition and break-up of the world capitalist system” is also true to-day. It is from this proposition that the basic differences between the Third and the Second Internationals, between us Communists and the social democrats, who have become agents of the bourgeoisie, have their starting point.

* Text taken from “The Two Internationals,” by R. Palme Dutt, p. 64.

LOOKING back over the past ten years, we see that history has effected certain corrections in the initial opinion of the founders of the Comintern, namely that of the improbability of any considerably protracted independent development of the Soviet Republic on the one hand, and the tempo of development of the world proletarian revolution on the other. But we also see that the basic proposition as to the nature of the present epoch, which lay at the basis of the Third International, remains inviolable. The consolidation of the Soviet system in the U.S.S.R., and its prolonged movement forward towards socialism without the support of a victorious revolution in other countries, a thing which seemed altogether improbable, has become a fact. The tempo of development of the proletarian revolution in the more highly developed capitalist countries has proved to be slower than had been anticipated. But taken as a whole, the present epoch remains one of the crisis of capitalism and the epoch of the proletarian revolution, in full accord with the initial prognosis.

Even at the Comintern third congress Lenin noted the necessity of making certain corrections to the initial prognosis: "Even before the revolution, and after it also, we thought that immediately, or in any case very swiftly, there would be a development of revolution in the remaining countries, those where capitalism was more highly developed, or, if the contrary proved to be the case, we were bound to go under. . . . But in reality the movement did not take such a straight course as we had expected. So far the revolution has not arrived in the other large, most highly developed capitalist countries. . . . Then what are we to do now? The necessity of the moment is for a basic preparation of the revolution and for a profound study of its concrete development in the foremost capitalist countries. That is the first lesson which we must draw from the international situation. We must exploit this brief breathing space for the benefit of our Russian Republic, in order to adapt our tactics to this zig-zag in the line of history."

IN confirmation of their proposition that it is impossible to construct socialism in any one country, not by reason of the inevit-

ability of intervention, but owing to the ostensible intrinsic impotence of the backward, agrarian-industrial Soviet Republic to make any prolonged forward movement towards socialism in conditions of the capitalist encirclement, the Trotskyists are very fond of quoting certain of Lenin's utterances relating to this period when ruin reigned in the U.S.S.R., and when he expected that a revolution was on the point of being victorious—if not to-day then to-morrow, in the leading capitalist countries. But they stubbornly ignore what he said later, in 1922 and 1923, when he became convinced that on the one hand the world revolution had slowed down, and that on the other the Soviet Republic was beginning independently to emerge from the ruin. The Trotskyists willingly quote those of Lenin's utterances made during the war communism period, in which he says that the Soviet Republic will perish if the revolution in the West does not come to its aid, utterances in which he had in mind failure definitely owing to intervention and ruin, and not owing to the absence of intrinsic forces for development. And they very unwillingly quote still later utterances in which he no longer compared, but contrasted the Soviet system with "State capitalism," in which he emphasised that in the Soviet Republic exist "all that is necessary and adequate to the construction of the socialist society." (Speech at the Fourth Comintern Congress and his articles "On Co-operation.")

So much the less are the Trotskyists disposed to take into account the enormous successes which the Soviet Republic has achieved since Lenin's death, successes which in their tempo have greatly exceeded his expectations. This shows that whilst, as though jesting at the truth, they call themselves "Bolshevik-Leninists," they are first, a typical "tail group," and secondly renegade defeatists. Lenin turned his gaze ahead, they turn their gaze backward. Lenin said that the proletarian revolution in the West would save the Russian revolution at a time when the waves of revolution in the West had risen to a great height, and when the hope of imminent victory in the capitalist countries was heartening the Russian proletariat, exhausted with hunger, ruin and the civil war. The Trotskyists

croak that the construction of socialism in the Soviet Republic is doomed to failure at a time when a direct revolutionary situation does not exist in other countries, and so they destroy all faith in the victory of the world revolution and bury the October revolution.

DESPITE the croaking of the Trotskyists, who have not ceased their croaking for one minute since the day of Lenin's death, socialist construction in the U.S.S.R. is going ahead unflinching, overcoming the greatest of difficulties and rising from stage to stage. After Lenin's death the Soviet Republic accomplished the restoration of economy, consolidated its currency, developed co-operation to enormous dimensions, and restored production to its pre-war level. Then it surpassed that pre-war level, entered upon the period of the reconstruction of economy and the industrialisation of the country, and beginning with the fifteenth congress, set out on the road of the collectivisation of agriculture, thus beginning to eradicate the very roots of capitalism in the U.S.S.R.

DESPITE these self-evident facts, in unison with the social-democrats, the renegades of Communism affirm that the elements of capitalism are developing more swiftly in the Soviet Republic than are the elements of socialism, that the Soviet Republic is retrogressing, that "Thermidor" is approaching and indeed has already arrived. In an article, "What would Lenin do to-day in order to save the Russian revolution?" published in "Der Kampf," Friedrich Adler says: "As the expectations of October have not been fulfilled, it is indispensable that at the very least March should be saved." In other words, as the socialist revolution in Russia is now bankrupt, it is necessary that at the least its bourgeois revolution should be saved.

The Russian and German Trotskyist renegades of Communism are saying the same thing in slightly different words. In "Die Fahne des Communismus," for February 1st, 1929, we read: "For Lenin and for every Leninist there was never any doubt that this process (of the complete realisation of socialism in the Soviet Republic) can be accomplished only in the event of revolution being

victorious in at least one highly developed capitalist country. This pre-requisite has not been realised. . . . The defeat of the German revolution in 1923, the defeat of the British proletariat and the British general strike, and the defeat of the Chinese revolution have had decisive influence on development. . . . These decisive events were bound to have their influence on the development of the Russian revolution also. For whilst in Russia all the pre-requisites for construction do exist, yet Russia is closely bound up with the conditions of development of "world economy" and its political consequences. . . ." "In accordance with this," the journal continues, "the policy of the Soviet Government has declined, it has taken the path to Thermidor and Thermidor has already arrived." "It is quite evident," the journal concludes, "that the continuing decline of the Russian revolution is resulting in the transferring of the centre of the revolutionary movement away from Russia into the more highly developed capitalist countries."

Still later, on February 11th this year, the organ of the "left wing Communists," "Volks-wille," published a resolution passed by the Plenum of Ruth Fischer's "Lenin-Bund," which states that since Trotsky's exile, "Thermidor has already arrived and the party accordingly welcomes the Russian Trotskyists' demand for the introduction of secret voting at the works and factories," in other words, the introduction of the methods of bourgeois parliamentarism into the country of the dictatorship of the proletariat. We see that between the deliberations of the German and Russian Trotskyists and those of Friedrich Adler there is no difference whatever, the more so as Friedrich Adler attempts to justify himself by reference to Lenin, who it is claimed would confirm his deductions if he were still alive.

WHAT are the facts on which these croaking crows base their arguments? On the increasing advance of the kulak in the Soviet Republic, to whom the Soviet Government is ostensibly making concessions. Is the increased activity of the kulak element in the twelfth year of the dictatorship of the proletariat anything unexpected by the Bolsheviks? Is this any argument against Lenin's strategic plan? Not in the very least.

Lenin knew and said that in the last resort the period of the proletarian dictatorship would lead to a cessation of the class struggle and the withering away of classes. But at the same time he repeated again and again that so long as there are dozens of millions of peasant husbandries in the U.S.S.R., a basis for the revival of capitalism would remain—that only the collectivisation of the countryside and the reconstruction of its husbandry on the basis of large-scale machine production would finally destroy that basis.

From this it arises that during the present stage of development of the Soviet Republic, at every economic difficulty, the capitalist elements are bound inevitably to increase their counter-revolutionary activity, and that this activity will increase all the more, the stronger the attack made on it by the Soviet Government, and the more resolutely that Government pursues the course towards socialism. And as is well known, the kulak activity of recent times is connected with this very fact.

The economic difficulties which have arisen out of the lag in the tempo of agriculture behind the tempo of development of socialist economy is being exploited by the kulaks, and that the more energetically, the more resolutely the Soviet Government pursues the course of the collectivisation of the countryside and the elimination of capitalist elements from it. Under the dictatorship of the proletariat the class struggle does not cease; it did not cease after the transference from war communism to NEP; under NEP it only takes on new forms, whilst retaining these new forms, at the turning points that class struggle does not decline but intensifies in severity. And we are passing such a turning point in the U.S.S.R. at the present time; the greater activity of the kulaks of recent times is the product not of the decline of socialism, but on the contrary of the fact that a course is being pursued for an acceleration of the tempo of industrialisation of all economy and for the collectivisation of the countryside. The greater activity of the kulaks would be a symptom of decline and retreat "from October to March" if, under the pressure of the kulak elements, the Soviet Government retreated from the decisions of the fifteenth party congress, if it retarded the tempo of industrialisation, if it renounced the

collectivisation and productive co-operation of the villages. But we know that the situation is exactly the converse, that the C.C. of the C.P.S.U., basing itself on the will of the great majority of the party, has carried on and is still continuing the most energetic struggle with the right wingers and conciliators, who vacillated as the result of the economic difficulties and are seeking to drag the party backwards. Such vacillations were to be found in the C.P.S.U. at all times of sharp change, during all its history, and it will deal with them as it has always dealt with them.

* * * * *

DESPITE the enormous difficulties, the Soviet regime is successfully constructing socialism, is successfully moving on towards socialism in the capitalist surroundings. But it has to be said that this would be quite impossible, that the Soviet regime would not be in a condition to strengthen its positions, if the crisis in capitalism were to disappear from the enviroing capitalist world and a new period of flourishing capitalism were to arrive. The social-democrats and Communist renegades know full well that a mortal danger would then threaten the hated Soviet Republic. Consequently the second fundamental argument against the Communists consists in the crisis of capitalism in the capitalist environment being ostensibly overcome.

They note with satisfaction that the first wave of revolution which rose in Europe immediately after the war ended with the defeat of the proletariat everywhere except in Russia, and that the second revolutionary crisis, which developed in 1923 in Germany on the basis of the same post-war destruction and the Ruhr occupation, ended with the defeat of the proletariat, and that finally the revolutionary crises which have developed in the restoration period in the Far West and East, that the General Strike in Britain and the Chinese revolution have also ended in the defeat of the proletariat. As a result, they say, capitalism has not only grown stronger through the whole world, but only now is it beginning to spread throughout the globe, continuing its triumphal progress even in the colonies.

LET us consider in more detail the arguments of these apologists and lackeys of capitalism. As an example of these apologetics we shall analyse the objections which a certain A. Schiffin (N. Verner) made to the program of the Comintern, and particularly against its theses on the crisis of capitalism, in an article published in "Die Gesellschaft" for January, 1929. We briefly analyse his argument point by point.

The first thesis in the Comintern program surveys the colonial problem "through the spectacles of the post-war period." It still considers decisive "the inevitability of conflict between the great powers of financial capital, owing to the partitioning of the colonies and spheres of influence," and meantime in the same program there is realisation of the fact that the American bourgeoisie, who are masters of the chief positions in world economy, do not possess large colonial territories, and that Germany also, who has broken the record from the technical aspect, does not possess any colonies. So it is clear that the Comintern program is in the first place internally contradictory, that secondly this program has overlooked the chief alterations which have occurred in world economy since the war.

One cannot say whether stupidity or hypocrisy preponderates in this affirmation of the "contradictions" in the Comintern program. Is it really not known to the worthy social-democratic author that now more than ever before the U.S.A. is striving for imperialist expansion, that it is striving at this very moment to transform all Latin America into its monopolist sphere of influence, that on this basis the antagonism between the U.S.A. and the British Empire increases in severity from year to year? Is it not well known, even to this estimable author, that Germany is now making desperate efforts to take the broad high road of imperialism, to build up her armaments again for this purpose, and that his own party of social-democracy is zealously assisting its bourgeoisie in this task, that faithful to the "spirit of the times" it was the first to draw up a program of armaments?

SECOND thesis. The program makes no attempt to investigate the conditions of the class struggle in the political framework of the "post war period," i.e., "within the

framework of democracy." The author, like all the rest of the international social-democracy, considers the specifically characteristic feature of the post-war period to be the "triumph of democracy." This impudent statements based, of course, on the fact that the Hohenzollern monarchy has been transformed into a "democratic" republic, whilst the Habsburg monarchy has disintegrated and several "democratic" republics have arisen on its ruins. The true value of such "democracies" was revealed by Friedrich Engels in his letter to Bebel on December 2nd, 1884. "In the moment of revolution pure democracy has a temporary importance for a brief while . . . as a last anchor of salvation for the bourgeois and even the feudal economy. . . . In any event, during a crisis, and the day after that crisis, our sole antagonist is the entire reactionary mass, grouped around pure democracy. And I consider that this must not be left out of sight for one moment."

These words of Engels are truly prophetic. We have seen how before our eyes, under the flag of "pure democracy," and with the active support of the social democracy, this fusion with the bourgeoisie in a single "reactionary mass" has battered at the revolutionary movement of the proletariat. We have seen how during the succeeding stage this "democracy" has everywhere begun to take on fascist aspects. We have seen the complete triumph of fascism in Italy, Hungary, Bulgaria, Spain, Poland, Latvia and Yugo-Slavia and we are now witnessing preparations for a fascist coup d'etat in Czecho-Slovakia. Such is the appearance of the "political convalescence" of capitalism after the war. Whilst before the war the decline of parliamentarism had already set in, it has now become an accomplished fact.

THIRD thesis. "The defeats in Britain and China connoted something more than a tactical lack of success. It connotes the bankruptcy of the entire political prospect of the Comintern." In this regard the author's views completely coincide with those of the Trotskyists.

Against this absurd statement two arguments are sufficient. First, the victory of the general strike in Britain would have connoted the break-up of the strongest imperialism in the world, whilst the victory of the Chinese

revolution would to the same extent have meant a mortal blow to world imperialism, for it would have served as the signal for the insurrection of all the colonies. It is quite obvious that the British proletariat, in which, from the forties onward to the end of the great war reformism and labour aristocracy have ruled, could not accomplish such a great task at one stroke. It is also quite obvious that the young Chinese C.P., which only began to be formed during the Chinese revolution, could not, within the space of a couple of years or so develop to such an extent that it could settle the great Chinese problem at one stroke. On the contrary, one has to be astonished that the Chinese C.P. has succeeded within two or three years in achieving such a growth in numbers, and in transforming itself into a true mass revolutionary party.

Consequently, we must consider both the British general strike and the Chinese revolution as "dress rehearsals" for the coming victorious revolution, just as the 1905 revolution in Russia was a rehearsal for the February victory and then for the October revolution. Secondly, the defeat of the strike in Britain has not to any considerable extent assisted the British bourgeoisie to restrain the unbroken decline of British capitalism. In exactly the same way the defeat of the Chinese revolution has not led to the establishment of any of the pre-requisites to the restoration of China, not even to a reformist solution of the agrarian problem, to a real uniting of China for her emancipation from semi-colonial dependence. Meantime both the defeat of the British proletariat and that of the Chinese proletariat has prepared the ground for the "third period" of the crisis in capitalism, in which both the intrinsic and extrinsic antagonisms in the capitalist world have intensified all along the line.

FOURTH thesis. In the program "the central contraposition of the polarised classes in a completely developed capitalist society is represented as a peripheric social phenomenon, as a political phenomenon only accompanying imperialist wars and colonial emancipation movements." This is a misrepresentation of the Comintern program, it is a distortion of its sense, a distortion which by the way finds justification in the false inter-

pretations of the decisions reached by the Comintern Sixth Congress as given by the right wing Communists and conciliators.

In the program the intensification of the intrinsic antagonisms of modern capitalism is represented as being as characteristic a feature of the present crisis of capitalism as is the intensification of the extrinsic antagonisms. The program also notes the chief source of these antagonisms, namely the antagonism between the increase in productive forces and the contracted markets. And the facts unconditionally confirm this specific feature of present-day capitalism as distinct from the pre-war, so-called "normal" capitalism. The characteristic feature of the present, as distinct from the pre-war period is the fact that in connection with the contraction of the markets, the extension of production does not keep pace with the extremely swift development in the productivity of labour evoked by the centralisation of production, technical improvements and capitalist rationalisation. As a result we are now observing a number of phenomena which so-called "normal capitalism" did not involve.

First there is an alternation in unemployment, the development of colossal chronic unemployment. In Germany with its favourable economic situation of recent years, unemployment is still twice or thrice the average unemployment in the period of 1907-13. In Britain, taking the period from 1921 to 1928, the number of unemployed has fluctuated from 8 per cent. to 23 per cent. of the total employed workers. During the period from 1900 to 1914, the unemployed numbered on the average only some 4.5 per cent. Even in the "flourishing" North American United States there are from 3 to 3.5 million unemployed at the present time. In general, in the pre-war period the unemployed in capitalist countries numbered on the average some three to four millions, whilst it now amounts to at least ten to twelve millions.

The second distinctive feature of modern capitalism by comparison with the pre-war "normal" variety is that together with the swift growth in technique and the increase in the organic composition of capital, and also the extraordinary centralisation of production, we observe not an improvement of the situation of the working class and not an extension

of the circle of labour aristocracy, but on the cost of living, a drop in the real wages, contrary a general worsening of the situation—a colossal over-intensity of labour, a rise in and a lengthening of the working day, without mentioning the colossal increase in unemployment. As for labour aristocracy, its base is shrinking, whilst its upper group is becoming still more closely blended with the bourgeoisie.

The more or less honest bourgeois writers do not deny these facts. Thus for instance, in the publication "The significance of the rationalisation of German economy," issued by the Chamber of Commerce of Berlin, Professor Bon, dealing with German capitalist rationalisation, says:

"Its essence lies not in the sphere of technique, but in the social and financial planes. . . . The main task of trustification consists not in a diminution of production expenditures by the improvement of technique, but in the maintenance of high or enhanced prices, despite the diminishing production expenses."

Still more interesting is the lecture of the bourgeois writer Briffs, in a collection of lectures read during 1927 in the People's University, published under the title, "Union for further preparation in economics." In his lecture Briffs demonstrates that the technical improvements are being used by the cartels in Germany in order to increase their receipts, but not in order to extend production on the basis of a lowering of prices. Consequently rationalisation leads to a diminution in the number of employed and a fall in real wages, which in its turn gives a further stimulus to rationalisation.

The masses, who after a number of defeats of the revolution have pinned their hopes to the rationalisation of industry, have now everywhere seen this reverse side of capitalist rationalisation. Consequently everywhere is to be observed an increase of enormous economic struggles, which have a tendency to be transformed into political struggles.

FIFTH thesis. The Comintern program rejects the theory of decolonisation only because it is unpleasant to the Comintern, because it depreciates the role of the proletariat as an "anti-imperialist factor," and

thus destroys the Communist theory of colonial revolutions. That is an absolute lie. The Communist International does not fit the facts into its schemes and strategic plans, but on the contrary it deduces its strategic plan from the actual tendencies of social development. In correspondence with this, the Comintern does not think of denying the fact of the development of capitalism in the colonies, but it emphasises that, owing to the imperialist policy of the Great Powers, capitalism plays only a subsidiary role to the metropolis ["Mother Country"] that it establishes only a raw material base for the imperialist Powers, and by no means leads to the industrialisation of the colonies and to their decolonisation. Consequently the problem of the anti-imperialist revolutions in the colonies retains all its force.

SIXTH thesis. The Comintern puts the revolutionary emphasis only on war, because it has invented the theory of the inevitability of a new world war, consequently it has raised a prospect witnessing, in Otto Bauer's words, "to the Comintern's passivity and humility" in relation to the war danger. And in this declaration the obvious lie competes with a repellant hypocrisy. The Comintern by no means binds up the revolutionary prospect solely with war. The modern intensification of capitalism's intrinsic antagonisms, as characterised in the Comintern program, is of itself creating sufficient explosive material for a revolution without the aid of war.

The fact of the British general strike, equally with the fact of the Chinese revolution, shows eloquently enough that the direct revolutionary situation may arise without any direct connection with a new imperialist war. The position is not that the Communists speculate on war. The position is that new imperialist wars are the subject of speculation and cannot but be the subject of speculation, by the bourgeoisie, which is seeking a way out of unresolvable antagonisms, a way out of the present crisis of capitalism. If the Communists never cease to unmask this fact of the imperialists' preparations for war, they thus do not render the approach of war easier, but more difficult—they delay its approach. At the same time the Comintern prepares the ground for its transformation into revolution

when none the less it breaks out despite the will of the Communists, and thus the Comintern proves itself to be the sole force in all the world which puts up any opposition to the imminent imperialist war. On the other hand the pacifist burlings of the international social-democrats only serve to hide the truth from the masses, and the finest possible method of preparing for the war. For that matter, at the present time the international social-democrats do not restrict themselves to sending up a pacifist smoke screen for the imperialist war now being prepared, but themselves are openly participating in its preparation.

* * * * *

IN order to achieve the victory of the proletariat we need not only the existence of objectively favourable conditions, but also a sufficient maturity in the subjective factor—the Communist Parties. How have these parties developed during the past ten years? First and foremost let us deal with the numerical growth of the parties and the sphere of their distribution.

When ten years ago the first congress of the Comintern assembled, with the exception of the Russian Party, Communist parties were in reality still only propagandist organisations. In his report to the Comintern Second Congress, Lenin said: "At the first congress we were essentially only propagandists, we had only thrown to the proletariat of the entire world the basic ideas, had only flung out the call to struggle, we were only asking where were the people who are able to take this road."

At the present time sections of the Comintern are scattered over the whole world, in all corners of the globe. At the present moment the Comintern has 43 sections, of which 20 are illegal. In the legal sections, in which a registration is made of the party membership, there are, excluding the C.P.S.U., 394,000 members; together with the C.P.S.U., the total membership of the C.P.'s constitutes 1,605,000. If to this figure be added 2,400,000 Young Communists, we have an army of four million persons. Some idea of the influence exerted by the Communist parties can be obtained by the number of votes cast at the last elections during 1927 and 1928, in various countries. Many C.P.'s did not participate

in the elections; many could not participate owing to their illegal situation. For the candidates of the nineteen parties which did participate in elections in capitalist countries 6,750,000 votes were cast.

We see that the Comintern at the present time unites quite a solid army. But if the number of Communists in capitalist countries, and particularly in Europe, be compared with those of the social-democrats it would appear that the membership of the Second International in European capitalist countries considerably exceeds the membership of the Comintern. Moreover, during the present period of partial stabilisation the membership of the Comintern in capitalist countries has declined seriously by comparison with the moments of revolutionary uplift which have occurred during the last decade. It is true the social-democrats admit that their statements that Communism is "the product of the inflation period" have not been justified. The inflation period has passed long since and there is no immediate revolutionary situation anywhere at the moment, but still the Comintern and the Communist parties have maintained their existence even in countries where fascist terror rages. But the fact of the numerical superiority of the membership of the social-democratic parties by comparison with the membership of the Communist parties in capitalist countries, and the fact of the decline of the latter during the period of partial stabilisation of capitalism by comparison with 1921 or 1923, enables the international social-democrats to console themselves with the thought that the Comintern is in a state of decline.

IN order to get a sound view, one that is in accordance with the reality of the specific importance of the membership of the Comintern by comparison with the membership of the Second International, one has first and foremost to realise the profound difference in the very character of the two internationals. If we take the largest party of the Second International, the German social-democratic party, we see that from the very moment of its foundation right down to the war it grew regularly from year to year. So also after the war it continued to unite an enormous number of workers, and its numbers fell

swiftly only at a moment of revolutionary crisis. We observe a totally different picture in the case of the Russian Bolshevik party before the war, for its numerical increase was subjected to considerable fluctuations, and even in 1917, at the time of the April conference, its membership did not amount to more than 24,000. The same can be said of the German Communist Party, which grew swiftly only during a direct revolutionary situation, and then dropped in numbers and stabilised its membership at about 120,000. This difference finds a natural explanation in the fact that the Bolshevik Party before the war and all the Communist parties of capitalist countries after the war were and remain revolutionary parties, which set and still set themselves the direct task of overthrowing the existing State system. But the German social-democratic party was never a revolutionary party in the direct sense of the word. Even at its best, when it was forced to carry on underground activity, it did not set itself the aim of direct revolutionary struggle for power. After the war it became fused with the bourgeois State apparatus and began to play the role of open agent of the bourgeoisie among the working class. It is obvious that when there is no direct revolutionary situation it is very easy for such a governmental party to maintain or even increase its membership, for no sacrifices whatever are called for from those who attach themselves to it. On the contrary, membership of such a party ensures its members, especially its higher officials, many extra titbits from the laden table of the bourgeoisie.

FROM the very moment of its foundation the Comintern took clear account of this fact and did not blind itself with any illusions. In the resolution "On the role of the party in the proletarian revolution," adopted at the Second Comintern Congress in 1920, we read: "So long as the State power remains unconquered by the proletariat . . . it will be the rule for the Communist Party to have only a minority of workers in its organised ranks. . . . Only after the final defeat of the bourgeois system becomes obvious to all, will all or almost all the workers enter the ranks of the Communist parties."

From this it by no means follows that the Communist parties do not and ought not to

set themselves the task of winning the majority of the working class to their side even within the framework of the bourgeois system, that task is obligatory. On this matter, at the Third Comintern congress, Lenin, in his speech on the tactics of the Russian Communist Party, said: "The chief base of capitalism in the industrial capitalist countries is that very section of the working class organised in the Second and Two-and-a-Half International. If it had no basis in this section of the workers, on these counter-revolutionary elements in the working class, the international bourgeoisie would be quite unable to hold out. . . . The more organised the proletariat in a highly developed capitalist country, the more fundamental is the work demanded of us by history in preparing for the revolution and the more fundamentally have we got to win over the majority of the working class."

Thus the Comintern, headed by Lenin, at the third congress set itself the task of winning the majority of the working class even within the framework of capitalist society. But how the Comintern understands this winning of the working class is evident from the resolution adopted at the same third congress: "The conquest of exclusive influence over the majority of the working class, the attraction of its most active section into the direct struggle, is at the present moment the most important task of the Communist International." Thus the Comintern counted and still counts on the winning of exclusive influence over the majority of the working class, and only on the attraction of the most active section of the proletariat into the direct struggle in the bourgeois States. This, by the way, by no means excludes the necessity of the most energetic struggle for the organisational consolidation of that influence by the introduction of nuclei into the enterprises for instance. But we must beware of creating illusions for ourselves: capitalism sets certain, albeit very elastic, limits to the organisational consolidation of the Communists' influence, and the actual conquest of influence over the majority of the working class is possible only in conditions of a direct revolutionary situation, as the experience of the past decade has shown.

If we consider the results achieved by the Comintern during the past ten years from this

aspect, if we consider the membership of the Communist parties at the present time from this aspect, we come to the conclusion that the social-democrats have nothing whatever to rejoice about; as soon as a direct revolutionary situation arises, the majority of the working class will be on our side, and not theirs.

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THE chief task consists in learning in Leninist fashion how to organise the revolution. Consequently the numerical growth of the Communist parties is not so important as their ideological growth, their revolutionary steeling, their iron welding. If we consider the Comintern and the past ten years of Communist Party history from this aspect, and if we compare that history with the history of the social-democratic parties, at the first superficial glance it may appear that the situation was and remains less "prosperous" for the Communist parties of the capitalist countries than for the social-democratic parties. In the latter internal party life flows on the whole smoothly and peacefully. Only during the first post-war revolutionary crisis did the centrists and independents split off from the Second International, forming the Two-and-a-Half International. Only during this period did any considerable section leave that International to join the Communist International. But when the first, highest revolutionary wave rolled back the Two-and-a-Half International happily returned to the bosom of the Second International, and since then life in that International flows softly and gently.

Even if there are so-called "left-wing" "opposition" tendencies in this or that party of the Second International, between these "left wing" tendencies and the right wing majority there is no stern struggle. For the roles have been previously divided between them, and both these wings pursue one and the same counter-revolutionary end—the consolidation of capitalist stabilisation, the support of the imperialist policy of the bourgeoisie and the struggle against Communism. The "right wingers" and the "left wingers" accomplish this common task only by different methods, in dependence on the conditions of the moment and on this or that section of the

working class and the petty bourgeoisie which is being subjected to the working up process.

THE situation is otherwise in the Communist parties. During the past decade almost every one of the Communist parties has lived through a number of more or less severe crises, and during these crises one group or another directed by this or that retrogressive leader has broken away or been expelled from them. In the German C.P. for instance, Levi and Friesland were excluded in 1921, the ultra-left group of Korsch-Katz-Scholem and the Ruth-Fischer-Maslov-Urbahns group were expelled in 1926, and in 1928 the right wingers were excluded. In 1923 the Frossard group left the French C.P., in 1924 Souvarine, in the autumn of 1924 the anarcho-syndicalist group of Monatte-Rosmer, in 1925 the right wing opportunistic group of Loriot-Pas, in 1928 the Trotskyist group of Treint and Suzanne Girault. In 1928 Van Overstraten (the founder of the party) was excluded from the C.P. of Belgium, in Holland the group of trade union workers with Sneevliet at their head, and afterwards Wynkoop and the leading trade union organisation N.A.S. left the party. Höglund left the Swedish C.P., and in 1925 the right wing opportunist Lore and in 1928 the Trotskyist group of Cannon were excluded from the Workers' (Communist) Party of America. And so the founders of the Chinese C.P., Tang-Ping Siang and Cheng-Du-Su have been excluded from the party. And more than a few opposition members have been excluded from the C.P.S.U.

IF we ask why the Communist parties pass so frequently through crises at a time when peace and benevolence reigns in the hearts of the social-democratic parties, the answer will be the same as that to the preceding question of why the numerical membership of the social-democratic parties in capitalist countries exceeds the membership of the Communist parties. The reason for this difference consists in the fact that the social-democratic parties set themselves a very easy task, that of playing the lackey to the dominant bourgeoisie, whilst the Communist parties set themselves a task of colossal difficulty, that of overthrowing the capitalist system, a task demanding extraordinary ideological strength of

resistance, extraordinary flexibility, and an extraordinary firmness of iron discipline.

The Communist parties now existing in the leading capitalist countries, which have been forged amidst difficulties, are capable of realising the great task which history has set them. The Comintern fully realised the position from its very beginning. In 1919 in the article, "The Third International and its place in history," Lenin wrote: "I have already more than once had to remark that by comparison with the leading countries it was easier for the Russians to begin the great proletarian revolution. . . . It was easier for us to begin because in the first place the political backwardness of the Tsarist monarchy, extraordinary for a European country, evoked a more than ordinary strength in the revolutionary pressure of the masses. Secondly, the backwardness of Russia had the peculiar effect of fusing the proletarian revolution against the bourgeoisie with the peasant revolution against the landed proprietors. . . . Thirdly, the revolution of 1905 did an extraordinary amount in the direction of educating the masses of workers and peasants politically, both in the sense of acquainting their advance guard with the "last word" in socialism in the West, and in the sense of the revolutionary activity of the masses. Without such a "dress rehearsal" as was 1905, the revolution in 1917, both the bourgeois February and the proletarian October revolution, would have been impossible, and so on." And later, in his speech, "The anniversary of the Third, Communist International," in 1920, Lenin spoke in the same sense: "If the International had not been in the hands of traitors, who at the political moment saved the bourgeoisie, there would have been many chances that directly after the war, in many of the warring countries, and also in certain neutral countries, where the people were armed, a revolution could have been effected swiftly and then the result would have been different. It transpired that this could not be; the revolution on such a swift scale could not be, but it is necessary to traverse the whole road of development which we had to begin even before our first revolution, before 1905. Only because of the fact that more than ten years had passed before 1917 did we prove capable of directing the proletariat."

We shall now consider how the Comintern has fulfilled Lenin's will, how the Communist parties of the capitalist countries have during the past ten years traversed at an accelerated pace the course of study which the Russian Bolshevik party traversed from the very beginning of the 20th century. We shall only briefly stop to consider the chief and vital moments in the ten years' history of the Comintern.

AT the first Comintern congress only the basic ideas distinguishing the International from the Second International, those concerning the bourgeois democracy and the dictatorship of the proletariat, were laid down.

The Comintern Second Congress assembled in 1920, when the revolutionary wave in the capitalist countries of Europe had risen very high, when the attraction of the European proletarian masses towards the soviets was extraordinarily strong, when partly under the pressure of the masses, partly for the sake of deluding those masses, the centrists were outbidding each other in expressing the desire with this or that reservation to adhere to the Comintern. At that congress, the leader of the Comintern, Lenin, declared, in the theses on the basic tasks of the Third Congress of the Comintern: "For the Communist parties the task of the moment now consists not in accelerating the revolution, but in strengthening the preparation of the proletariat."

It was for this preparation of the proletariat that the second congress worked out the constitution of the Communist parties, gave concrete formulation to the tasks of the Communist parties, filled in the content of the conception of the dictatorship of the proletariat, and worked out an agrarian program on the national and colonial problems, so as to arm the proletariat and make it capable of playing the role of leader in the proletarian revolution. For the same purpose of preparing the proletariat for the revolution, the second congress drew up the 21 conditions of entry into the Communist party, which were to play the part of barrier against the influx of opportunistic elements into the party. At the second, as at the first congress, the chief fire was directed to the right, against the opportunist centrists, as being the chief enemy. At the same congress

a struggle was waged against the errors of the "left wing" tendencies, against the infantile diseases of leftism. But the second congress recognised these infantile diseases as less dangerous and more easily remediable than the right wing opportunist errors. In accordance with this view the second congress adopted one attitude to the centrists who then were manifesting a trend towards the Communist International, and another to the revolutionary anarcho-syndicalist elements. For whilst before the war the main line of demarcation for the Marxists had to be drawn between them and the anarchists, the main line of demarcation now had to be drawn between the Communists together with the sympathetic masses of anarchist-syndicalist elements who recognise the dictatorship of the proletariat on the one hand, and the opportunists who reject that dictatorship or recognise it only in words, on the other. The second congress was essentially the first foundation congress, for it laid down all the bases in principle of the Communist parties, and on the basis of the decisions come to by the second congress a swift process of differentiation began in the centrist parties, and the fusion of the revolutionary sections with the Communist organisations.

Mass Communist parties began to take swift shape in Germany, France, Czecho-Slovakia and elsewhere. But the initial process of crystallisation of the Communist parties did not keep pace with the course of the revolutionary events, but lagged behind it. Consequently, with the active support of the social-democrats, the bourgeoisie succeeded in repulsing the first revolutionary attack of the proletariat in the West-European capitalist countries. This was owing to the fact that such mass parties, rich in revolutionary experience, has had been the Bolshevik party in Russia, were non-existent in the West-European capitalist countries at the moment of crisis, and that these parties only now had hurriedly to be organised under the fire of the first revolutionary battles. The Communists, such as the Spartacists and the Hungarian Communists, displayed great heroism in these battles, but they were still without the requisite qualities necessary for organising the revolution and for directing it in Leninist fashion.

THE third congress assembled in 1921 after a number of defeats had been inflicted on the European proletariat, defeats which had their apogee in the defeat of the March, 1921, attack in Germany. The third congress assembled at a moment when the European proletariat had to pass temporarily from attack to defence, when simultaneously, after the Kronstadt mutiny the Russian proletariat also had to execute an extensive manœuvre and to pass from war communism to NEP. In accordance with the new situation the third congress drew up the slogan, "To the Masses!" and the slogan of struggle for sectional demands with a view to winning the great masses. After the third congress, during the first two plenums of the E.C.C.I. and at the fourth congress, which met in 1922, the same basic line was followed.

With the same view to winning the masses the slogan of the "united front" was raised, and then the slogan of the "Workers' Government." These slogans of sectional demands were at that time inadequately clearly formulated, and in consequence at the E.C.C.I. third plenum and at the fifth congress it became necessary to give precision to their sense in order to avoid an opportunist interpretation. But independently of that, the Young Communist parties, which had only recently laid down lines of demarcation between themselves and centrism, found it difficult to assimilate this new tactics correctly. Only well tempered and ideologically strong Bolshevik parties could retreat and manœuvre without falling into opportunism. Consequently certain parties and tendencies in the Comintern sections in Latin countries refused to recognise the united front tactics or recognised it only partially (the Italian section) concealing their actual passivity behind "revolutionary implacability," whilst other parties and tendencies interpreted the united front tactics opportunistically in the sense of a left wing bloc (in France) or in the sense of a coalition with the social-democrats (in Germany and Czecho-Slovakia).

THIS inability to effect a Bolshevik combination of revolutionary endurance with tactical flexibility made itself felt when in 1923 a new revolutionary crisis arrived in

central Europe, in connection with the occupation of the Ruhr.

During this second revolutionary wave there were not only an objective revolutionary situation but also mass Communist parties, i.e., all the requisite conditions for a triumphant proletarian revolution were present. But the Young Communist parties which in 1921 had had to pass swiftly from attack to defence, and in 1923 had as swiftly to pass from defence to attack, proved unable to cope with the situation. Owing to its social-democratic vestiges, its un-Leninist understanding of the inter-relationship between the proletariat and the peasantry at a time of revolution, the Bulgarian Communist party remained passive during the Tsankov coup d'etat and the overthrow of the "peasant union" government of Stambulinsky, owing to the fact that Stambulinsky had also persecuted the Communists. This was a terrible mistake, which the isolated September rising, headed by the Communists, could do nothing to correct.

The Brandler leadership of the German Communist party had not succeeded in dropping their old left wing social-democratism wholly and completely for Leninism, or in assimilating the Leninist methods of organisation of the revolution; and when the moment of severe revolutionary crisis arrived they sang small, took the road of organic-coalition with the "left wing" social democrats, dammed up the revolutionary movement, severed themselves from the leading divisions of the proletariat, and capitulated without a struggle. And this at a time when in the localities the leading divisions of the proletariat, led by the Communists, were heroically struggling, as at Hamburg, or were straining for the struggle, as at Berlin. In Poland, during the Cracow rising, the Communist leadership committed profoundly opportunist errors, revealing the existence of strong social-democratic survivals of their old left wing radicalism similar to that of the Brandlerites.

ALL this showed that the sincere desire to accept all the Comintern resolutions, drawn up in a strict Leninist spirit, is still far from meaning that one has become a real Leninist; and in order to achieve that it is also necessary, as Lenin said in his last speech at the Comintern fourth congress, to

learn to translate the Russian revolutions into the various languages, and this can only be done on the basis of personal experience. Consequently the Comintern fifth congress, which assembled in 1924, summarised all the above indicated opportunistic errors, and put forward the "Bolshevisation" of the party as the basic slogan.

After the fifth congress it became manifest that a period of partial stabilisation of capitalism had arrived, with the realisation of the Dawes Plan, and with the beginning of the revival of German capitalism on the ground prepared by the defeats of the German proletariat.

This estimate of the new world situation was given by the Comintern at the E.C.C.I. fifth plenum in 1925. The partial stabilisation of capitalism in Central Europe had engendered ultra-left deviations in those C.P.'s which had already lived through revolutionary battles (the German, Polish, Italian and Soviet Union C.P.'s. In the C.P. of Germany these leftward deviations were expressed in the trade union and party tactics, which led to a severance from the proletarian masses, while in the C.P.S.U. they found expression in the Trotskyist opposition, which preached a tactics leading to a severance from the main peasant masses. The same partial stabilisation engendered rightward deviations in parties which had not so far experienced a direct revolutionary situation and had not yet smelt powder (France and Czecho-Slovakia). The ultra-lefts of the 1925-26 period were in marked distinction from the ultra-lefts of 1921-22. The ultra-leftism of 1921-22 was in the nature of an "infantile disease of leftism." The ultra-leftism of 1925-26 reflected the despondent mood of the petty bourgeois elements of the Communist parties (Ruth Fischer, Trotsky). In exactly the same way the rightward deviations of 1925-26 were much more injurious than the rightward deviation of 1920-21; at that earlier period part of the right wingers together with the masses stood on the road leading to Communism, whilst now the rightward deviations connoted a retreat from Communism. In accordance with this changed situation the struggle waged by the Comintern against these deviations, begun with the open letter of August, 1925 to the

German C.P. was much more ruthless, and ended in expulsion from the party.

IN 1926-27, now on the basis of the partial stabilisation of capitalism, a revolutionary crisis developed in the far West and in the East. In Britain a general strike broke out, and afterwards the great revolution flamed up in China. In both these cases the proletariat once more suffered defeat; in Britain owing to conditions objective to the Communist party, and in China mainly owing to the immaturity of the leadership of the young, only then developing Communist Party.

In Britain, despite its extremely small numerical strength, the Communist Party succeeded in placing itself ahead of the movement, in moving it forward and conducing to the transformation of the economic into a political struggle. Here the proletariat suffered defeat not owing to any fault of the Communist party, but owing to the deeply rooted opportunism in the British labour movement, and owing to the proletariat's parliamentary illusions, which allowed the General Council the possibility of betraying the working class and lead it to defeat despite the excellent militant mood of the masses.

In China the Communist Party, a very young party and one under a purely "intellectual" leadership, was not able to put into force the sound strategic line which the Comintern had mapped out at the Eighth Plenum. Despite this the rank-and-file members of the Chinese C.P. performed prodigies of heroism in innumerable struggles. At the initial period of the revolution the Chinese C.P. leadership revealed inadequate independence, and became the allies of the national revolutionary bourgeoisie, an appendage to the Kuomintang. When the agrarian revolution began to develop, despite the instructions given by the Comintern, that leadership proved unprepared for the transfer from one stage of the revolution to another, and began to dam the agrarian revolution, so facilitating the victory of the Chiang-Kai-Shek counter-revolution. After the proletariat had suffered defeat the Chinese C.P. took a leftward course, but the new leadership overleapt the mark in this new direction and plunged into "putschism."

The first revolutionary cycle in China ended

with the Canton rising, which for the first time unfurled the banner of the Soviets in China and to that extent was of very great historical significance. But this was the end of the first revolutionary wave. It was not the beginning of a new—the new wave of revolution still lies ahead. In both these cases, that of the general strike in Britain and the revolution in China, just as during the revolutionary crisis of 1923 in Germany, it was revealed that the proletariat and its advance-guard, the Communist Party, could achieve victory under present historical conditions not all at once, but only after a great "dress rehearsal," as was the case with the proletariat of Russia, which succeeded in being victorious owing to the rehearsal of 1905.

AFTER the defeat of the British general strike and the Chinese revolution, the "third period" in the crisis of capitalism arrived. The intensification of internal and international antagonisms, and the leftward trend of the working class on the one hand, and the formation of a united counter-revolutionary front from the extreme conservatives to the "left wing" social-democrats inclusive on the other, all factors arising out of this third period, dictated new tactics. The Comintern gave timely formulation to these tactics in February, 1928, at the E.C.C.I. ninth plenum, in reference to the C.P.'s of France and Britain, under the slogans of "Class against class," and of a more resolute struggle against social-democracy, and the establishment of a united front only from the bottom up. Later, at the Profintern fourth congress the new course was applied to the developing economic struggles also. At this fourth congress the questions of the independent leadership by the C.P.'s of the economic struggle and of the relation of the C.P.'s to the unorganised masses were raised for the first time.

THE intensification of the antagonisms, the approach of the war danger, the maturing of enormous economic struggles in the capitalist countries and the simultaneous intensification of the class antagonisms in the U.S.S.R. have evoked vacillations to the right in all the sections of the Comintern. In its theses the sixth congress gave a general

characterisation of the present "third period" of the crisis in capitalism, and gave instructions for the struggle with the right wing danger and with the conciliators as being the chief danger in the Comintern at the present stage. At the same time the sixth congress drew up the program of the Communist International, which program was the expression of all the experience of the past revolutionary movements of the proletariat, and formulated the tasks arising out of that experience and out of the present-day historical situation.

Since the sixth congress all the sections of the Comintern have been participating in struggles and are preparing themselves for still greater struggles. The C.P.S.U. is mobilising the masses for the elimination of economic difficulties, for the elimination of the defects in the Soviet and economic machinery, for raising the productivity of labour, for raising the labour discipline in the factories and works, for raising the fertility of the land, the development of collectivisation in the villages, the struggle with the kulaks and with the capitalist elements in the towns, and the defence of the Republic against the imperialist intervention now preparing. The sections of the Comintern in capitalist countries are learning to master an independent leadership in the growing economic struggles and to transform them into political battles, breaking through the united front of trustified capital, State machinery and social-democracy, overcoming the sabotage of the right wing and conciliatory elements in their own ranks. In these countries, the Comintern sections are also mobilising the masses against intervention in the U.S.S.R. All the Comintern sections are reorganising their ranks, carrying on a struggle with the right wingers and conciliators, with the backward, vacillating, retreating (or on the point of retreating) elements, all along the line.

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THUS the Communist International has traversed and is still traversing the road laid down for it by the genius of their leader Lenin. We now stand before a new cycle of wars and revolutions. The imperialist bourgeoisie is seeking a way out of the present crisis of capitalism by the method of new imperialist wars, and first and foremost by a war against the Soviet Republic: the centre of the world revolution.

We cannot say when this cloud will burst, but we know that when the world bourgeoisie decides to play this, its last card, it will have on its side all the international social-democracy, as it had them on its side in 1914. But they will be incomparably more abject, incomparably more slavishly devoted to their bourgeois master. But against it will be the Soviet Republic, which is not retrogressing as all the chorus of social-democrats and Communist renegades would assure us, but grows stronger with every year, overcoming all difficulties. Against it will be the vast and ever vaster masses of the proletariat in the capitalist countries, which have already outlived or are in process of outliving their bourgeois democratic illusions, which have already accumulated a rich experience in revolutionary battles, which are ranged and will remain ranged around the banner of Communism. Against it will be the millions and millions of peasants in the colonies and semi-colonies, a considerable proportion of which has already had revolutionary experience, and the enormous majority of which desires to obtain its emancipation from the imperialistic yoke. And finally, against it will be not the Second International, opportunistically degenerate, as in 1914, but the Third International, which stands firmly by the teaching of Marx and Lenin, the teaching of the Paris Commune and of October. Consequently we can await the future with confidence. "Let come what may, the triumphal holiday will be for us to keep," as the great Russian Socialist, Cherenyshevsky, said.

The Comintern in the East

“THE socialist revolution will be not only and mainly a struggle of the revolutionary proletarians in every country against their own bourgeoisie; no, it will be a struggle of all the colonies and countries oppressed by imperialism against international imperialism.” This indication of the role, the importance and the specific weight of the colonial struggle in the world proletarian revolution, given by Lenin in his speech at the All-Russian Congress of Communist Organisations of Eastern Peoples, was made on the basis not only of a scientific prediction, but of the experience of the first large-scale open struggles between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie in a number of important areas. The Russian Communist Party programme adopted in the spring of 1919, in presaging the approach of the world social revolution, indicated that the civil war of the toilers against the imperialists and exploiters in all the foremost countries was beginning to join forces with the national war against international imperialism. As we know, comrade Lenin demanded that the programme should lay down “with absolute exactitude that which existed.” Thus, even at the foundation of the Comintern, it was possible to speak with absolute exactitude of the beginning of a unification of two streams: the revolutionary pressure of the workers within each country, on the one hand, and the revolutionary pressure of the peoples oppressed by imperialism on the other.

To-day, summarising the results of ten years of the Comintern's struggle, on the basis of experience one can write not only of the various forms of the unification of these streams, but also of the character of the combined blows which alone can avail to effect a real break in the imperialist front and an overthrow of imperialism by a combination of the proletarian struggle with the colonial revolution.

THE first five years of the Comintern's struggle could, to a certain extent, be characterised mainly as a period of open militant attacks of the proletariat in the Euro-

pean capitalist countries. The distinctive feature of the second five years is the rise of the wave of revolutionary insurrections and battles of the colonial peoples, battles which, although different in degree of organisation, consciousness and scale, and by the role and importance of the proletarian leadership, are nonetheless bound up one with another as parts of the world proletarian revolution.

Whilst the first five years were mainly a dress rehearsal for the last decisive battle in the capitalist countries, the second five years were a rehearsal, a preparatory advance-guard battle, which was carried on throughout the world, in various longitudes and latitudes.

Summarising the results of the colonial revolution, it is necessary first and foremost to say that nowhere has the revolution of the oppressed masses yet fulfilled its task, nowhere has a temporarily achieved victory been successful in stabilising its position and maintaining itself against the counter-attack of world capital. Moreover, in a number of countries the colonial revolution has already, in its development and transference to a higher stage of the class struggle, come up against the open treachery of the bourgeois wing of the national emancipation movement; treachery which has been manifested by the union of the native bourgeois forces with imperialism against the proletariat and the peasantry. Further, the struggle has been held up at the initial stage, before the class differentiation in the national camp had become completely clear to the masses. Everywhere, and in certain cases after big victories, the revolutionary movement of the masses has been drowned in blood, has been decapitated by the mass extermination of the finest militants of the proletariat and the pauperised peasantry. None the less, the colonial revolution is still alive. Not only is it alive in the sense that nowhere has bourgeois nationalism in alliance with imperialism been successful in resolving the most elementary of the tasks of the colonial revolution, not only in

the sense that the policy of imperialism in all countries is acquiring an increasingly aggressive and predatory nature, excluding all possibility of any "liberalism" whatever in its maintenance of colonial monopoly, not only in the sense that new sections of humanity are beginning to be drawn into the revolutionary struggle (within the last few months the black slaves of tropical Africa, who hitherto have stood outside the world movement), not only in the sense that the general crisis of capitalist economy compels the imperialistic rivals into a frantic chase to extend the territory of their colonial robbery. These are not the only reasons why the colonial parts of the world revolution are increasing in numbers and in strength. The surety that the oppressed will reach their victory with the minimum possible sacrifice, in the minimum possible historical period, is the fact that, being part of the world revolution, the colonial revolution has already learnt, in Marx's words, to be "ever self-critical; they . . . are pitilessly scornful of the half-measures, the weaknesses, the futility of their preliminary essays. . . . Again and again they shrink back, appalled before the vague immensity of their own aims. But, at long last, a situation is reached whence retreat is impossible." (*Eighteenth Brumaire*, 1926 ed.) The colonial revolution has become a fact, and so it is capable of learning by its past errors, of drawing lessons from its defeats, of accumulating experience, in consciousness and action, in the theory and practice of its advance-guard.

IN the colonial countries with the largest sections of industrial and railway proletariat, the Communists have succeeded in developing their organisations, despite the appalling terror, despite the mobilisation of all the forces of imperialism with the object of breaking down all connection, all relations between the fighters of the colonies and the international proletariat, despite all the highly rationalised methods of provocation and espionage, bribery and deception, with the aid of which the imperialist bourgeoisie seeks to poison the national revolutionary movement. Even where Communists have been burnt as torches on the streets, where thousands are rotting alive in exile for being suspected of

sympathy for Bolshevism, where the hunt after every class-conscious worker is pursued with all the resources of "bourgeois civilisation"—even there the proletariat has succeeded in preserving the Communist Parties and groups in one form or another, in larger or smaller numbers; has succeeded in developing the idea of Soviets and the Soviet revolution as a motive and as an organising force. The Canton rising and the slogans bloodily impressed on its standards constitute an advance-post on the front of the colonial struggle, and possibly for many countries a far-flung advance-post. But no matter where the colonial revolution may break out, no matter what the stage through which it passes, the Chinese experience is vital for it. No matter how heavy the blows suffered by us, no matter how great our losses, no matter how feeble has been the work of the C.P.'s of the imperialist countries in the task of active participation in the colonial struggle, no matter how rare the indispensable Marxist literature which has so far reached the toiling masses of the colonies and semi-colonies, still one can definitely say that the idea, the slogans and the principles of the Soviet revolution have now been translated into the language of all the oppressed peoples, are already beginning to enter into their practical struggle.

The co-ordination of the two streams of the world revolution—the proletarian and the colonial—has to a greater or less extent already been achieved in the ideological, class, political sphere. More than that it is impossible to say at present; organisationally the connection is far from adequate to deprive imperialism of the technical possibility of inflicting blows on separate, dis severed divisions of the socialist revolution. The absence of an adequate organisational connection between the colonial insurrections and the international proletariat cannot but intensify the scattered nature of the attacks of the toilers in isolated colonies and semi-colonies. The differences in time, in kind and in place of these attacks make it easier for imperialism to throw itself with united forces on that section of the colonial revolution most dangerous to it at any given moment.

THE most serious attacks on British imperialism during the last five years—the General Strike and the miners' lock-out and the Chinese revolution—were disintegrated from the organisational aspect. Whilst handling the General Strike, bribing its staff, with the aid of the reformists accomplishing the complicated manœuvre of breaking up the workers' organisations during the miners' lock-out, British imperialism could work without a glance to the East. At that particular moment no direct danger threatened its rear from China or India. And immediately after, imperialist Britain could take the road of military intervention in China, having had its hands completely free to achieve the break-up of its workers and the complete paralysis of the trade unions. Thus the British strike was not supported by a movement in the colonies; on the other hand, the Chinese revolution did not receive any real proletarian support from the British workers, without which its victory was impossible. The rising in Indonesia broke out before it had obtained the possibility of co-ordinating its action with the revolution in China, and the anæmic Dutch imperialism could risk a war with the millions of masses, knowing that, in the event of its failure, it was ensured the support of world imperialism, which at that time was not tied up in the military partitioning of China. As we know, in Indonesia itself the rising in Java was suppressed before the risings in the other islands had broken out, and these latter were in their turn shattered by the Dutch troops who had been set free by the bloody execution in Java. The same can be said of the war campaign of the Rifis in Northern Africa in 1925 against the French and Spanish imperialisms, which campaign waxed and waned without any correspondence with the Druse rising in Syria, which in its turn developed isolated from the flows and ebbs of the workers' movement in France. In South and Central America a number of risings, elemental strikes and mass anti-imperialist movements, which had as their source a protest against the aggressiveness of North American imperialism, and were to a greater or less degree a reflection of the Mexican revolution, remained within the bounds of isolated countries, and could

not unite in a general movement against the dictatorship of Washington. Even the heroic guerilla war in Nicaragua did not become the centre of such a unification. Finally, the two revolutionary colonial streams which possibly are destined to play a decisive role in the coming five years, the Chinese and the Indian revolutions, despite the unquestionable growth of mutual activity between them, prove to be separated at the highest points of their development: the curve of the revolutionary wave in India, which is now rising to a level which, in the sense of the activity of the working masses, is so far unprecedented, coincides with an interval between two waves in the Chinese revolution.

THE dissipation, the isolation of the movements in separate colonies, is the result of the fact that imperialism has still retained its ability to manœuvre in the East, partly in consequence of the inequality of the degree of economic development of the Eastern countries, partly in consequence of the absence of open conflicts in the imperialist camp, and partly because imperialism still has at its disposal its influential agents among the workers (reformism) and in the colonial (bourgeois nationalism) movements. From this aspect the basic strategic task in the organisational sphere is work for the co-ordination of attacks in at least the most important colonies and semi-colonies, whilst ensuring a genuinely revolutionary support from the proletariat of capitalist countries during the period of the development of its activity. But it is necessary also to take into account the other side of this phenomenon. The very variety of the forms of colonial revolution, its wide dimensions, embracing the most heterogeneous countries in their economic development and character of oppression, the very periodicity of the wave flowing across all the continents, with all the variation in time and in the level of the highest flood-points, all witness to the profundity of the forces which are being developed in the colonies against the entire imperialist system. The inequality of the development of imperialism, conditioning inevitably the inequality of development of the colonial movement, has none the less as its basic tendency the strengthening, dissemina-

tion and intensification of the imperialist oppression, and consequently the extensification and intensification of the struggle of the oppressed masses against their enslavers.

"The misfortune of the Irish," Lenin wrote in 1916 (*Results of the Discussion on Self-Determination*), "consists in the fact that they rose at the wrong time, when the European insurrection of the proletariat had not yet matured. Capitalism is not constructed so harmoniously that different sources of insurrections should overflow at once of themselves without failures and defeats. On the contrary, it is the fact of their variation in time, in nature and in place that guarantees the extent and the depth of the general movement; only in the experience of revolutionary movements which are untimely, sectional, disintegrated and therefore unsuccessful, the masses will acquire experience, learn to assemble their forces and discover their true leaders, the socialist proletariat, and thus prepare the general attack, just as separate strikes, local and national demonstrations, outbreaks in the army, explosions among the peasantry and so on prepared the general attack in 1905."

WHAT was correct in 1916 when applied to Ireland, can now be applied to all the national revolutionary movements, with the one essential proviso that the very scale of the struggle has grown extraordinarily, has taken on world dimensions, and that in accordance with this the very character and content of that struggle have changed. We have had untimely, sectional, scattered, and consequently unsuccessful, revolutionary movements, but on a scale embracing tens and hundreds of millions of toilers. The experience acquired as the result of these failures has consequently become the experience of the overwhelming majority of oppressed humanity. Forces are still far from everywhere, and in any case far from adequately assembled, the advance-guard of the national movement has far from sufficiently developed and organised. But still it can be said with confidence that everywhere the revolutionary wave has passed, the oppressed masses have seen their true leaders, the Communist proletarians, have realised the necessity of their leadership, and

the new rise of the revolutionary wave will have its beginning and development under the leadership of the proletariat.

But if the colonial revolution has nowhere yet succeeded in solving its tasks, the past ten years are characterised only by a first wave of that revolution, the 1905 "rehearsal" in the colonies, merely opening the road to their October, then in what sense can one speak of the successes of the Communist movement and Communist tactics in the colonial East?

IN a speech devoted to the first anniversary of the Comintern, made at the triumphal session of the Moscow Soviet on March 6th, 1920, comrade Lenin raised very definitely the question of the inter-relationships between the direct and complete victory of the socialist revolution and the successes of the Comintern, as an organisation preparing and organising that victory. Lenin said: "During the first period of the revolution, many hoped that the socialist revolution would begin in Europe at the moment directly connected with the close of the imperialist war, for at that moment, when the masses were armed, the revolution could have been achieved with the greatest success even in certain countries of the West. . . . It transpired that this was not so; revolution on such a swift scale did not occur." In the same speech, in summarising the year's activity of the Comintern, Lenin said: "During this past year the Communist International has achieved successes which one could never have hoped for, and one can say boldly that no one expected such enormous successes when it was founded." How is this seeming contradiction—the enormous success of the Comintern, on the one hand, and the impossibility of achieving a solution of the tasks of the revolution on such a swift scale as many had hoped, on the other—to be explained? By the fact that the obstacles on the road to the victorious development of the revolution proved to be much more serious than had been expected; in particular in western Europe, the treachery of the socialist leaders proved to be stronger and they had greater influence than was to have been expected. In "An Infantile Disorder," Lenin pointed out that after "the proletarian revolution in Russia and the victories of that revolu-

tion on an international scale, victories unexpected to the bourgeoisie and the philistines, the whole world has become different, the bourgeoisie everywhere have become different also. Still earlier, in the following words, he characterised the entire system of difficulties revealed in the process of the socialist revolution and demanding the extension of the front of struggle and the drawing in of fresh reserves in order to overcome them:

"It is quite clear that the socialist revolution, which is moving on the whole world, can in no way consist only in the victory of the proletariat in each country over its own bourgeoisie. That would be possible if the revolution proceeded easily and swiftly. We know that the imperialists do not allow that, that all countries are armed to the teeth against their own internal Bolshevism, and all countries are thinking only of how to defeat Bolshevism at home. Consequently, civil war is arising in every country, and the old socialist compromisers are drawn into that war on the side of the bourgeoisie. Thus the socialist revolution will not be only and mainly a struggle of the revolutionary proletariat in each country against its own bourgeoisie; no, it will be a struggle of all colonies and countries oppressed by imperialism against international imperialism." (Speech at the All-Russian Congress of the Communist organisations of Eastern peoples.)

BUT just because the revolution has need of drawing in ever fresh reserves, of the finest organisations of the advance-guard, of bringing up more and more of the vast masses to the fighting lines in order to achieve the victory, the Comintern's success in its propagandist organisational work is not necessarily to be accompanied immediately by a direct resolution of the ultimate tasks of the socialist revolution. Consequently, when talking of the speed with which the influence of the Comintern was extended during the first years, passing as it did "from victory to victory," Lenin did not consider that this estimate was refuted by the fact which he himself recognised, namely that "the revolution (in Western Europe) had taken a slower road: It had taken our road, but at a much slower pace."

THE same has to be said in no less even if in no greater degree of the second five years of the Comintern, one of the characteristic features of which period is the entry of the colonial reserves. There is no justification whatever for hiding or depreciating those political, tactical and organisational errors, weaknesses and gaps which have been displayed with great severity, especially in the colonies, or for refusing to admit that the revolution has here had to decide the most difficult tasks and to carry out the most complex of manoeuvres in a new, little studied, peculiar situation. In its decisions, the Sixth Congress of the Comintern gave an estimate of these errors, an analysis of their sources, and, on the basis of this experience, formulated lessons for the coming struggle. But there is just as little justification for not seeing the objective difficulties which have arisen on the road of revolution in the colonies.

"The whole world has now changed; the bourgeoisie have changed also; that situation has been revealed in the colonies still more strongly than even in the capitalist countries. Just because the colonial revolution has become a part, and an extraordinarily essential part, of the socialist revolution, imperialism is coming to regard any national emancipation movement of the masses, even in the most elemental of forms, as a direct threat to its existence. The Chinese revolution has appeared as a particularly menacing portent to imperialism. During the days of the victory of the Shanghai workers, it became clear as daylight to all, whether friends or foes, that the Chinese revolution had found the knot of the entire imperialist system. A decisive victory at this point would mean a mortal blow to that system. There ensued a mobilisation of all the forms of armament of world imperialism, not only of the fleet, not only of diplomacy, but of social-reformism, in order to win success at Shanghai, to maintain the "prestige," i.e., the "right" of colonial spoliation throughout the East. Only now is it evident what diplomatic efforts, what complaisance in relation to one another the imperialists displayed in the Shanghai and Wuhan days, in order to achieve unity of action to shatter the Chinese revolution. Now it may be as clear as daylight to the broad masses of the European and Ameri-

can proletariat that the reformists of all countries, and of Britain first and foremost, have reproduced the treachery of 1914 by giving their practical support to imperialism at that moment. The Indian revolution will have against it a united world imperialism, albeit in a different form from that applying in regard to China, because Britain's colonial monopoly arouses frantic jealousy on the part of American capital. The colonial revolution will only be able to exploit the conflicts in the imperialist camp to any real purpose after it has captured and consolidated important positions. This situation can only change in the direction of an essential alleviation of the tasks of the colonial revolutionary after the development of an open war conflict in the imperialist camp, i.e., after the beginning of a new world war.

"The treachery of the social-democratic leaders proved to be greater than one could have anticipated." Translated into the language of the class relationships in the colonies, this situation applies with all the more force, the more definitely the question of the intensification of the revolution is raised by the course of development. From this aspect, not only the very fact of the Canton commune, but all the road which led to it defined the treachery, and the ruthlessness of that treachery, on the part of bourgeois nationalism. Not only the imperialist, but the native bourgeoisie have changed. Naturally, not in all the colonies, because of the different degree of development of class relationships, has the treachery of bourgeois nationalism been determined with equal clarity. But there can be no doubt that no matter what the situation in which the colonial revolution develops in different countries, the approaching possibility of its intensification will project before it like a shadow the open transference of bourgeois nationalism to the camp of counter-revolution. Every movement forward, whilst drawing into itself and organising wider and wider masses of the toilers, will simultaneously extend the front of the class enemies of the revolution. Hence the inevitability of continually fresh, continually more resolute organisational efforts in order that the colonial revolutions should pass from their 1905 to their October.

The second five years have given flesh and

blood to the slogan issued by the Comintern for the peoples of the East: "Proletarians of all countries and oppressed peoples, unite!" The task of the coming five years is to achieve real victories under this slogan.

2.

CONCERNING this slogan Lenin wrote: "Of course, from the aspect of the Communist Manifesto this is inaccurate, but the Communist Manifesto was written under quite different conditions. From the aspect of the present day politics it is accurate. Relations have intensified in severity. All Germany is in ferment, all Asia is in ferment." (Lenin's speech on "Concessions," 27th November, 1920.)

In order to estimate the role and importance of the colonial struggle in the socialist revolution at the present time, it has to be remembered how this question arose at various stages of historical development, beginning from the time when the Communist Manifesto was written, down to our days. We can indicate merely the main points of that development, corresponding to the alterations in the objective situation, and only in the broadest outline.

In 1858 Marx wrote to Engels:

"In reality the task of bourgeois society consists in establishing a world market at least in broad outline, and in establishing a production resting on that basis. And as the world is a globe, it seems to me that with the colonisation of California and Australia, and with the open door in China and Japan, that job is done. The difficult question for us is: on the Continent the revolution is inevitable and will immediately take a socialist character. In this little corner will it not inevitably be shattered, owing to the fact that over an incommensurably wider territory the movement of bourgeois society is still along a rising line." Marx-Engels correspondence.—Translated from Russian.)

WHEN Marx raised this question there could still be no talk of the national emancipation movement in the colonies forming a part of the world socialist revolution. Hence the fear that the movement in the colonies, which was developing on the basis

of a rising line of capitalism, might hinder the development of the socialist revolution in Europe. It is true that before this, in 1853, Marx had written of India that: "In any case in the more or less distant future is to be expected with certainty a rebirth of this great and interesting country," at the same time pointing out that this rebirth was impossible "as long as in Great Britain itself the present ruling classes are not displaced by the industrial proletariat or the Indians themselves become sufficiently strong to shake off the British yoke once for all." ("India under British Rule," vide "Labour Monthly," December, 1925.) But, in the first place, this formula has a most general algebraic quality ("In the more or less distant future"), secondly, in talking of the two possibilities of a rebirth of India, either through a socialist revolution in Britain or through a national emancipation of the bourgeois society in India, Marx does not yet set the problem, which he formulated five years later, of the inter-relationships between the socialist revolution and the bourgeois democratic revolution in the colonies.

The problem formulated in 1858 in the article quoted above, was for Marx at that period bound up (as also was the assumption that not a national movement in Ireland, but a workers' movement in Britain itself would liberate Ireland) with the expectation of a speedy arrival of the socialist revolution in Europe. ("If," says Lenin, "capitalism in Europe had been overthrown as swiftly as Marx at first expected, there would have been no place for a bourgeois-democratic general national movement in Ireland.")

AS for Ireland, as the national movement arose and developed, Marx not only counselled the British workers to support it, but in 1870 provided a definite and complete formulation of the importance of the separation of Ireland to the acceleration of the socialist revolution in Britain. As we know, the "Jura Federation," which was under Bakunin's influence, accused the General Council of the I.W.M.A. of demanding an amnesty for the Irish revolutionaries, and so occupying themselves with "local political issues not entering into their competence." In

giving an official answer to this reproach in a document of the General Council, Marx wrote:

"The attitude of the I.W.M.A. on the Irish question is very clear. Its first task is to accelerate the social revolution in Britain. To this end it is necessary to strike a decisive blow in Ireland." ("Letters to Kugelmann"—the resolution of the General Council for 1st January, 1870.)

In one of the letters written in this year Marx speaks of the importance of the Irish question to the international workers' movement in a still more categorical form:

"After many years of study of the Irish question, I have come to the conclusion that a decisive blow to the ruling classes of Britain can be inflicted not in Britain, but only in Ireland (and it would have a decisive importance for the workers' movement throughout the world." (Marx-Engels correspondence.)

THIS complete formula given by Marx agrees with the above quoted estimate of the role and importance of the colonial revolution given by Lenin. The difference, but one which practically is very essential, is that Marx at that time had no justification for extending that formula to the national revolutionary movement in the colonies, whilst Lenin could state that "the East . . . has finally been drawn into the mill-wheel of the revolutionary movement."*

But as soon as the first signs of a possible rise of the movement appeared in India, Marx gave not only a clear picture of the British spoliation of the last type, a picture which retains all its aptness even for the present time, but also speaks more definitely of the forces which were ripening for insurrection against the colonial oppression. In a letter of 1881, he wrote:

* This distinction may not be obvious at first glance owing to the fact that Marx and Engels call Ireland a colony ("Ireland may be regarded as the first British colony, one which by its proximity to the metropolis is still administered in the old way" (Engels' letter to Marx, 23rd May, 1856). But it is necessary to realise that Engels distinguishes between a true colony, i.e., land occupied by European population, and "only subjected lands, occupied by natives." In modern terminology the first developed into dominions, the second are colonies.

"In India serious difficulties are being prepared for the British Government, if not general risings. The amount which the British take annually from the Indians—in the form of rent, railway dividends from railways useless to the Indians themselves, pensions to military and civil officials, costs of the Afghan and other wars, etc., the amount which they take without any equivalent and quite independently of what the Indians must send annually to Britain quite without recompense—exceeds the entire total sum of the receipts of the sixty million land and industrial workers of India! This is a bloody, a clamant affair. Famine years follow one after another there and reach dimensions unprecedented in Europe. A real conspiracy is being formed among the population against the British, and in it the Hindus and Moslems are participating jointly. The British Government knows that a "ferment" of some kind is going on in the masses, but these superficial people (I refer to the governmental officials) do not want to see clearly in front of them, do not want to realise the full dimensions of the danger threatening them! To delude others, so as finally to delude themselves—there you have all parliamentary wisdom in a few words! So much the better!" (Marx-Engels Correspondence. Letter to Danielson, 19th February, 1881.)

MARX did not survive to the period when the chief colonial markets were opened by force and captured by imperialism. That period, when capitalist production has almost exhausted all the possibilities of resolving the internal antagonism of its development by emergence on to the external, free market (the nineties), could be observed by Engels. Nor did Engels live to see imperialism (one of the symptoms of which, as we know, was the territorial partitioning of all the colonies among the largest imperialist Powers). But he could realise that British and Japanese trade was inflicting mortal blows on China's national isolation, and was drawing it into the world capitalist turnover. The presence of inter-action between the processes in the colonies and the destruction of the very bases of the capitalist system could be established by him with complete scientific cer-

ainty. In letters written from 1892 to 1894, Engels returns several times to the question of what importance to the development of the socialist revolution has the fact of the conquest of China by capitalism? Thus in a letter to Danielson in 1892 Engels points out the "heroic resources of commercial policy" which are applied by capitalist countries, *i.e.*, the violent opening up of new markets for themselves, and says:

"The latest market thus opened to British trade, and one capable of evoking a temporary revival of prosperity, is China. This is why British capital is so insistent on the construction of Chinese railroads. But Chinese railroads connote the destruction of all the bases of petty Chinese agriculture and home industry, whilst in this case this evil will not be compensated for even to a small extent by the development of their own large-scale industry. And so hundreds of millions of people will be reduced to a complete impossibility of existence. The result will be such a mass emigration as the world has never seen before, and one which will flood America, Europe and Asia with the hated Chinese. This new competition in the labour sphere will begin to compete with American, Australian and European labour on the basis of the Chinese conception of a satisfactory standard of existence; and, as we know, the Chinese standard of existence is the lowest of all the standards existing in the world. And so, if the entire system of production in Europe does not succeed in changing before this moment arrives, it will have to take steps to make the necessary adjustment then." (*Ibid.*)

CONCERNING the influence which the disintegration of the old economic and social system in China will have on the development of the revolution in capitalist countries, Engels writes in 1894:

"Millions will be left idle, and will be compelled to emigrate; they will make their road to Europe, which they will overflow in masses. This mass competition, both in your country and in this, will swiftly drive the situation on to a *dénouement*. Thus the conquest of China by capitalism will at the same time give an impetus to the crash of capitalism in Europe and America." (*Ibid.*)

As we have seen, in the eighties Marx had as yet no basis for talking of the existence of inter-activity between the processes in the colonies and the general crisis of capitalism.

But in the above cited letters Engels in the nineties can characterise the economic and social crisis in the colonies as a factor in the general crisis of the whole capitalist system. In such a situation, the colonial problem is an element which intensifies the intrinsic antagonisms of capitalism and accelerates its destruction. But at the same time Engels does not refer as yet to the oppressed masses of China as independent participants in the world revolution, as an active ally of the socialist proletariat. Further, the influence of the economic crisis in the colonies, and particularly in China, on the revolution in Europe and America, is here presented in the form of mass emigration, which by flooding the capitalist countries will there set up impossible conditions of labour and undermine the whole system of capitalist production. The strength of the influence of the mass Chinese emigration was, as we know, to a considerable extent mitigated by the barriers raised to it by the capitalist countries, as the result of which the inter-action between the process of conquering China for capitalism and the crash of capitalism in Europe and America took other forms.

FROM the aspect of the mass inter-relationships which still existed in Engels' days between the national emancipation movement in the colonies and the maturing proletarian revolution in the imperialist countries, it was impossible not to take into account also the possibility that after the victory of the socialist revolution in the capitalist countries certain colonies, in which the emancipation movement would be headed by elements afraid of the colonies being drawn into the road of socialist development, would declare war against the socialist state. As we know, Engels raised this question very clearly in a letter to Kautsky written in 1892. Lenin, when quoting this letter in 1916, wrote:

"Engels by no means assumes that the economic revolution would of itself and directly solve all the difficulties. The economic revolution will stimulate all the peoples to trend towards socialism, but at the same time it is

possible that there will be revolutions against the socialist State and wars. The adaptation of policy to economy will occur inevitably, but not at once and not smoothly, not simply, not directly. Engels only postulates one factor as "unquestionable," and that is an unconditionally internationalist principle which he applies to all "foreign peoples," *i.e.*, not only to the colonial peoples; to compel them to be happy would mean to undermine the victory of socialism." (Lenin: "Results of the Discussion on Self-Determination.")

Engels' letter can serve now as an indication of the distance the colonial revolution has travelled during the last two decades.

At the present time, the attack of such emancipated colonies as India against the victorious proletariat in the metropolis is very improbable. At the present time, the overthrow of the imperialists in the colonies, as also the victory of the socialist revolution in the capitalist countries, given the fusion of both the streams of revolutionary struggles, pre-supposes such an international solidarity of the toilers as cannot but have a still greater effect at the moment of and after the victory of the proletariat. On the other hand, the interweaving of the native reactionary forces with imperialism, the rapprochement between them and bourgeois nationalism, has gone so far, and it will go still farther in the most important colonies and semi-colonies, that the defeat of imperialism will simultaneously connote the defeat of the feudal reaction and the treacherous bourgeois nationalism. And finally, the role of the industrial, transport and agricultural workers and the peasant poor in the national revolutionary movement will grow as the fighting ability of the proletariat in the capitalist countries grows stronger, and this will make more and more probable the hegemony of the proletariat in the national revolution at the moment of the crash of the imperialist machine of enslavement.

THE epoch of wars and proletarian revolutions changes the character of the national emancipation movement. This assumption was given definite formulation in the following words of Lenin:

"Whilst before the epoch of world revolution the movement for national emancipation

constituted part of the general democratic movement, now, however, after the victory of the Soviet revolution in Russia and the beginning of the period of world revolution, the movement for national emancipation constitutes part of the world proletarian revolution."

But even during the epoch of imperialism the character of the colonial movement as part of the world proletarian revolution is not defined in a moment. During the course of this epoch one can also distinguish two main periods in the development of the colonial movement; the first period is that of the awakening of the East; the second is the "direct participation of the peoples of the East in the determination of the destinies of the whole world."

The first period, defined by the beginning of the development of monopoly capitalism, received a mighty impulse from the 1905 revolution. Before the imperialist war, or rather during the pre-war period, Lenin had already counterposed "advanced Asia" to "backward Europe."

"World capitalism and the Russian movement of 1905 has completed the awakening of Asia. Hundreds of millions sunk and demoralised in mediæval stagnation have awakened to a new life and to the struggle for the elemental rights of humanity, for democracy. . . . The awakening of Asia and the beginning of the struggle for power among the leading proletariat of Europe herald the new period of world history which is opening at the beginning of the twentieth century." ("The Awakening of Asia." 1913.)

IT is as yet impossible to say what will be the results of the settlement of capitalist production in the colonies during this period. On the other hand, for the proletariat of Europe the struggle for power has not as yet developed to such an extent as to be able to guide the national revolutionary stream into its proper channel and carry it along with itself, directing it along a socialist duct. Both the character and the motive forces of the colonial revolution during this first period were defined by this. It is a question of struggle for the "elementary rights of humanity, for democracy." The bearers of this democratic movement are the peasantry, the intelligentsia, the bourgeoisie. In contraposition to the

imperialist bourgeoisie of the West, "already three-quarters rotten," Lenin speaks of the bourgeoisie of the East as "there still going with the people against reaction." (Ibid.) The main question linked up with this class character of the motive forces of the revolution consists in how much will be permanently won by this method of conquest.

"The Chinese freedom is won by the alliance of the peasant democracy and the Liberal bourgeoisie: whether the peasants, undirected by a party of the proletariat, will be able to hold on to their democratic positions against the liberals who are only awaiting a convenient moment in order to turn to the right—only the distant future will show." ("Renewed China," 1912.)

STANDING by the cradle of the national emancipation movement in the colonies under imperialism, Lenin diagnoses the chief danger, which revealed itself completely only at later stages of development, in one form in Kemalist Turkey, with a comparatively weak development of the proletariat, and in the other form in Chiang-Kai-Shek China, where a mass proletarian movement has already developed and the conditions for the hegemony of the proletariat have matured. But at that time it was still impossible to speak of the proletariat as the motive force of the revolution. If one were to be realistic in one's opinions, one could and had to speak of the "peasantry undirected by a party of the proletariat."

But even such a correlation of class forces in the camp of the national emancipation movement as Lenin noted on the eve of the imperialist war could not be observed by Engels, when writing in 1882 on the rising of Arabi Pasha in Egypt against the British domination:

"It seems to me that on the Egyptian question you take the so-called national party too much under your protection. We do not know very much about Arabia. But there are ten who say that he is an ordinary pasha who does not want to allow the financiers the right of extracting taxes because he wishes to pocket them himself in Eastern fashion, for every one who holds a favourable opinion of him. It is once more the everlasting story of a peasant country. . . . The refusal to pay the

Khedive's debts is a clever move. But the question arises, what next? And we western European socialists must not allow ourselves to be bridled quite so easily as all the Egyptian fellaheen and all the Latin peoples. . . . In my view, we can very well come out in favour of the oppressed fellaheen, without sharing their momentary illusions (for a people composed of peasantry is customarily subjected to trickery for many centuries, until at last experience teaches them a little sense), and against the cruelties of the British, without at the same time allying ourselves with their temporary war antagonists," (Marx-Engels' Archives, vol. 1. Engels' letter to Bernstein, August 9th, 1882.)

It would be the worst of errors to draw from these words the conclusion that Engels at all under-estimated the obligation of the proletariat in regard to the national movements. Again and again Lenin pointed out that "the policy of Marx and Engels towards the Irish question gave a great model, one which retains an enormous practical importance down to the present time, of what attitude the proletariat of the oppressing nations should adopt towards national movements." ("The right of nations to self-determination," April, 1914.) But this model attitude became possible only just because Marx and Engels took a sternly critical attitude to the national question, correctly estimating its historic importance. The Comintern adopted this attitude completely and unconditionally in its decisions and in its practice. "For the proletariat and the Communist International during the epoch of imperialism it is especially important to recognise the definite economic facts, and in the resolution of all colonial and national problems to start not from abstract assumptions but from the phenomena arising in definite reality." (Lenin: "Speech at the Comintern Second Congress," 1920.)

THE above quotation from Engels' letter is suggestive just because at its basis lies a characterisation of the definite reality, because from this aspect it gives an estimate of the stage at which the national movement in Egypt had arrived. At that time, the revolutionary democratic forces which could have exploited such a "clever move" as the refusal to pay the Khedive's debts were still non-existent. Experience had not yet taught the fellaheen "sense." Thus the movement could

not get away from the influence of native feudalism. In such a correlationship of the class forces in the country, the movement headed by the national party could not become a starting point for the emancipation of the country from British domination.

Thus we have before us various forms of development of the colonial movement.

One is described by Engels in dealing with Egypt in the eighties, when the peasantry still submitted to the yoke of the pasha, who was striving to replace the oppression of imperialism by his own no less reactionary oppression.

The second is described by Lenin in reference to the awakening East, after the 1905 revolution and before the imperialist war: the peasant democracy is one of the bearers of the democratic movement. But the influence of the socialist proletariat is still absolutely non-existent, and could not exist.

The situation changes during the period of the imperialist war. The crisis associated with the war is revealed in the colonies. The tiny fires of nationalist insurrections break out in the colonies and in Egypt. The results of imperialism drawing the colonies into capitalist production are beginning to reveal themselves. In the theses relating to 1916, one of the clauses of which ("The socialist revolution and the right of the nations to self-determination") characterises the connection between the national and the colonial movement of the given epoch, Lenin wrote:

"The socialists must support the most revolutionary elements of the bourgeois-democratic, national emancipation movements in these countries ("semi-colonial countries, such as China, Persia, Turkey and all the colonies") in the most determined fashion, and aid their rising against the imperialist powers oppressing them."

After the October revolution and the beginning of the period of world revolution in the most highly developed countries, the prerequisites are set up for a mass Communist movement. In accordance with this, the Second Congress of the Comintern could give a complete characterisation of the motive forces of the colonial revolution.

IN his speech at the Second Congress of the Comintern Lenin, commenting on the purport of the theses on the national and colonial problems, put forward and emphasised the following main ideas:

"First, what is the most important, the main idea of our theses? The difference between the oppressed and the oppressing peoples. We underline this difference in contradistinction to the Second International and bourgeois democracy. This idea of the difference, the division of the peoples into oppressing and oppressed, pervades all the theses. The second governing idea of our theses consists in our view that in the present world situation, after the imperialist war, the mutual relationships of the peoples, the whole world system of States is determined by the struggle of a small group of imperialist nations against the Soviet movement and the Soviet States, at the head of which is Soviet Russia. . . . Third, I should like particularly to underline the question of the bourgeois democratic movement in the backward countries. This question indeed evoked certain differences of opinion. . . . There is not the least doubt that any nationalist movement can only be a bourgeois-democratic movement. . . . It would be Utopian to think that the proletarian parties, even if they can penetrate generally into such countries, can carry out Communist tactics and Communist policy in these backward countries, without having definite relations with the peasant movement, without supporting it in practice." But as "very frequently, and perhaps in the majority of cases, although the bourgeoisie of the oppressed countries support the national movement, at the same time they struggle against all the revolutionary movements and revolutionary classes," we "have considered the only sound attitude almost everywhere to substitute for the expression 'bourgeois-democratic' the expression 'nationalist-revolutionary.' The purport of this change is that we as Communists must and will support the bourgeois emancipation movements only when those movements are genuinely revolutionary, when their representatives will not hinder us from educating and organising the peasantry and the vast masses of the exploited in the revolutionary spirit." Further, "the unconditional duty of the Communist Parties, and of those elements which are attached to them, is to carry on propaganda for the idea of peasant Soviets, Soviets of toilers everywhere and anywhere, both in the backward countries and in the

colonies, and there they must strive, as far as conditions permit, to set up soviets of the toiling people." Finally, "the Communist International must establish and give theoretical basis to the assumption that, with the aid of the proletariat of the leading countries, the backward countries can pass to the Soviet system and, through definite degrees of development, to Communism, avoiding the capitalist stage of development." (Lenin, speech at the Second Congress of the Communist International.)

THE imperialist war dragged the dependent peoples into world history. It accelerated more and more the process of transferring capitalist production to the colonies. It snatched whole regiments of colonial divisions out of the scrap-heap and taught the "coloured" soldiers how to use firearms. "After the period of the awakening of the East, the period of the direct participation of the Eastern peoples in the resolution of the destinies of the whole world enters the present-day revolution." The East came finally to the revolutionary movement just because of that first imperialist war, and were finally drawn into the general world revolutionary movement. Imperialism is not in a condition either to annihilate or to diminish the importance of the fact that capitalist production is being transferred to the colonies. It is not in a condition to turn back the wheel of the historical cycle of events. The colonial monopoly may (and this is the case in growing degree) distort and caricature the industrial development of the colonies, damming the development of their productive forces, contracting those spheres of production which by their development might weaken the economic dependence of the colonies on the metropolises, and not allowing the colonies to industrialise in the real sense of the word. But it cannot turn them off the road of capitalist production. By combining the perfection of American and European rationalisation with the barbarian pecculation of vital labour power, it can thrust out of production the already developing ranks of industrial and railway proletariat, but it cannot restore the old pre-capitalist, social and economic relationships, under which the exhausted land could feed at least on famine

rations such as densely populated countries as India and China. Still less is it capable of mitigating to any extent whatever its own economic or political policy of violence and oppression. The experience of the counter-revolution in China and India, Indonesia, Morocco, Syria and so on, shows that nowhere has imperialism ever fulfilled, nor could it fulfil one of the promises given by it during the bloody suppression of the insurrections. The government of Chiang Kai Shek, set up by imperialism against the workers' and peasants' revolution, begins its "land reforms" with a million peasants condemned this year to hunger and hungry death; all the proposals of the "royal agrarian commission" in India, with its propagandist promises to revive the agriculture of the country, so far amount to a new famine disaster in the Indian countryside. The social-reformism which is penetrating into the colonies under cover of the terror, now taking on the form of yellow trade unions (in China), then the form of Mondism (in India) is the companion of and a factor in capitalist rationalisation, which connotes the combination of the rapacious colonial exhaustion of labour power with the most perfect methods of American-European exploitation.

THE more the general crisis of capitalism increases in severity, the more ruthless becomes the struggle for markets and for sources of raw materials and spheres for the investment of capital, the nearer the competition between the capitalists approaches to an open war conflict, so the more does every imperialist pillager become interested in the maintenance of its own colonial power, which puts into its uncontrolled disposition enormous material human resources. On the other hand, the farther capitalist development has proceeded in the one or the other colony, so the more dangerous does any demonstration of liberalism become for imperialism, for it cannot but intensify the antagonisms between the demands for the increase of productive power and the colonial oppression which provides the covering.

"Britain," wrote Marx in 1869, "has never governed Ireland in any other fashion, nor can it govern it so long as the present alliance continues, otherwise than by resort to the most

shameful of terror and the most contemptible of corruption." (Letter to Kugelmann.) This indication of the nature of colonial monopoly has reference to the period of industrial capitalism, during a rising curve in its development. During the epoch of imperialism, when all the world is divided up among a handful of large robbers, the terror of the colonial expropriators becomes more and more contemptible, its bribery more and more shameful. After a brief mitigation of the colonial pressure, evoked by a weakening in the position of imperialism in the colonies during the war, it is being renewed with fresh, monstrous force. "After this peaceful epoch we have witnessed a monstrous increase of oppression, we see a return to colonial and war oppression still worse than before." (Lenin: Report at Second Congress of the Comintern.)

Finally, after a number of colonial revolutions and bloody risings, the blows of which have been directed at the very heart of the capitalist system, after the imperialist expropriators have become convinced of the fact that they are not strong enough to call a halt to the revolutionary movement in the colonies, violence and provocation are becoming the sole form of administration of the colonies.

THE Sixth Congress of the Comintern, taking into account this historically definite and primarily economic situation, called on Communists, both in the imperialist countries and in the colonies, to unmask the lie that imperialism wishes or is able to carry out a policy of decolonisation or to move towards "the free development of the colonies" in any form whatever. In the colonies, where the growing antagonisms of imperialism are revealed particularly clearly, where the bourgeois civilisation went naked during the days of the flourishing of capitalism, in the colonies, Lenin's words, spoken concerning the period of the decline of the old world, have special application: "The bourgeoisie can at present torture, mutilate and murder freely. But it cannot stop the inevitable and, from the world historical aspect, by no means distant complete freedom of the revolutionary proletariat."

The present stage of the colonial revolution is defined, both by its general character and by the tendencies of its development, as part

of the world revolution. We have seen that the Soviet revolution was one of the mighty impulses as the result of which the movement of millions and hundreds of millions, in fact of the enormous majority of the population of the world, at first directed to national emancipation, is now being directed against capitalism and imperialism. And in order to ensure its further victorious development, the colonial revolution needs the support of the international proletariat and the support of the Soviet revolution.

"It is a self-evident fact that this revolutionary movement of the Eastern peoples can now be given a successful solution in no other way than in direct association with the revolutionary struggle of our Soviet Republic against international imperialism." (Lenin.)

It is instructive that the same thought, uttered at the congress of the Communist organisations of Eastern peoples, was considered by Lenin as needing repetition at the congress of toiling cossacks:

"In all the countries of the world, in the very India where three hundred million human beings, British agricultural labourers, are oppressed, there is an awakening to consciousness, and the revolutionary movement is growing with every day. They all gaze at one star, at the star of the Soviet Republic, because they know that that republic has made the greatest of sacrifices for the struggle with the imperialists, and has stood firm against desperate trials."

BUT this means that the very character of this form of emancipation movement, the place which it occupies in the international theatre of class struggle, is defined and verified by its relationship with the Soviet Union. This has reference to the estimate both of the various stages of the national movement, and also to the separate groups inside its camp. This situation, revealed immediately after October, is emphasised particularly strongly at the present time by the experience of the first round of colonial wars and revolts. The most instructive, but not the sole example, is the development of the Chinese revolution and counter-revolution. The turning point in that development was accompanied, as we know, by a change in atti-

tude towards the Soviet Union. From this aspect one can foresee whither the various national parties and groups in India are going. In India the large-scale bourgeoisie crossed the bounds dividing it from counter-revolution from the moment that it made its position in regard to the British war on the Soviet Union a matter for trading with the Baldwin Government. By lessons of heavy defeats and sacrifices the oppressed masses of the colonies are being convinced of the justice of the declaration made by the Second Congress, that "in the present-day international situation there is no salvation for the dependent and weak nations save in alliance with the Soviet republics."

But the October revolution gave not only a mighty impetus to the development of the national revolutionary movement. It also gave indications of how, in the peculiar circumstances of a country with a preponderance of pre-capitalist relationships, the alliance of the "peasant war" with the workers' movement is being prepared and achieved. Lenin emphasised the extremely "difficult and peculiar, but especially grateful task" confronting all the Communists of the East. Developing this thought, at the congress of the Communist organisations of the Eastern peoples he said:

"You must find peculiar forms of that alliance between the leading proletariat of all the world with the toiling and oppressed masses of the East who are living in mediæval conditions. We in our country have on a small scale achieved that which you will achieve on a large scale in large countries."

In one of his posthumous articles: ("On our revolution") Lenin approaches a characterisation of the peculiar features of the October revolution from the very aspect of what in the development of Russia bordered with the incipient and in part already begun revolutions of the East.

"It never enters their (the Mensheviks') heads that for instance Russia, standing on the confines of the civilised countries and the countries which for the first time by this war have been finally drawn into the sphere of civilisation, the countries of all the East, the non-European countries, that Russia consequently could and necessarily had to display certain peculiarities, lying, of course, along

the general line of world development, but distinguishing her revolution from all the older Western European countries and introducing certain partial novelties in the transition to the Eastern countries."

IT would, of course, be highly erroneous to put a "broad" interpretation on this indication of Lenin's in the sense of the transference of the Russian 1905, February and October to the colonial countries. The similar strategic task, the combination of the "peasant war with the workers' movement," must there find its solution under a completely different international situation, in a different distribution of class forces in the camp of revolution, in a different specific importance of the proletariat and the peasantry, at any rate in the majority of colonies.

Despite all these extraordinary important essential reservations, it remains unquestionable that without the experience of October the colonial revolutions could find neither political slogans nor tactical roads, nor organisational forms which would afford the possibility of ensuring the hegemony of the proletariat in the national revolutionary movement, and would win the oppressed masses of the colonies to the banner of the world revolution.

The organisational form of a possible closer alliance of the Communist proletariat of the oppressing countries with the revolutionary movement of the colonies and of the backward countries generally, is the formation of soviets in the backward countries. Starting from the experience of the October revolution, from the practical work of the Russian Communists in the former Tsarist colonies, where pre-capitalist relationships still dominated, at the Second Congress Lenin put forward the position that "the unquestionable duty of the Communist parties and of the elements attached to them is the propaganda of the idea of peasant soviets, of soviets of toilers anywhere and everywhere in both backward countries and in the colonies; and there they must strive so far as conditions permit to set up Soviets of the toiling people. . . ." (Report of the Commission on the national and colonial questions.)

The ten years' experience of the struggle has completely confirmed this instruction. No matter what the isolated errors committed in

putting it into practice, that idea has won the East. By the tenth anniversary of the Communist International one can state that the word "Soviet" exists not only in all the languages of the world, that it not only is to be heard everywhere where the oppressed, exploited masses rise in revolt against their enslavers, but that it is already being transformed into deed. The slogan of the Soviets as the form of the democratic dictatorship of the proletariat and the peasantry, ensuring the overthrow of the alien and national yoke and the realisation of the agrarian revolution, and making further development impossible, had been raised in China, Indonesia, India, Egypt, etc., even before Canton. Despite its tragic fate, the Canton commune incarnated that slogan in flesh and blood, carried it not only to the factories and works, where the proletariat, young but already rich in sacrifice, is organising its forces for new battles, but also into the huts of the pauperised peasantry, in whose consciousness is only just emerging a conception of the road of emancipation from slavery and serfdom.

THE soviet form of the colonial revolution is the form in which the plebeian democratic revolution in the colonies may grow up into a socialist revolution. As we know, this problem was set by Lenin in his speech at the congress in the form of a task: "to establish and theoretically to base this assumption that with the aid of the proletariat of the leading countries the backward countries can pass to the soviet system and by definite degrees of development to Communism, avoiding the capitalist stage of development."

To what extent has the solution of this task come nearer during the past decade? The answer to this question is rendered easier if we survey its historical conditions.

In answer to Vera Zaslitch's question whether it was possible for the Russian commune to develop in a socialist direction, Marx wrote:

"In order that collective labour may replace parcellised labour—the form of private appropriation—in agriculture, two things are necessary: the economic need for such a transformation, and the material conditions for its realisation." (Marx-Engels Archives, vol. 1, p. 275.)

The question of the socialist road of development of the colonies after the victory of the revolution includes the question of the development of the preponderantly pre-capitalist forms of economy into collective forms. In the investigation of this problem it thus becomes necessary to consider the presence of both the factors to which Marx referred :

1. The economic necessity of such a transformation.
2. The material bases for its realisation.

But is the method of stating this question of transformation permissible? Is not the capitalist stage of development of national economy inevitable to these backward countries which are now emancipating themselves? At the Second Congress Lenin gave an answer in the negative to this question. In his article "On Our Revolution" he established the general assumption that, "with a general co-ordinated law of development, at no time in world history are there excluded, on the contrary, there are to be expected separate spheres of development representing peculiarities either in form or in the order of that development."

WE know that this was also Marx's method of approach to the question of the destinies of Russian capitalism. In a letter in the Russian journal, "Journal of the Fatherland," devoted to this issue, Marx protested against the tendency "absolutely to transform my sketch of the origin of capitalism in Western Europe into an historico-philosophic theory of the general course of economic development, into a fatalist theory to which all peoples must be subjected, no matter what the historical conditions in which they find themselves." In the course of the letter he gives general indications as to the necessity of taking into account the peculiar, definite historical environment without which an understanding of the differences in the results arising from the similar international phenomena are not to be understood :

"Events startlingly analogous but arising in an historically different environment, lead to absolutely different results. Studying each of these evolutions in isolation, and then comparing them with each other, it is easy to find

the key to an understanding of these phenomena, but it is never permissible to come to their understanding by always and everywhere applying one and the same skeleton key of some historico-philosophic theory, the chief quality of which consists in its being super-historical." (Marx-Engels correspondence.)

Thus this formula of Marx really does not exclude but, on the contrary, presupposes that with a general co-ordinated law of development there will be "peculiarities either of form or in the order of development, the certain sectional novel features which determine the character of the revolution, its stages, its development in the corresponding countries.

From the aspect of a definite historical situation, what new factors has the development of the colonial revolution during the last ten years provided for the determination of the "necessities" and "possibilities" of its development in the corresponding countries?

1. The necessity of a socialist development of economy. The experience of the Chinese revolution has shown that imperialism cannot be driven out of the oppressed country if the axe is not laid to the roots of its economic power in the country. But these roots are first and foremost the strategic positions seized by imperialists in the sphere of production, transport, the credit system and trade. Hence the vital necessity that the revolution should nationalise the factories, banks, all the railway and automobile transport, the plantations, the large commercial syndicates, etc., seized by imperialism. But it must not be forgotten that China is only a semi-colony, and this involves the existence of rudiments of a government albeit superficially subjected directly to imperialism, and a rather larger possibility than in the colonies of developing national industry and trade. And meantime it has transpired in China that the greater the danger menacing imperialism, so the more desperately it hangs on to its privileges, the more closely and tightly it intertwines economic with political annexation, the more it strives to exploit all its economic resources in order to consolidate the political positions threatened, and at the same time the more frantically and passionately does it exploit political, diplomatic and military violence in order to consolidate the old and to seize new economic strategic points.

NATURALLY there still remains the possibility of economic without political annexation, *i.e.*, the economic subjection and exploitation of the formally independent country by finance capital. But the general intensification of the antagonisms throughout the capitalist system renders inevitable a tendency to the further fusion of economic annexation with colonial monopoly in the form of the further political enslavement of the "independent" countries. And so much the more in the colonies and semi-colonies, where imperialism could hold on and drown the revolt of millions in blood only owing to this fusion of the economic and political monopoly, so much the more is it impossible there to overthrow imperialism without expropriating it. This is confirmed in particular by the fact that in essence China is even now close to an open military partitioning or to a concealed partitioning into spheres of influence, despite the fact that the Chiang Kai Shek government, tugged this way and that by the various imperialists, feigns these convulsions to be "freedom and independence of orientation." This is so clear in India that even the petty bourgeois intelligentsia which is playing with radicalism cannot but put forward the slogan of the nationalisation of the basic spheres of industry.

The same Chinese experience has shown that the character of the revolutionary struggle and the tendencies of its development may raise as an immediate issue the question of the administration not only of the enterprises belonging to the foreigners, but also to a certain extent of the large-scale enterprises belonging to the native bourgeoisie. The history of the Wuhan government showed that in face of the malignant sabotage of the bourgeoisie, operating on the basis of imperialism, the revolutionary government has no other course than to take on itself the direction of the closed and abandoned enterprises. There is no justification whatever for considering that during the new rise of the revolutionary wave the bourgeoisie will not answer the victory of the revolutionary masses with a similar provocation and sabotage. On the contrary, all the evidence indicates that the native bourgeoisie will more and more link their

destinies with imperialism, counting on its "protection" from the victorious revolution.

WHILST imperialism will not finally abandon the colonies so long as it is not economically shattered and thrown into the sea, of the native bourgeoisie it can be said that its sabotage will not be overcome before the Soviet regime reveals its readiness and ability to take over the direction of the large-scale economy of the saboteurs.

But whilst the necessity, from the aspect of the basic tasks of the colonial revolution, of the transformation of private property in a large part of the large-scale enterprises into national property during the victorious development of the bourgeois-democratic revolution in its struggle with the counter-revolutionary bourgeoisie, is thus not open to doubt, do the material conditions for its realisation, for the consequential growth of the bourgeois-democratic into the proletarian revolution, exist?

In answering this question three main factors have to be considered :

1. "The old, bourgeois and imperialist Europe, which has grown accustomed to considering itself the hub of the world, has rotted and burst in the first imperialist massacre like a stinking ulcer."

2. The development of socialist construction in the Soviet Union.

3. The question of the possibility of direct aid to the socialist movement of the colonies from the victorious proletariat in capitalist countries.

In deciding the question of the possibility of the Russian commune becoming the starting point for Communist development, Marx attached extraordinary importance to the question of the general condition of the capitalist system. In the above-quoted draft of a letter to Vera Zasulich he wrote on this issue :

"One circumstance extremely favourable from the historical aspect to the preservation of the "village commune" by the way of its further development, is that it is not only the contemporary of western capitalist production, which allows it to acquire the fruits of that production without subjecting itself to its *modus operandi*, but that it has also already lived through the epoch during which the capi-

talist system remained completely inviolate, and now, on the contrary, both in Western Europe and in the United States it finds itself engaged in a struggle with the toiling masses, and with the productive forces engendered by them—in a word, when it is suffering a crisis which will end with its elimination, and the return of the modern societies to the higher forms of “archaic” type, collective property and collective production.” (Marx-Engels Archives, Vol. I.)

DURING the period which has elapsed since these words were written, the crisis of world capitalism has intensified, deepened and extended to an extraordinary extent. Capitalism has entered on the period of its decay; its productive forces, undermined by a most bloody and desolating war (which has again altered the economic and financial map of the world) are developing in a situation of increasingly tense and growing antagonisms, making still more exterminating wars inevitable; the proletariat has already taken from it one-sixth of the world by setting up the Soviet Union. This historical environment in which the colonial revolution is developing has changed in the direction of a swift growth of the forces which are opposed to capitalism. In the colonies and semi-colonies themselves imperialism has retained and has increased its destructive functions tenfold, whilst losing the remnants of its positive role. With every new rise the colonial revolutions fuse more and more with the main stream of the world revolution. It is now much more possible than in Marx’s time to speak of the possibility of “taking possession of the fruits with which capitalist production has enriched humanity, without passing through the capitalist system, a system which from the aspect merely of its possible length of existence occupies so small a place in the history of society.” (*Ibid.*)

All this is characteristic of a world situation which, given the presence of other favourable factors, renders possible a non-capitalist development of the colonies and semi-colonies after their revolutionary emancipation.

2. The second factor entering into the category of material conditions indicated by Marx is the construction of socialism in the Soviet Union.

What importance Marx and Engels attached to the existence of a model, an example for stimulation in the task of passing from the backward forms of economy to a higher social form, is evident from quite a number of their utterances.

Returning to the question of the fate of the Russian Commune ten years or more after Marx had formulated his answer to Vera Zasulich, Engels wrote :

“I would go even farther, and say that neither in Russia nor in any other place is it possible to develop from a primitive land Communism to any higher social form, if that higher social form does not exist already in reality in some other country, and thus serves as a kind of prototype for imitation. As that higher form—everywhere where it is historically possible—is an indispensable consequence of the capitalist form of production and the social dualistic antagonism set up by that production, it cannot by any means develop directly from a primitive land commune except in the form of imitation of an example already existing in some other spot.” (Marx-Engels Correspondence, Letter to Danielson, 17th October, 1893.)

ESENTIALLY the same idea is expressed in Marx’s and Engels’ introduction to the Russian edition of the “Communist Manifesto,” dated 21st January, 1882.

“If the Russian revolution serves as a signal to the workers’ revolution in the West, so that they can complement each other, the present-day Russian land system may become a starting-point for Communist development. A victorious workers’ revolution in the West, coinciding with a bourgeois-democratic revolution in Russia before the final dissolution of the Russian commune, might set up an ‘example,’ a prototype for imitation.” As we know, these conditions did not mature, and this proved to be one of the causes of the different road of development taken by the pre-capitalist relationships which were dominant in the economy of Russia.

Finally, in the above-quoted letter of Engels on the inter-relationships between the countries of the victorious proletarian dictatorship and the former colonies, we find an indication of the possibility of socialist development, hav-

ing reference definitely and directly to colonies.

"Once Europe and North America are reorganised this will give such a colossal force and such an example that the half-civilised countries will themselves tend to follow us; the economic necessities are taking care of that. What social and political phases those countries will then have to pass through before they arrive at the socialist organisation we can, I think, only make rather useless hypothetical conjectures upon."

WE have seen above that the character of the colonial movement during the period when Engels wrote this letter was different from that of the present time. Imperialism, the world war and the October revolution have changed the character of the national emancipation movement in the colonies. Consequently at that time Engels talked of the reorganisation of Europe and of North America as a preliminary condition to the "half-civilised countries themselves tending to follow. . . ." Now the colossal force of example can be given by socialist construction in part of reorganised Europe. It is true that now as before "we can make only rather useless hypothetical conjectures" in regard to how the colonies "will also arrive at socialist organisation." But we can talk with much more assurance than could Engels of the force of example of countries of proletarian dictatorship, as of a force which has already revealed its existence in all spheres and in all the directions of the world revolution. We cannot yet say how the colonies will arrive at socialist organisation, but we can much more definitely than before conceive how the aid of the countries of proletarian dictatorship will conduce to the colonies taking this road.

But from the aspect of the "force of the example and prototype" of socialist construction the importance of the Soviet Union has changed also since the Second Congress. The attacks of the armed forces of the foreign and native counter-revolution have been repulsed; methods of exploiting the market forms of economic link for the construction of planned socialist economy have been found and verified in practice—a matter which is of exceptional importance for the colonies and the semi-colonies first and foremost; the task of establishing and perfecting the link between

nationalised industry and the individual peasant husbandry has been resolved; experience has demonstrated the possibility of a swift tempo of development of nationalised industry, exceeding capitalist scales, and guaranteeing its leading role in the general economy and the real industrialisation of the country; the whole world has been shown and demonstrated that it is possible under the guidance of socialistic industry to effect a transference of agriculture to higher forms both by way of the productive co-operation of peasant husbandry, and by way of its gradual unification in large-scale collective farms. . . . An example the stimulation of which will carry the colonies behind it along the socialistic road, already exists.

The third element indispensable to the socialist development of the colonies is their direct support by the countries of the victorious proletarian revolution. The possibility of the action of this condition is provided by the two preceding points: the growth of the crisis in the imperialist system, and the development of socialist construction in the U.S.S.R. The transformation of this possibility into reality can be achieved only by struggle and in the process of struggle. Lenin's words uttered by him on the prospects of a victory of the proletarian revolution generally, have full application here: "The real demonstration in this and similar questions can be only practice."

But is it not "utopian" to assume the possible socialist road of development of the colonial revolution? From the philistine viewpoint for whom all revolution is utopian, or from the viewpoint of Menshevism, which lost sight of the "peculiarities" and "sectional novel features in the October revolution," and on that basis refused to "recognise" it, the answer is, of course, in the affirmative. But from this viewpoint the emancipation of the colonies generally is "utopian." Even in 1916 Lenin warned us that "the separation of the colonies is achievable as a general rule only with socialism, but under capitalism it is possible only as an exception, or at the cost of a number of revolutions both in the colonies and in the metropolises." Since then the question of holding the colonies has become a matter of life and death to imperialism. On the other hand, it has become still clearer that the combination

of the proletarian revolution and the colonial revolution is indispensable to the ultimate victory both of the one and of the other.

The proletariat of the capitalist countries will not achieve a final victory "without the aid of the toiling masses of the oppressed colonial peoples, and of the peoples of the East first and foremost."

Thus are defined the new forms of the fighting alliance of the industrial proletariat and the colonial masses, the indispensability of which is powerfully dictated by the present stage of the colonial revolution and its tasks.

BOTH Marx and Lenin checked the consciousness of the proletarian advance-guard of the oppressing countries by its attitude to the oppressed nations. But the extent of the demand which the national emancipation movement has made on the socialist proletariat is enlarging more and more.

"Marx was accustomed to 'gnash his teeth,' " as he expressed himself to his socialist friends, in testing their consciousness and conviction. After making the acquaintance of Lopatin, Marx wrote to Engels on May 15th, 1870 in terms highly flattering to the young Russian socialist, but added: "his weak point is Poland. On that subject Lopatin says exactly the same as an Englishman, a British Chartist of the old school, say, says about Ireland." (Lenin: "On the right of nations to self-determination," 1914.)

After the imperialist war and the October revolution, when the national emancipation movement in the colonies is becoming an important factor of the world revolution, Lenin demands of the Communists not only an understanding of their own obligations, not only the propaganda of the freedom of the oppressed nations to separate, but even more:

genuinely revolutionary work and support of the colonial risings.

"The parties of the Second International," said Lenin at the Second Congress, "promised to act revolutionarily, but we cannot find any genuinely revolutionary work and aid to the exploited and oppressed peoples in their revolts against their oppressors among the parties of the Second International, nor, I suggest, among the majority of the parties which have left the Second and wish to enter the Third International. We must declare this fact for all to hear, and it cannot be denied. We shall see whether any attempt is made to deny it."

As we know, the "attempt to deny it" which was made at the Second Congress by the representatives of certain sections only confirmed Lenin's serious charges.

To-day, in summarising the result of the ten years' struggle of the Comintern, it is necessary to recall the decision of the Sixth Congress, which specially remarked that "in a number of cases, particularly in regard to the struggle against intervention in China, the sections of the Communist International did not display adequate mobilising ability." Meantime, the demands made by the colonial revolutions on the Comintern sections have greatly increased, even by comparison with those at the time of the Second Congress. We are on the eve of a new round of colonial revolutions and revolts. The genuinely revolutionary work and aid to the colonial movement on the part of the proletariat must take on definite organisational forms. A continually increasing part of the work of the sections must be transferred directly to the East for participation in the preparation and organisation of fresh resolute struggles of the enormous majority of humanity against imperialism.

On the Eve of Fresh Battles

S. Gussiev

I. THE CHIEF LESSONS OF 1918-20.

TEN years of the Third, Communist International, the staff of the world proletarian revolution! Ten years of the greatest, of universal historical importance!

The Communist International was organised during the period of the severe post-war revolutionary crisis, during the period of a "clearly developing proletarian revolution everywhere, not day by day but hour by hour." (Lenin, "Third International and its place in history.")

The tenth anniversary of the Communist International arrives at a moment when a number of signs point to the beginning of a new revolutionary rise with a sharp intensifications of class antagonisms as its basis.

Consequently the most important lessons of the period 1918-19, lessons formulated by Lenin in his speeches and articles, acquire a practical importance at the present juncture.

"The ice has broken," wrote Lenin in his article "Won and noted," ("Pravda," May 6th, 1919), in summarising the results of the First Congress of the Comintern.

"The ice has broken.

"The Soviets have conquered.

"They have conquered first and most of all in the sense that they have won the sympathy of the proletarian masses. That is the most important of all. No bestialities on the part of the imperialist bourgeoisie, no persecutions and murders of the Bolsheviks can deprive the masses of that victory. The more the 'democratic bourgeoisie' wages, the stronger will these conquests be in the spirit of the proletarian masses, in their mood, in their consciousness, in their heroic readiness for the struggle."

The question of the "swift dissemination of the idea of the Soviets," of a "mighty 'Soviet' movement" (as Lenin himself expressed it) becomes the central feature of all Lenin's public statements during the period from the First to the Second Congress of the Comintern. He continually returns to the

Soviets, is continually seeking confirmation of the swift growth of the "Soviet" movement in the facts of development of the revolutionary crisis in all the European countries.

"The Soviet movement, comrades," he declared in a speech at the Moscow Soviet of Workers' and Peasants' Deputies on March 6th, 1919, "that is the form which has been achieved in Russia, and which is now being disseminated throughout the world, and which by its very name provides the workers with a complete programme."

And he ended his speech with the following words:

"Now that the word 'Soviet' has become understandable to all, the victory of the Communist movement is ensured. The comrades present in this hall have seen how the Soviet Republic was founded; they now see how the Communist International was founded, they will all see how the World Soviet Federative Republic will be founded."

Lenin would not have escaped accusations of preaching "ultra-leftist" theories of "quick revolutionary prospects," of putschism, of a Ruth Fischer-Maslov attitude and so on if the Brandlerers of that day had had their will.

And there were such sages even then. At the Party Congress of the German "independents," held at the beginning of March, 1918, one of its leaders, Däumig, spoke against the Communists, accusing them of putschism. Lenin gave him a vigorous reply.

"By accusing the Communists of putschism" (he wrote in "Heroes of the Berne International") Mr. Däumig only demonstrates his own servile subservience to the philistine prejudices of the petty bourgeoisie . . . A mighty wave of strike movement is rising in Germany. To talk of 'incendiarism' in face of such a movement is to reveal oneself as a bourgeois lackey to philistine prejudices."

By the first anniversary of the Comintern, Lenin had noted the decline in the revolutionary tempo and revealed the causes of that decline.

"If the (Second) International" (he said at a session of the Moscow Soviet) "were not in the hands of traitors, who saved the bourgeoisie at the critical moment, there would have been many chances that in a number of the warring countries, directly at the end of the war, and also in certain neutral countries where the people were armed, a revolution could have been accomplished swiftly, and then the result would have been different. It transpired that this was not so; revolution on such a swift scale did not occur."

And a little more than a year later, at the Third Comintern congress, Lenin stated "that in reality the movement did not proceed along such a straight line as we had expected." (Speech at the session for July 5th, 1921.)

The cause of this was that "in many Western European countries, where the broad masses of the working class, and quite possibly the enormous majority of the population are organised, the chief power of resistance of the bourgeoisie consists in those very organisations of the working class which are hostile and are attached to the Second and Two-and-a-Half Internationals."

Thus the reason for the decline in the tempo and for the zigzag course of development of the international revolution in 1919-20, Lenin saw in the force of reformism as underestimated by the Comintern.

But not only in that, but also in the condition of the Comintern and its constituent parties at that time. Lenin revealed their chief defects at the Second Congress. In the theses on the basic tasks of the Congress, in analysing the "errors or weaknesses of the extraordinarily swiftly growing international Communist movement," Lenin said: "One very serious danger, a danger presenting an enormous direct menace to the success of the work of emancipating the proletariat, consists in the fact that part of the old leaders and old parties of the Second International, in part half unconsciously yielding to the desires and pressure of the masses, in part deliberately deluding them in order to retain their previous role of agents and assistants of the bourgeoisie inside the workers' movement, are declaring their conditional and even their unconditional adherence to the Third International, whilst in all their practice they retain their party and

political work at the level of the Second International."

With a view to preventing the danger of the Comintern being flooded and captured by the parties and leaders of the Second International, the congress not only adopted the well-known resolution on "the conditions of admission into the Communist International" (21 points) and the resolution "on the role of the Communist Party in the proletarian revolution," but in addition set the further task of "cleansing the Party from elements continuing to act in the spirit of the Second International"; and in his speech "On the role of the Communist Party," Lenin declared: "We need new parties, different parties. We need parties which will be continually in real touch with the masses and which have the ability to direct those masses."

Some three months after the Second Congress, in his article "Lying speeches on freedom," Lenin raised once more the question; and even more sharply: "Whilst we have reformists, mensheviks in our ranks, we cannot be victorious in the proletarian revolution, we cannot defend it."

And finally, in his "Letter to the German Communists," written soon after the Third Congress, Lenin gives the following characterisation of the Communist Parties.

"In the great majority of countries our parties are still far from being such as true Communist Parties ought to be, true advance-guards of the really revolutionary and the sole revolutionary class, with the participation of every member of the Party to the last man in the struggle, in the movement, in the daily life of the masses."

And Lenin set the task of "teaching the army of Communists throughout the world by all kinds of manœuvres, by different kinds of battles, by the operations of attack and retreat," for that army was "still poorly instructed, poorly organised."

What are the chief lessons which Lenin derived from the revolutionary experience of 1918-19? What are the basic conditions ensuring a swift and direct development of the international revolution during any further rise, whether it be as the result of a severe economic crisis in capitalist countries, or of war, or of the national-liberation revolution-

ary attacks of the colonies, or of a situation arising as the result of a sharply intensifying general crisis of capitalism plus the simultaneous existence of the proletarian dictatorship in Soviet form in the U.S.S.R.?

There are three conditions. First, the proving of the Soviets as the practical form of the dictatorship of the proletariat in experience, for without experience the idea of the Soviets remains dead. Secondly, the winning of the widest sympathy of the masses for the Soviets. Thirdly, the maximum homogeneity of the Comintern and the parties constituting it (the cleansing from all unstable, vacillating, semi-Menshevik elements) and their maximum contact with the masses, as being conditions ensuring their leading role.

We will consider the prospects of the imminent new revolutionary wave from the aspects of these three conditions.

2. THE CHIEF FEATURES OF THE NEW REVOLUTIONARY WAVE.

In its Soviet form the dictatorship has stood the test of eleven years. It has overcome a number of extreme difficulties, and is now stronger than ever before. The eleven years' experience has proved that a workers' State, in an environment of hostile mighty imperialist powers either warring against it or maintaining a complete or partial blockade, a workers' State overcoming colossal internal difficulties arising out of its economic backwardness and the enormous preponderance of peasant ownership elementally engendering capitalism, can not only hold out, but can develop socialist industry at a swift rate, and can draw wider and wider masses of workers' and peasants into the administration of the State. That last factor is the basic reason for its continually increasing internal and external consolidation. The basic problem which Lenin put forward first and foremost at the First Comintern Congress, when contraposing the dictatorship of the proletariat to bourgeois democracy ("Theses on bourgeois democracy and the dictatorship of the proletariat") has now been finally resolved not by discussion, but by practice. The first dictatorship of the proletariat in history has risen higher and higher over the last decade, although it is still far from having reached its zenith: whilst

during the same decade bourgeois democracy has declined all over the world.

That is the chief historical fact of the present epoch. Not only the proletariat but also the toiling masses of all countries are taking into account this greatest of lessons, are learning from this experience. But the bourgeoisie and its social-democratic and reformist agents in the workers' movement obstinately deny the fact, and are making convulsive efforts to find fresh false and hypocritical arguments in defence of the bourgeois democracy and to discredit the proletarian dictatorship.

By their vacillations and concessions to the social-democrats on the question of the dictatorship the right wing Communists and the conciliators assist them.

Take for example the "Austro-Marxist" Renner. In the social-democratic journal "Gesellschaft" for October, 1928, he put forward a remarkable formula which summarises the general results of the decisions of the Brussels Congress of the Second International, and briefly expresses the whole essence of the social-democrats' present policy.

"The State as it is," announces M. Renner, "the State which still rests on the antagonisms of classes, must be regarded as being an excellent handy means of socialisation, as a companion [literally "an assistant on the road"—S.G.] and not as an absolute hindrance which has to be eliminated before the social work begins."

The German social-democrat Klemens competes with Renner in his servility to the bourgeoisie, for at the August, 1928 congress of the German transport workers' union he developed the following idea: "I challenge the view that in the German republic we are still justified in talking of a capitalist and a bourgeois State. In such a country as Germany, which in so many ways is already organised in accordance with our desires, where we have comrades and colleagues in almost all the governmental and social organs, it is incoherent nonsense to talk of a capitalist bourgeois State which has to be struggled against. . . . I repeat that in my view we live in a German democratic republic, and not in a capitalist bourgeois State."

So in the sweat of their brow do the social-

democrats labour to confuse and dismay the workers and thus save bourgeois democracy.

And what do the right wingers, what do the conciliators say?

What other idea but that of Renner's bourgeois State "as it is," "accompanying" the proletariat on the road to socialism, is concealed in Brandler's and Thalheimer's muddled observations on "workers' control over production at the present time," without overthrowing the power of the bourgeoisie, without the dictatorship of the proletariat, which would in practice lead to a betrayal of the dictatorship of the proletariat or in the best case to a bloc of all the capitalist parties ("from the Communists to Christian and National-Socialists"), i.e., to a uniting of the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie with a dictatorship of the proletariat?

Brandler tries to draw distinctions between himself and Renner by all kinds of provisos, such as "in a situation which is not sharply revolutionary, one can talk only of propaganda, and not of introducing control over the State. The beginning of control over production can only be during the period of struggle for power."

But all the practice of the right wingers contradicts this interpretation. One of the chief leaders of the right wingers, Walcher, outlines that practice thus: according to Brandler's theories the Ruhr trade unions should have put forward the slogan of the State continuing to pay wages at the expense of the employers. Around this slogan the masses could have been mobilised and a further slogan could have been raised: "the re-starting of the enterprises, their further management by the workers, and workers' control over production."

There was neither a severe nor a "not severe" revolutionary situation during the Ruhr lockout, and yet Walcher proposed to put forward the slogan of workers' control over production, and added to it the slogan of the organisation of workers' committees for the control of prices and the capitalists' profits.

Secondly, of what struggle for power is Brandler speaking? In his commentaries on the Comintern program Thalheimer explained that the slogan of workers' and peasants' Government is a transitional slogan for the struggle for power, is the rule of the Soviets

or a Soviet State in a still imperfect transitional form. Thus the workers' and peasants' Government does not connote a dictatorship of the proletariat: it is possible to have a transitional Soviet State in which the dictatorship will remain in the hands of the bourgeoisie. Soviets are not the historically given practical form of the dictatorship of the proletariat, as Lenin taught, but a union of the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie and the dictatorship of the proletariat.

As though in order to leave no doubt whatever on this ground, at the All-German conference of the right wingers, Thalheimer provided the following formula: "The workers' and peasants' government is not a synonym for the dictatorship of the proletariat, but the preparation for that dictatorship within the framework of the capitalist State."

In what way is this theory of the "fusion" of the proletarian dictatorship with the bourgeois dictatorship distinct from the latest theories of Renner and Klemens? Essentially in no way whatever: it is the same theory, given a "left wing" air.

And what other idea than the same Brandler conception of the "revolutionary" (i.e., wrapped up in revolutionary phrases, but really opportunist) fusion of socialism with the bourgeois system is concealed behind the following muddle-headed observations of the most prominent conciliator in the German C.P., comrade Mayer, on the adoption of "slogans mobilising the working class in the struggle for power"? (Brandler also regards his slogan of "control over production now and immediately" as one mobilising the working class for the struggle for power.) In the draft resolution put forward by Mayer, Kurt and Eberlein at the last Plenum of the German C.P., Mayer wrote of these slogans: "Such revolutionary slogans as should be made the subject of propaganda in the present situation in all the mass struggles, in order to connect up the struggle for daily bread with the socialist ultimate aim, are the slogans of confiscation and nationalisation of the trusts, banks and the landed estates by way of the revolutionary struggle of the proletariat and the achievement of a workers' and peasants' government."

"Confiscation by way of a revolutionary struggle of the proletariat "is first cousin to

Brandler's formula, which in turn, is closely related to Renner's formula.

Renner's "socialisation," Brandler's "control over production now and immediately," and Mayer's "confiscation by way of the revolutionary struggle of the proletariat," all have as their common pre-requisite the retention of the dictatorship in the hands of the bourgeoisie.

Meantime, there is only one way of control over production, of confiscation and socialisation, a way historically tested—it is the way of overthrow of the bourgeoisie and the dictatorship of the proletariat. The fact that the right wingers and the conciliators deviate from this way and thus endeavour to draw the proletariat off it and to direct them along another, Renner road, connotes that all the confusion of the right wingers and conciliators on the dictatorship question is further aid to Renner.

The matter is not improved by the fact that comrade Mayer adds "and the achievement of a workers' and peasants' government." That involves a horrible confusion which leaves the door wide open for the Renner-Brandler formula. Confiscation by "way of a revolutionary struggle of the proletariat and the achievement of a workers' and peasants' government" is confiscation under the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie and under the dictatorship of the proletariat, it is a union of the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie with that of the proletariat, i.e., in practice the preservation of the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie inviolate, and consequently the rejection of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

It is impossible to make any other deduction from these views of the open and secretly opportunist elements in the Comintern sections. They can swear their devotion to the dictatorship of the proletariat in the U.S.S.R. a thousand times over, but they have merely to make some slight reservation (such as for instance, the frequently repeated assertion that the dictatorship of the proletariat is the Russian form of the proletariat's conquest of power, whilst in the more advanced capitalist countries the affair will take different roads, pass through different stages, and so on), and they have entered upon a slippery inclined plane and begun to roll down to the rejection of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

The arguments of the right wingers and con-

ciliators must be analysed in the most detailed fashion. Without such an analysis a sound estimate of the situation and prospects is impossible. A tiny, innocent-looking correction may conceal a whole line, a tendency, a deviation in the direction of reformism. Would anybody have paid any attention whatever fifteen years ago to comrade Mayer's formula: "Confiscation by way of the revolutionary struggle of the proletariat and the achievement of a workers' and peasants' government"? But now, when on the one hand we have the proletarian dictatorship maintained and unbrokenly growing stronger for eleven years, and on the other the Renner-Klemens-Brandler theories, comrade Mayer's formula whether he likes it or not, represents a concession to the reformists on the basic question of the dictatorship of the proletariat, a reservation on a question on which concessions and reservations are absolutely impermissible without betraying Leninism.

Ten years ago the verification of the dictatorship of the proletariat in practice had been of short duration. Now that verification has had ten years more. That is a great length of time. That verification is now so assured that we are right in drawing the deduction which the October revolution has made possible, as to the victory of the dictatorship of the proletariat in its historical dispute with the bourgeois democracy.

Not to see this simple fact, not to understand its importance, to close one's eyes to it, to pass it over in silence, to make reservations and to set up a reformist theory on the union of the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie with the dictatorship of the proletariat, of the co-operation or "companionship" of two dictators, is not only to aid the enemies of the Comintern and the U.S.S.R., but to hinder the task of permeating the toiling masses with a clear understanding of the colossal fact of the eleven years' existence of the dictatorship of the proletariat. It means refusing to recognise the existence of an enormous historical forward movement in the conditions of a swift and direct development of the international revolution, in the practical verification of the dictatorship of the proletariat. Finally, it means being completely void of any understanding of the fact, it means a denial of the fact that from this aspect the imminent revolutionary

wave arrives under better conditions than those of 1918-19.

What clearer than all else reflects the victory of the dictatorship of the proletariat over bourgeois democracy?

It is the boundless dissemination of the idea of the Soviets and of sympathy towards the U.S.S.R. Is there a corner of the globe where the masses have not heard of the Soviets, have not felt sympathy for them either consciously or half-consciously? Millions of facts, testify to the way in which the idea of the Soviets has captured the masses of all countries. And it is difficult to say which exactly of these facts are more expressive—whether the fact of the increase in votes cast for the C.P.'s in the French and German elections, or the fact of the joy of the Arabs at the sight of "Soviet" matches when brought for the first time to Arabia on a Soviet steamship.

"The dictatorship of the proletariat," said Lenin in his opening speech at the First Congress of the Comintern, "hitherto these words have been Greek to the masses. Owing to the distribution of the idea of the Soviet system throughout the world that Greek is being translated into ever fresh tongues."

The dictatorship of the proletariat arose before the masses in the simple, definite, practical form of the Soviet State, based on the alliance of the proletariat and peasantry, in which the proletariat plays the leading role. The conception of the dictatorship of the proletariat is now understood by all toilers.

Whilst in 1919 Lenin exclaimed that "the Soviets have conquered," that "they have conquered first and most of all in the sense that they have won themselves the sympathy of the proletarian masses," how much stronger is that victory now after ten years? Even although it does not emerge so clearly, owing to the absence of a direct revolutionary situation.

The sympathy for the U.S.S.R. finds its expression in the definite, practical, active slogan of the defence of the U.S.S.R. from imperialist attacks. Among toiling humanity there is no more popular slogan than is this. It politically unites a preponderant majority of the toilers, irrespective of their adherence to political parties and trade unions, or their religious convictions.

So the most bitter enemies of the U.S.S.R. are straining all their powers to shatter this unity of the masses on the question of the defence of the U.S.S.R. The chief role in this work falls naturally on the agents of the bourgeoisie in the working class, social-democrats and reformists. The social-democrats are putting in motion all possible methods through the Second International on the League of Nations to weaken the antagonisms between the imperialist Powers, to delay war between them, and so to create a single anti-Soviet front, so to accelerate war against the U.S.S.R. by all means. To this end they exploit the theory of ultra-imperialism invented by Kautsky, the theory of peaceful, warless development of imperialism, and they play on the "neutrality" of the attitude of some of the workers (Germany, Czecho-Slovakia). At the same time they carry on open propaganda for intervention in the U.S.S.R.

The imperialists' war against the U.S.S.R. is the basic political issue of the present period of the world revolution. In this war the basic political dispute between the dictatorship of the proletariat and bourgeois democracy will be decided by military methods.

It is impossible to establish a sound line on the anti-Soviet war issue without a thorough understanding of the decisive importance in that war of the great conquests which the U.S.S.R. has made among the toilers. Anyone who replaces the dictatorship of the proletariat by a "workers' and peasants' government in the framework of the capitalist system," puts forward the theory of the union of the two dictatorships in place of the dictatorship of the proletariat, who makes the very least concession to the Renners on the issue of the dictatorship of the proletariat, is inevitably bound to vacillate in one way or another over the question of the defence of the U.S.S.R.

And we do definitely see a small but noteworthy deviation among the right-wingers and the conciliators. The danger of war against the U.S.S.R. they have put into the background, and are raising to the forefront the danger of war among the imperialists. This is being done for various reasons by the sections of the Comintern involved. But the substance of the deviation is the same in every

case, since at its base is the idea of the possibility of prolonged peaceful co-operation between the U.S.S.R. and the capitalist States, and that peaceful cohabitation is regarded as a practical form of the union or co-operation of the bourgeois dictatorship and the proletarian dictatorship. Thus the attention of the toiling masses is drawn away from the main war danger, from the war threat to the Soviet Union. A certain pre-requisite is set up for declaring with the social-democrats that the danger of the imperialists' making a military attack on the U.S.S.R. is exaggerated.

Where vacillations on the question of the defence of the U.S.S.R. can get one to we see from the case of Trotsky. He began with a conditional defence of the U.S.S.R., and then passed from that to putting forward a thesis concerning Clemenceau, and has now arrived at the preaching of preparation for civil war in the U.S.S.R. by putting forward the proposal for secret voting. One further little step and Trotsky will find himself safely arrived in the Menshevik nest, in the ranks of those who preach bourgeois democracy and war intervention in the U.S.S.R.

Trotsky has laid down the road, and anyone who vacillates on the question of defence of the U.S.S.R. will inevitably find himself on that road.

Why is it that the right-wingers and conciliators do not see the fact of the tremendous growth of sympathy towards the U.S.S.R. among the toiling masses, and do not understand that over the last ten years a profound change has taken place in the second condition of a swift and direct development of the revolution which Lenin enunciated?

The right-wingers and the conciliators are crushed and blinded by the strength of the social-democrats and the growth of its influence among the masses of recent years. They do not see that the revival and rise of the workers' movement in a number of countries are harbingers of the coming revolutionary crisis, and are swiftly preparing the conditions for the bankruptcy and crash of social-democracy, the counter-revolutionary degeneration of which is becoming clearer and clearer to the masses. The right-wingers and the conciliators do not understand that on the question of the defence of the U.S.S.R. against intervention the toilers

of the world will not be on the side of the Second International, but on the side of the Comintern and the U.S.S.R. It is on this issue that the social-democrats can go to pieces most easily of all. The peculiarity of the present situation consists in the fact that on the basic political problem of the whole epoch, and also on a number of other political problems of recent times, the toilers have followed the Comintern, the U.S.S.R., whilst at the same time they have remained in the organisations and parties hostile to Communism.

Let us see what the situation is in regard to the third condition of a swift and direct development of the revolution, as Lenin enunciated it. What are the C.P.'s like now?

During the ten years of its existence the Comintern has greatly enlarged the bounds of its influence, especially in the semi-colonial and colonial countries, has purged its ranks of the Trotskyists and other "left-wing" varieties of opportunism, and has grown stronger organisationally. Despite a number of defects and weaknesses, which must be critically analysed and made clear, the chief important sections of the Comintern and the Comintern itself have taken a big step forward in their development, and are now much closer to the point where they are capable of politically heading the new rise of the workers' movement and of directing it along a revolutionary road than they were ten years ago.

As in regard to the first two conditions, so here the question is not so much one of demonstrating the tremendous movements and successes which are creating a much more favourable situation for the coming revolutionary wave than that of 1918, as of repulsing the attacks of the right-wingers and conciliators on the organisational bases of the Comintern sections, and the attempts to substitute social-democratic for Leninist organisational principles. There have been a great number of such attempts in the Comintern.

The latest and most resolute is that of the German right-wingers. At the all-German conference of the right-wingers Thalheimer openly rejected the construction of the Party on the basis of the Bolshevik principle of democratic centralism, and hailed back to "democracy," which, in his words, "is the basic element of the Western-European workers'

movement." Thalheimer threatened to win the Comintern for democracy.

Undoubtedly if Thalheimer takes that road he can look forward to a pleasant meeting with Trotsky.

In essence the conciliators are effecting the same substitution of social-democratic for Bolshevik organisational principles, only they do so in a cowardly manner. They are willingly rejecting that section of the decisions of the Sixth Congress which talks of iron Party discipline, and are adopting only that section in which there is talk of internal-Party democracy. Thus they arrive at the same point as the right-wingers by a slightly different method.

Among the conciliators the retreat from the organisational principles of Leninism finds its expression also in their teaching on the "concentration of Party forces." They talk of "concentration generally," just as the social-democrats talk of "democracy generally." They do not and will not see that under the flag of "concentration generally" definitely anti-Comintern concentrations are being effected, such as the concentrations of the Brandlerists with the left social-democrats or the unprincipled concentrations of the Trotskyists, led by Cannon, with the extreme right-wingers excluded from the American C.P., such as Lore and others. Lenin thought of concentration as the "purging of the Party from elements continuing to act in the spirit of the Second International." And the decisions of the Sixth Comintern Congress, demanding a struggle against the right and the "left" wing deviations, refer to the same type of concentration.

On the Party question also the right-wingers' and conciliators' retreats from Leninism and their vacillations and deviations in the direction of social-democracy show that they fail to understand not only the significance of the leading role of the Party in the revolutionary demonstrations of the proletariat, but also the exceptional importance of that question with the approach of a new revolutionary wave, both because owing to its enormous dimensions that rise will present the Comintern sections with unprecedentedly tremendous demands, and also because by comparison with the two other conditions of a swift and direct

course of the revolution (the verification of the dictatorship of the proletariat in practice and the dissemination of sympathy for the Soviets) this third condition undoubtedly lags in its development.

The new revolutionary wave will develop upon an incomparably broader basis than that of 1918-1919. It promises to bring colossal masses of the toilers in all the capitalist countries and in the majority of the colonies and semi-colonies into the struggle. It is the fact of the participation of the colonies, which fact ten years ago did not exist, which will extend extraordinarily the bounds of the new rise and will deepen it to an enormous extent. The defeated Chinese revolution is about to be replaced by the swiftly developing national-emancipation revolutionary movements in India and Latin America. The broad international nature of this new rise is one of its most important and most characteristic features.

A no less important feature of the new rise is that it is developing not as the result of war and the decline of capitalism evoked by war, but on the basis of capitalism's development and consolidation. The extreme intensification of all the antagonisms growing side by side with the further consolidation and development of capitalism, is leading to the shaking of stabilisation and the further deepening of the general crisis of capitalism. The present international situation is reminiscent of certain features of the situation existing before the war in 1914. It is a pre-war situation. But the fact of the existence of the proletarian dictatorship in the U.S.S.R., the fact of the growing revolutionary mood among the workers of the capitalist countries and among the toilers in the colonies and semi-colonies, is making the situation a highly tense one. The chief feature in that situation, one which, on the international scale at least, is unprecedented, is that a considerable part of the toiling masses will enter the coming war with revolutionary ideas—ideas drawn from the experience of the previous imperialist war, the proletarian revolution in Russia, and a number of revolutionary battles in Western Europe and in the East.

To attempt to guess what may be the con-

sequences of such a situation would be premature at the present moment.

It is much more important at the moment that we should obtain a sound view as to the nature of the class struggles now being waged and the new tasks which confront the Comintern and its sections with the approach of a new revolutionary rise.

3. THE CHARACTERISTIC PECULIARITIES OF THE PRESENT CLASS STRUGGLES.

At the beginning of the new revolutionary rise great class conflicts drawing hundreds of thousands and millions of workers into the struggle, are being waged. The Ruhr, Lodz, the strikes of the textile workers and miners in France, the strikes in India, the rising in Colombo, the strike in Columbia are a few of the great battles which are merely preliminary skirmishes in the historical prospect of the coming revolutionary crisis.

But taken by themselves these battles are already occasionally acquiring the character of widely extended battles, especially in Germany. The Lodz strike indicates that Poland also is beginning to be transformed into a field for class conflicts. France has become a country of incessant strikes. In the United States class conflicts are being waged which point to the development within the working class of revolutionary processes unprecedented by their profundity in that country. Consequently, even the present battles are to a certain extent revealing the characteristic features of the coming gigantic class wars.

What is the character of those battles? What is the direction of their development? And, first and foremost, are they defensive or offensive movements on the part of the proletariat?

The solution of this problem depends on one's estimate of the present stabilisation and the direction and character of its further development. Anyone who regards the present stabilisation as durable is bound to regard the present class battles as defensive ones. And on the other hand anyone who regards the present stabilisation as being shaken inevitably comes to the conclusion that they are in the nature of a counter-attack or even an offensive.

What do the social-democrats say of stabilisation? The "best" representatives of

social-democracy, Hilferding and Otto Bauer, preach that capitalism is now at a period of development and that it is also a period of "maturity into socialism." What, according to Bauer and Hilferding, is the line along which that maturing process is proceeding? The line of transition of capitalist economy from "unplanned" to "organised economy," which in their view connotes the replacement of the capitalist principle of free competition by the socialist principle of planned economy."

Hence they draw the conclusion that the development of capitalist economy will in future proceed without crises ("planned production"—don't forget!) and that at the present time capitalism is not living through any crisis whatever ("flourishing").

From the social-democrats' example we see that the deduction that the stabilisation of capitalism is increasing is inevitably bound up with and inevitably in the present period of struggle between the capitalist and socialist systems of production, leads logically to a denial of the existence of a general crisis in capitalism, and of one of the basic factors of its sharp intensification—the severe competition among the imperialist Powers.

The German right wingers stand entirely by the point of view that the stabilisation is increasing. They have more than once openly said so. Böttcher, who was recently excluded from the German C.P., made in the Saxon Landtag an official declaration on behalf of the right wingers, in which was such criticism of the Comintern decisions in regard to stabilisation that they evoked the frantic approval of the entire social-democratic press, and gave the organ of the German social-democrats in Czecho-Slovakia the right to make the following declaration on the basis of his remarks:

"How frequently social-democracy both in Germany and here has declared against the non-Marxist estimate [i.e., that of the Communists—S.G.] of the political and economic inter-relationship of classes, against the nonsensical phrase of an offensive policy and the coming historical smash of capitalism, against illusions and fantasies!"

From the viewpoint of the Comintern the criticism of the right wingers is so close to that of the social-democrats that the latter have only now to dot the i's and cross the t's.

As for the conciliators, whilst they expound

essentially the same view of stabilisation as that which the right wingers hold, they timidly sweep away the traces and endeavour to confuse the whole matter by inserting provisos and reservations everywhere.

In the program recently published by the conciliators ("Memorandum on the differences of view in putting the Sixth Congress decisions into force" signed by Ewert, Dietrich and others), they, in unison with comrade Humbert-Droz, ardently attack the leadership of the German C.P. for its declaration that "the partial and temporary stabilisation of capitalism is not being consolidated, as the opportunists in our ranks affirm, but is becoming more and more rotten and unstable."

This and similar statements evoke the strong resistance of the conciliators and accusations that the present German leadership is getting away from the decisions of the Sixth Congress on the question of stabilisation and is passing to an ultra-left wing course.

What view of stabilisation do the conciliators put forward in opposition to this "ultra-left wing course"?

"Stabilisation," they state in their program, "viewed from the aspect of the process of capitalist development, is of course, unsteady and even 'rotten' if you like, and must inevitably lead to revolution and wars."

At first sight it may appear that this is the same formula as that of the German C.P. leadership. But such a deduction would be quite inaccurate. It is in reality the opposite formula. The whole secret of this formula is locked up in the words "from the aspect of the entire process of capitalist development."

The line of argument of the conciliators is roughly this: The C.C. of the German C.P. thinks that stabilisation is now rotten. That is absolutely incorrect. It is now strong and growing stronger. But in the indefinite future, of course, stabilisation will begin to flag, and it will lead inevitably to war and revolution. Consequently "from the viewpoint of the entire process of capitalist development" in the historical prospect, stabilisation is both insecure and rotten.

Renner, of course, will frown a little on this formula (war! revolution!), but will recognise the opinion on the stabilisation of capitalism therein expressed as a legal left wing shade inside social-democracy.

Only starting from a conception of stabilisation as a developing process can one wax indignant (as do the conciliators) over declarations in an article by comrade Thälmann that the workers are passing to a counter-attack and to a struggle for the breakdown "of the barrier of the reformist policy of sabotage," and can exclaim angrily: "And moreover he adds that this counter-attack is shaking capitalist stabilisation and setting up a revolutionary situation."

It is quite natural that both the right wingers and the conciliators who reject the shaking of stabilisation and the imminence of a new revolutionary rise and declare that stabilisation is growing stronger, should define the present class battles as defensive ones. The right wingers, however, are compelled to admit that in Germany, in 1928, the initiative in all the conflicts arose from the workers' side, whilst the conciliators as usual add a reservation to the word "defensive," adding the words "with certain offensive elements." But this reservation is quite meaningless: their entire position is in sharp contradiction to it, and although they use words concerning offensive elements they do not definitely specify those elements and cannot specify them.

The present class conflicts are arising because of a continual deterioration in the position of the working class, which deterioration is evoked by capitalist rationalisation. Capitalist rationalisation brings unemployment to the working class (unemployment which in association with other causes is acquiring the character of an enormous disaster in Germany, Britain and the United States), a contraction of the period during which the worker is employed at a factory and his earlier discharge into the ranks of the "used-up" slaves of capitalism, an extreme intensification of labour and an increase of exploitation. All this connotes an increase in insecurity for the working class. Hence arises the daily increasing discontent of the workers, discontent which has not transient, not conditional, but social economic roots. Capitalist rationalisation is driving the working class to a resolute protest, to a defensive struggle which is inevitably passing into an offensive.

What is at the root of this insecurity? It is the fact of the swift growth of the frantic

struggle among the imperialist Powers for markets both for disposal of commodities and for export of capital. That struggle is unavoidable within the framework of the capitalist system, and drives the capitalists to an increasingly ruthless exploitation of the proletariat. The continually developing attack of the capitalists on the proletariat is showing the latter the complete fruitlessness of a defensive tactics in face of such a mighty enemy as centralised, concentrated finance capital, and is compelling them to pass to an attack on the capitalist class. The proletariat responds to the capitalist attack with a counter-attack.

In consequence the present class struggles are more and more acquiring the character of reciprocal offensives.

In these factors are rooted the deep, continually intensifying, unavoidable conditions which are conferring on the proletariat's demonstrations a continually increasing offensive and continually intensifying character.

Germany, which more than any other capitalist State has during the past decade played the role of the classic country of large-scale class conflicts and revolutionary battles, provides the best example from which to study both the character of the present class conflicts (in particular the factor of their being reciprocal offensives), and also their ideological and political reflection.

In no other section of the Comintern in capitalist countries do we find such a perfectly expressed right wing deviation and conciliatory attitude towards it as in the German C.P. Nowhere are the opportunist tendencies inside the Comintern represented so richly by literature, documents, theoreticians and leaders, nowhere will you find such a social-democracy as in Germany.

The second characteristic feature of the present class struggles is the fact that the economic struggles grow into political ones, and the directly political, class nature of the economic struggles.

It might appear that there is nothing new in this, for every class struggle is a political struggle and consequently once an economic struggle takes on a broad class character it ipso facto becomes a political struggle. But

the question at issue does not lie here, but in the new conditions which evoke such a quality in the economic struggles and which make those struggles class, political struggles. These new conditions are set up on the basis of the concentration and centralisation of capital, which have led to the formation of powerful monopolist federations, such as cartels, syndicates and trusts.

This process has got far ahead in the United States and in Germany. The attack of concentrated and centralised capital on the proletariat cannot be carried out otherwise than over a widely extended front, especially where the cartels, syndicates and trusts meet with the obstinate opposition of the proletariat, as is the case in Germany.

It is not at all an accident that on the eve of the Ruhr lock-out the town crier of capitalism proclaimed the slogan: "Class against class," and that the organisations of German capitalists demonstratively announced that they would support the struggle of their finest advance-guard, the Ruhr iron and coal barons, to the end, and that their platform ("not a pfennig on the pay," "not a second off the day," and "long-term collective agreements") is the platform of the entire capitalist class. In the struggle now being waged in the German textile industry, which threatens to embrace hundreds of thousands of workers, the same feature of an extensive, organised capitalist attack on the textile workers is to be observed. A similar kind of struggle is beginning in the mining industry. The conflicts between centralised and concentrated capital and the working class have a tendency at the present time to embrace entire spheres of industry (for instance the strike of the German ship construction workers).

The capitalists' extended attack on the basis of capitalist rationalisation carried through at the expense of the workers is forcing the proletariat to respond with an extended defensive, which passes into an extended counter-attack. There is no other way out for the proletariat. If the proletariat does not organise a widely developed counter-attack it will be beaten, as happened in the Ruhr. This idea is beginning to penetrate into the German proletariat, which, in the mining industry for instance, has organised in advance, a couple of months

before the beginning of the struggle, has thrown up organs of leadership, and is preparing for an extension of the struggle. This never occurred formerly.

The new feature in the present struggles is not that the economic conflicts are acquiring a broad class and consequently political nature, but that this form of struggle is becoming the dominant one, that it is evoked not by transient changes in the economic situation or by crises, but by the continually acting and continually intensifying, and consequently continually broadening and developing class struggles, by the general cause of the trustification and cartellisation of capitalist industry.

Consequently the political character of the present class conflicts is becoming their permanent, inseparable feature, which in turn involves the political unification of the proletariat in its attack on monopolist capital.

The epoch of finance capital is thus becoming an epoch of the colossal extension of the economic struggles, evoked by the intensifying antagonisms of capitalism, which in turn determine the continual intensification of those struggles. Such a growing intensification and extension of the class conflicts also determine their specific political feature of being reciprocal offensives, expressed in the formula "class against class."

The formula "class against class" is becoming a definite reality. The united capitalist front, composed of the capitalist class, its agents in the working class (all and every sort of socialists and reformists) and the organs of the State at the disposition of the capitalists, is becoming more and more openly inimical to the working class, which whilst continuing to be disunited, is beginning, partially quite elementally and partially deliberately, to pass to the organisation of its own united class front. Such is the tendency of development, which confers a continually increasing political character on the growing class battles.

The peculiarity of the present situation consists in the fact that on the international scale it is much easier for the proletariat to realise its united front, especially in regard to defence of the U.S.S.R., than it is to the international class of capitalists, who are rent asunder by continually intensifying internal antagonisms. But on the other hand, the united front of the capitalists in separate capitalist States is much

easier of achievement (and is already achieved) than is the united front of the working class. In accordance with this, Communism is stronger than social-democracy on the international front, but weaker on the internal fronts.

The tendency towards a continual and steady extension of the class battles, which constitutes an inseparable peculiarity of the epoch of finance capital (imperialism) is leading to their transformation not only into practical but also into revolutionary struggles. In the present struggles this feature is in a still undeveloped state. Consequently we regard them as being only preliminary battles, presaging the beginning of a new revolutionary rise, when the formula "class against class" will more and more express the revolutionary struggle for power. But for the present day this formula expresses on the one hand the reciprocally offensive nature of the class conflicts, and on the other their broad class, political character. Both these features of the present mass attacks of the proletariat are bound closely one with the other.

We see that in the actual process of developing class struggle during the epoch of imperialism the classes are organising and consolidating themselves anew, by comparison with the epoch of industrial capital that they are extending the fronts widely in fighting order, that the forms of struggle are changing, the relations between classes are being modified, class stands against class in an almost pure, "theoretic," "scientific" form. On the broad arena of history the capitalist and proletarian fronts are being drawn up in fighting order.

But there is a modification in the relationships, not only between classes, but also inside the classes. The establishment of a united front of capitalists and a united front of the proletariat cannot but be accompanied by a change in relationships between separate sections of those classes.

What are the internal alterations which are occurring in the capitalist class? The essence of these changes amounts to a unification of separate sections of the bourgeoisie, the formation of sections which was evoked by different historical causes, economic, political, national, religious and so on, under the dic-

tatorship of monopolist capital. This unification finds its expression in the unification of the economic organisations of separate groups of capitalists, a process which is developing more and more as finance capitalism develops, and also in the increasing elimination of the distinctions and antagonisms among the political parties of the bourgeoisie, including all the socialistic parties, which are becoming more and more bourgeois parties, on the basis of their subordination to the large-scale bourgeoisie. One of the chief weapons of this process is the extraordinarily increased importance of heavy industry, which during the epoch of imperialism is playing a commanding role. We find the coalition of all the bourgeois parties, including the social-democratic and reformist parties in one form or another, more or less formulated or else not formulated at all, in all the imperialist countries. In France the governmental bloc includes all the bourgeois parties and the socialists; in Britain the Labour Party and the "second" bourgeois party co-operate with the governing party of the bourgeoisie; in the United States we observe the same picture as that in Britain. As the class struggle and its revolutionary manifestations grow, the tendency to an increasing levelling down of the bourgeois parties will increase.

In the proletariat we observe the same tendency, but so far it is in a weaker form and is retarded in its development.

Capitalism has divided the proletariat into sections by innumerable barriers: political, economic, national, religious, craft and others. These partitions, among which a big part is played by the wall between the organised and the unorganised, form an obstacle to the unification of the proletariat first and foremost within the framework of separate capitalist States, an obstacle to the establishment of a united front of the proletariat opposed to the capitalist class who have united and organised during the epoch of imperialism, and are carrying out attacks on the proletariat. The breaking down of these barriers is a basic condition without which the proletariat cannot withstand the pressure of the capitalist class and cannot pass to a resolute counter-attack. That is the basic problem, one which arises before all the working class as their situation

grows worse owing to capitalist rationalisation at the present stage of the crisis in capitalism, and a problem which becomes clearer and clearer through the experience which that class obtains from the struggles already begun.

And in the present struggles we do observe growing attempts of the proletariat to set up its own united class front, and during these attempts the barriers between separate sections are broken down, the framework of the Party and trade union organisations is burst through, the obstacles are set aside. But this tendency is only of a temporary character. At the end of the mass attack all the previous divisions are restored. In Czecho-Slovakia, where the leadership of the mass attacks of the proletariat is a passive one so far as our Party is concerned, this striving for a united front has during the past year broken out in the form of an elemental formation of that front by the workers themselves from below, by the workers breaking through the limitations of their party and union organisations. In Germany (and in Lodz also) our Parties succeeded in taking control of this movement and in organising a united front of the unorganised and the organised workers (members of the unattached, the Hirsch-Dunker and Christian trade unions) breaking down the wall between these two sections.

The Ruhr experience in organising the workers around single militant committees is of enormous first-rate importance, and deserves the most attentive study. It also reveals one other new feature of the present class struggles—the growing tendency in the working masses to break down and destroy the innumerable barriers disintegrating the proletariat. This tendency connotes the beginning of political emancipation from the influence of the bourgeois parties and social-democracy of the workers who have hitherto followed them. Without this political emancipation there can be no talk of the creation of a single class front of the proletariat against a single-class front of the bourgeoisie. A tremendous change is beginning in the consciousness of these workers, a complete revolution which is destroying the parliamentary traditions which have been firmly rooted in them over decades. This is a real break-up of the political barriers which

will have its result in an organisational break-up.

There is no revolutionary crisis in Germany at present, there are only its precursors. Yet even in the preliminary struggles the proletariat is beginning to shake and break down the barriers hindering its unification. This reveals all the depths of the approaching revolutionary rise.

During the epoch of finance capital political unity becomes a matter of the most vital necessity. How does that unity occur? It occurs, as the experience of the present struggles shows, by putting forward a political platform common to all the participants in the particular class attack, and containing those basic political demands and slogans around which the workers can be united whilst remaining in various political parties and trade unions. In the Ruhr such slogans were: "Against compulsory arbitration," "Against the coalition," "Against the triple alliance of capitalists, government and trade union hierarchy." This is not yet the final break-up of the political barriers dividing the workers, it is only giving them a jolt. The workers succeed in doing this only temporarily, during the period of the joint struggle, against the frantic opposition of the social-democrats first and foremost, these latter struggling for the preservation and perpetuation of the disintegration of the proletariat, and, as the agents of capital among the working class, having the chief role to play in this business. As the struggle grows and develops the single political platform becomes wider and will approximate more and more to the Comintern platform. It would be erroneous to regard the destruction of the political barriers disintegrating the proletariat as an easy matter. On the contrary, it is a work demanding enormous efforts on the part of the Comintern sections. Only by way of repeated attempts at political unification of the workers belonging to various parties and organisations during their mass attacks shall we be successful in preparing the transfer from temporary political unification to a more permanent one. And to the same extent we shall be successful in preparing a more permanent organisational unification of the struggling workers by way of repeated attempts at their temporary unification in mass attacks.

We have reached the fourth and last characteristic feature of the present class struggles, the creation by the proletariat and in the actual process of struggle of temporary organisations uniting its heterogeneous sections and taking on themselves the leading role. It is not enough to break up the political and organisational frameworks of the social-democratic and bourgeois parties and reformist trade unions. It is necessary to organise the workers in their mass attacks, uniting in temporary organisations both the unorganised and the organised workers, who have broken away from their organisations. This is quite a new type of organisation for the western-European proletariat, a point which must on no account be forgotten. During long decades they have carried on their economic struggle exclusively under the leadership of the trade union organisations, which have also been followed in part by the unorganised workers, whilst the political struggle (almost exclusively parliamentary) has been carried on under the leadership of the political parties. Now the proletariat is beginning to enter the struggle under the leadership of quite new organs (single strike or anti-lockout committees, single committees of struggle) raised by the democratic method from the ranks of the struggling proletariat themselves and uniting the masses of unorganised together with the organised. During the very course of the struggle these organs put forward not only economic but political demands also, i.e., they unite the economic with the political struggle. The old "division of labour" between the political parties and the trade unions is beginning to take a back seat before the workers' eyes. Simultaneously with the fusion of the economic and the political struggle during the wide class attacks, new forms of political struggle are raised to the first place, and also new forms of organisation of the struggling proletariat, new organisational forms for the realisation of the united front. In the course of the development of the struggle the new organs of the united front are beginning to take on themselves a number of new functions as organs of wide mass movements of the proletariat. They work out a single political program, they extend the front of struggle, drawing in new divisions of workers, they carry on extensive agitation, organising large workers'

meetings, issuing flysheets, bulletins, newspapers, they organise pickets, self-defence, they set up auxiliary organisations, and so on.

The new organs for leadership of the workers' mass attacks (single committees of struggle, single committees of action) are developing in the direction of soviets. They are not soviets; without a directly revolutionary situation, without a militant attack of the largest masses they could not become soviets. But they are a preliminary school for the coming soviets.

We can find a certain analogy to the modern mass attacks and the organs thrown up by them in the enormous movement of the Russian workers in the south of Russia in 1903-4. There also were set up temporary broad unformulated organisations of workers who elected their deputies for the creation of the leading organs. These organs were precursors of the soviets.

We have traced the characteristic peculiarities of the present class struggles, and have revealed four main features which are new: the reciprocally offensive character, the tendency to a wide extension of the class front within certain limits, whilst giving these struggles a directly political, revolutionary quality: the shaking and breaking of all kinds of barriers, and first and foremost the party and trade union barriers dividing the proletariat into sections; and finally, new forms of organisation of the proletarian masses, thrown up during the class attacks on capital. All these features compose only different aspects of the one single process. And they all constitute a basis for the resolution of the new problems raised by the present class conflicts, as preliminary clashes of classes, during the intrusion, preparation, mobilisation and deploying of forces in the coming class wars of the new revolutionary rise. These problems must not be invented in one's mind, they must be deduced from the reality, from an analysis of that reality. What during our analysis has appeared to us in the form of characteristic features of the modern struggles will be transformed into guiding indications when we work over the problems and determine the immediate tasks.

The most important problem thrown up by the present struggles of the proletariat, and the one in which all their most important

features find a concentrated expression is the problem of the organisation of the unorganised.

The organisation of the unorganised is a new specific form of the mobilisation and organisation of the working class during this highest stage of development of finance capital, the stage it has reached in the foremost imperialist countries (the United States, Germany and France) and of organisation for the proletariat's attack on monopolist united capital. In this form proceeds the political and organisational emancipation of the proletariat from the influence of the reformists and bourgeoisie, the walls between the organised and unorganised are broken down, the proletariat learns by experience to mobilise swiftly and to organise its ranks, and also learns the art of flexible manoeuvring whilst throwing up from its ranks the finest active elements who enter the struggle committees and are connected up with the Comintern sections. Thus the pre-requisites are set up for the organisation of more stable and more prolonged unifications of the broad worker masses, unifications which can only take the form of soviets.

The problem of organising the unorganised was formulated in the decisions of the Fourth Congress of the Profintern and the Sixth Congress of the Comintern. The Comintern had also passed decisions on the organisation of the unorganised and committees of struggles previously to that congress. But only now, as the result of the experience of the Ruhr and Lodz, as the result of the experience gained in the organisation of new revolutionary trade unions in the United States, are the really enormous historical dimensions of the problem of organising the unorganised beginning to emerge.

4. THE TASKS OF THE COMINTERN SECTIONS IN CONNECTION WITH THE NEW PROBLEMS

It is difficult to convey any idea of the profound indignation and anger evoked among the social-democrats and also among the opportunist elements both inside the Comintern and those excluded, by this presentation of the problem of organising the unorganised.

"The splitting of the working class," "the splitting of the organised and the unorganised," "the splitting of the trade unions," "the transformation of the C.P. into the party of the unorganised"—these far from exhaust even the chief accusations. The Brand-

Merites worked themselves up into such a frenzy that to all these accusations they added the accusation that the German C.P. was counter-revolutionary, since owing to the new tactics of organising the unorganised it was becoming the "finest assistant to the social-democratic strategists of defeat."

In no other question is it possible to find such direct contradiction of views between the right wingers and the conciliators on the one hand and the Comintern on the other, and furthermore such a close approximation, an almost complete coincidence in views between the former and the social democrats, as on this question of organising the unorganised. On this question we are faced with a united intellectual bloc of the social-democrats, the right wingers and the conciliators.

What particularly annoys the social-democrats and the Communist opportunists is this desecration of two sacred and inviolable principles: the principle that the organised are more advanced and more militant than the unorganised, and secondly the principle of the unity of the trade unions.

Despite the evident facts which show that in the Ruhr and at Lodz the unorganised were in advance of the organised and held out firmly to the end, they all cry in one voice as to the necessity of maintaining the centre of gravity among the organised. The Brandlerite, Enderle, who during the Ruhr lockout went specially to the Ruhr in order to send back to the right wingers' organ ("Against the Current") the meanest of Menshevik slanderous correspondence against the Committees of struggle and against the C.P. (after which correspondence the reformists, who had completely lost their heads at first because of the successes of the committees of struggle, grew bolder and followed the example of Enderle and the other right wingers in a slanderous campaign against these committees) this Enderle asserts this view stubbornly.

The conciliators repeat what Enderle has said almost word for word. In their "platform" they write: "The leadership does not know how to distribute the striking forces of the attack in order to ensure that the centre of gravity should pass to the ranks of the organised." The assertion that the "unorganised are a more revolutionary factor than the organised" is in their view "a leftward devia-

tion." (The already quoted resolution of Mayer and the "Vorwaerts" contemptuously treats the unorganised as blind, backward misers merely because they do not join the union owing to the necessity of paying membership contributions.)

The problem of organising the unorganised is represented by both the right wingers and the conciliators as secondary and subsidiary to the attacks of the workers organised in trade unions, and as realisable only through the trade unions. "The mass of unorganised can be drawn into the fighting front," write the conciliators, "only if the party has its feet firmly planted in the ranks of the organised." In practice this would connote the postponement of the problem of organising the unorganised until the party had won the trade unions. And when that will happen, or whether it will ever happen, no one states, or could state.

To the right wingers and the conciliators the idea that at the present stage of the development of world revolution there are deep springs for the revolutionising of the most backward masses of the proletariat is quite alien. They do not understand that the international proletarian revolution is impossible without an extensive rise of the revolutionary movement of the unorganised. The whole enormous historical problem of organising the unorganised simply does not exist so far as they are concerned. Nothing fresh whatever has happened, they maintain, everything is going on as before. Trade unions, the form of organisation which from time immemorial has directed the economic struggle of the proletariat, are in existence. It is necessary to bring the unorganised into the trade unions. That is the organisation of the unorganised. That is how the right-wingers and conciliators (jointly with the social-democrats) interpret this problem.

On the basic question, the question of organising the unorganised, the viewpoint of the right-wingers and the conciliators is diametrically contrary to that of the Comintern. It could not be otherwise: anyone who regards the stabilisation of capitalism as becoming stronger, anyone who does not see an intensification in the general crisis of capitalism and the approach of a fresh revolutionary rise, cannot understand the decisive importance of

the problem of organising the unorganised, will preach a social-democratic viewpoint on this problem.

How does the "Vorwaerts" regard this question?

"We do not wish to deprive the Muscovites," it ironically writes, "of their faith in the revolutionary unorganised, which after the war flooded the trade unions, and then left them when the question of paying membership contributions arose." (What biting irony! And what a Marxist profundity in giving a "materialistic" explanation of the reasons for workers leaving the trade unions! Truly it would be difficult to imagine more dull-witted vulgarity.) "All the more should we work against the Communist slogan: 'With the unorganised against the unions!' doing everything possible to draw the unorganised into the unions."

The "Vorwaerts" threats to draw the unorganised into the trade unions are ludicrous. Why did they not do so in the Ruhr? Why, on the contrary, were the doors of the trade unions closed fast there? The fly-blown social-democratic politicians realise very well that to draw the unorganised into the trade unions at the present time would be tantamount to strengthening the left-wing revolutionary opposition in the unions, the opposition which they are now preparing to throw out of the unions entirely.

It is impossible to understand either the cardinal importance of the problem or organising the unorganised, as a basis for the political and organisational unification of the proletariat with a view to opening an attack on capital, or the difficulties which will lie inevitably along the road of realising this problem, if we leave out of account for one moment the fact that the organisation of the unorganised by the Communists will have to maintain a most desperate, a most ruthless struggle against the social-democrats and their assistants in the right-wing Communists and conciliators. The organisation of the unorganised undermines the basis on which social-democracy still maintains its position. That is why the first attempts to organise the unorganised are evoking a frantic exasperation among the social-democrats. That exasperation was particularly strongly expressed re-

cently in connection with the organisation of committees of struggle among the German textile workers and miners, and also in connection with the new tactic of the German C.P. at the election of factory committees, a tactic based on the mobilisation and organisation of the unorganised. The social-democrats foam at the mouth and threaten to throw out of the unions all who take the very least part in the committees of struggle, or in the election committees organising the unorganised for the elections to the factory committees, or in the independent lists of candidates set up in opposition to the trade union monopolistic lists.

The right-wingers and conciliators absolutely fail to realise the decisive importance of organising the unorganised in the task of wresting the workers from the influence of the reformists. For instance, the conciliators talk thus of the struggle against reformism (Mayer's resolution, etc.). "The most important front of this work remains, as before, revolutionary work in the unattached trade unions, in the large trade union mass organisations of the German proletariat. Without the general strengthening of this work all the attempts to establish a united front in order to overcome reformism are foredoomed to failure."

In other words, a complete rejection of the Ruhr experience of organising the unorganised and the practical renunciation of that problem, and so a complete stultification of all the fine talk about the necessity to struggle "against the rightward deviation, which in practice is a denial in true social-democratic spirit of the importance of the unorganised."

Against whom do the conciliators direct these words? Against themselves.

No less frenzy and indignation are aroused among the social-democrats and the Communist opportunists by the desecration of the greatest of the reformist sanctums, the trade unions. They go into a sacred trepidation over the idea expressed by Stalin, that "a situation is quite conceivable in which it may prove necessary to set up parallel mass unions of the working class despite the will of the trade union hierarchy who have sold themselves to the capitalists. We have already had such a situation in America. It is quite possible that

the situation in Germany may arrive at this stage."

Not a day passes in Germany now without all the trade union hierarchy, all the social-democratic politicians, all the Brandlerites shouting the roof off over the immediate split of the trade unions being preached by Moscow, by the Comintern, by Stalin.

"Senseless, a mere phrase, a harlequinade," the "Vorwaerts" screams on every page.

"An open proclamation of a course for the splitting of the trade unions," the Brandlerites take up the strain. "It is not a question of the 'conceivability' or the 'possibility' of a split of the German trade unions in a more or less distant future, but of the proclamation of a split as soon as possible, at once." ("Against the Stream," No. 2.)

"The line of the Comintern Sixth Congress," the conciliators chorus, "completely excludes any play with the idea of creating parallel mass organisations in Germany." (Mayer's resolution, etc.)

Audacity in a direct, open, resolute setting of tasks was never lacking to the Bolsheviks. Consequently all the noise and hurly-burly over the immediate organisation of parallel mass organisations by the German C.P. as raised by the social-democrats, reformists and right-wingers in connection with comrade Stalin's declaration, have no real bases for existence. In no country except the United States has the Comintern yet set the task of organising new trade unions. When the situation brings this task to the forefront as ready for handling it will be set by the Comintern with all Bolshevik resolution and definiteness.

See how Lenin raised the question of the trade unions in his polemic against Serrati, whose argument was closely akin to that of the present right wingers (see Lenin's article "Lying talk of freedom"). "Serrati is afraid of a split, which would weaken the party and in particular the trade unions, the co-operatives, the municipalities. Don't destroy these institutions, necessary as they are to the construction of socialism—such is Serrati's chief thought. There is the same idea in the journal 'Communism,' No. 24 for 1927, edited by Serrati, in his article on the Second Congress of the Third International: 'Imagine the Milan commune (i.e., the town municipality of

Milan), directed not by competent men, but by upstarts, who from yesterday merely have passed themselves off as ardent Communists.' Serrati is afraid of the break-up of the trade unions, the co-operatives, the municipalities, of the incapability and mistakes of the newcomers. The Communists are afraid of the sabotage of the revolution by the reformists. . . To compare with this danger the danger of 'loss' or failure, of errors, of the smashing of the trade unions, co-operatives, municipalities, and so on is simply ludicrous, and not only ludicrous but criminal. To risk all the fate of the revolution out of the idea that there may be failure in regard to the urban council of Milan and so on is to reveal a complete confusion, to reveal a complete lack of understanding of the radical task of the revolution, is to be completely incapable of preparing its victory."

As you see, Lenin did not stop before any obstacles interfering with the preparation of a victorious revolution, he took the road of splits, the shattering of the trade unions, co-operatives and so on for the sake of the interests of the revolution. The well-being of the revolution is the highest law (one of Plekhanov's favourite utterances when he was still a revolutionary). It is quite useful to recall how Lenin put the issue of trade unions to those who, whilst calling themselves Leninists, regarded the unity of the trade unions as the highest law, men like the right wing Melcher, for instance, who in his memorandum to the Profintern Fourth Congress called for a fusion of the red trade unions with the Amsterdam International, and declared that if they did so the "fighting power of the international trade union movement would be increased to an enormous extent."

Both the Fourth Congress of the Profintern and the Sixth Congress of the Comintern strongly emphasised the necessity for further work inside the trade unions with a view to their being won. It is possible even that a partial conquest of individual trade union organisations may be achieved by resort definitely to the movement of the unorganised, by introducing the unorganised in masses into the trade unions, especially on the basis of a sound leadership of the strike struggles. That is a plan which is in diametrical opposition to the

plan put forward by the conciliators, which proposes to win the unorganised on the basis of the reformist unions.

But it must not be forgotten that the reformist trade union machinery and especially its bourgeois upper ranks stand resolutely athwart the road of the movement and organisation of the unorganised. Consequently the Comintern may be faced with the necessity in a revolutionary situation of creating parallel mass organisations.

At the moment this question arises in a practical form nowhere except in America. Nor could it arise in a practical form at the moment. It may seem to some that it is delusive to organise a new mass organisation from those workers who have entered a mass strike or lock-out under the leadership of a committee of struggle, who would thus be temporarily united in one organisation, and afterwards, when the struggle was ended for organisation to cease existence. The question may arise in some comrades' minds, why not maintain that organisation and develop it further?

Such an approach to the problem of organising the unorganised is a bureaucratic, narrow, organisational approach. To put the issue thus is to reveal a lack of understanding of all the social profundity and all the political importance of organising of the unorganised, as being at the present period a main method of creating the pre-requisites for a united revolutionary attack of the proletariat on the capitalist class, with a view to overthrowing the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie and the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat. If the creation of new mass revolutionary organisations were such an easy task the socialist revolution would have been accomplished long since.

It is a question of organising the class in its attacks (of course, not the whole class, which under capitalism is impossible) and this kind of broad organisation cannot be permanent. It inevitably has a temporary quality, it is set up for the purpose of the mass attack and with its close it inevitably dissolves. To think that these organisations can become permanent is to reveal a lack of understanding of their essence and character, and also of the conditions of their development.

It is to confuse the trade unions and the soviets.

Such do not understand that in order to create new mass revolutionary organisations it is necessary that the masses themselves should be re-educated through their own experience of mass attacks, that they should abandon the firmly held and previously developed opinions, prejudices, traditions, that they should pass the bounds of the social-democratic and bourgeois political and reformist trade union organisations, to which they have belonged sometimes for decades, that they should become convinced through their own experience in mass attacks that the new organisational forms (the temporary unformulated organisations around the committees of struggle) have advantages over the old customary organisations which have led them for decades, and finally that they should throw up new active elements which under the leadership of the C.P. should take on themselves the execution of the difficult task of organising new mass associations of the proletariat.

Without passing through this school of mobilisation, organisation and struggle the new mass organisations cannot be set up, irrespective of whether they are trade unions or soviets.

We have just said "under the leadership of the C.P." But it is permissible to ask the question whether the Comintern sections would be able to handle the task of creating new permanent mass workers' organisations, if that task were regarded by them as an immediate task of the present day. Are the Comintern sections ready for that work to-day?

It is necessary to give an exact and clear answer to this question.

What has been the course of development of the Comintern sections? Under what conditions have these sections developed?

The majority of the sections have developed under legal conditions. Secondly, of all the legal sections only the German C.P. has really been under fire in revolutionary battles. Thirdly, in the work of the Comintern legal sections the practical leadership of the masses, in their everyday struggle and in their attacks, has lagged extraordinarily behind their propagandist work.

Have such conditions been sufficient to en-

sure the Bolshevisation of the parties? They have not. That is quite clear if we remember how, under what conditions, through what ruthless struggle, in what a militant atmosphere the first Bolshevik Party, the C.P.S.U. grew and strengthened.

Without such a militant school there cannot be a genuinely Bolshevik party. And without the "war baptism" the Comintern sections which have not yet "smelt powder" cannot free themselves wholly from the still strong traditions of legalism, which bind them hand and foot and put their representatives sometimes into the almost uncontrolled disposition of the reformists. Even in the German C.P. these legalist traditions still exist.

The Comintern sections must themselves learn by experience, in the practice of mass attacks, in the practice of the creation of temporary mass organisations, must re-educate their old ranks, must draw in new, driving out all the social-democratic, right wing and conciliatory vestiges and traditions. The party cannot give the solution of the problem of organising the unorganised any practical basis if that problem is not raised by the party in all its social profundity and in all its political significance, as a struggle for the organisation of the proletariat on new bases ensuring its victory, and if that problem is not raised in all its dimensions, in its connection with the characteristic peculiarities and distinguishing features of the growing revolutionary rise and the battles now taking place.

The developing revolutionary prospect faces the Comintern sections with the central task of transforming themselves from preponderantly propagandist organisations into revolutionary staffs of the millions of proletariat and toilers entering into struggle, i.e., of transforming themselves into Bolshevik parties. And this can be achieved only under two conditions: first of their permanent close contact with the masses and their practical leadership in their everyday struggles and their wide-flung attacks, and second of a resolute, incessant unswerving struggle against all deviations

from Leninism, and especially against the rightward deviation and a conciliatory attitude towards it, which at the present time constitutes the chief obstacle on the road of the speedy Bolshevisation of the Comintern sections.

During the period which has elapsed since the decline of the first revolutionary wave of 1918-19, during the period of "breathing-space" now drawing to a close, opportunist elements have accumulated in the ranks of the Comintern, and have worked out a philosophy of the "breathing-space," not yet openly proclaimed and not completely formulated. The fundamental idea of this philosophy consists in the conception of the possibility of a protracted peaceful cohabitation of the U.S.S.R. with the capitalist world, (and inside the U.S.S.R., with the new bourgeoisie, and even of a stable peace between the two "protagonists"). Theoretically this philosophy seeks to find bases for support in attempts to reconcile Lenin with Kautsky and to unite the bourgeois dictatorship with the proletarian dictatorship. Practically the unification of the two dictatorships has to proceed by way of "corresponding" concessions on the part of the U.S.S.R. The first step along the road of concessions has to be the cessation of the forcing of socialist construction inside the U.S.S.R. and of forcing the international revolution outside its boundaries.

This is the essence of the rightward deviation, its social-democratic essence, which, on the eve of new struggles, before the prospect of a new revolutionary rise is desperately resisting the transformation of the Comintern sections into the staff of the revolution.

The opportunist elements in the ranks of the Comintern have lost all taste for revolutionary storms, which bring with them dangers, difficulties, disturbances, convulsions. An invisible power is drawing them into the quiet harbours of reformism.

Their road is not ours.

Our road, the road of the Leninist Communist International, is forward to meet the revolutionary storms.

Marx and Lenin in the Proletarian Revolution

E. Yaroslavsky

The service of Marx and Engels to the working class may be expressed in a few words as follows: they taught the working class self-reliance and consciousness and put science in the place of visioning.—(Lenin: "F. Engels.")

The greatest emancipating movement of an oppressed class in the world, the most revolutionary of classes in history, is impossible without a revolutionary theory. This theory cannot be fabricated, it grows out of the accumulated revolutionary experience and thought of all the countries of the world. Such a theory developed in the second half of the nineteenth century. It is called Marxism.—(Lenin: "Against the Stream.")

Leninism is the Marxism of the epoch of imperialism and the proletarian revolution. More exactly: Leninism is the theory and tactics of the proletarian revolution in general, and the theory and tactics of the dictatorship of the proletariat in particular.—(Stalin: "Theory and Practice of Leninism," p. 10.)

ON the eve of the stormy period of revolution in Western Europe, in a period of storm and stress, arose the revolutionary thought of Karl Marx. Marx assimilated greedily what could be "smelt in the air," he filled himself with the spirit of the age, deeply laboured, analysed it with painstaking care, formulated conclusions which unfailingly served centuries, defining the revolutionary tactics of the workers' parties for whole decades, extending over all epochs of the organisation of workers' parties and their first class-struggles.

Marx was, together with Engels, one of the organisers of these parties.

Already in 1844, Marx was in close touch with the first workers' organisations arising at that time in Switzerland, Germany, London and Paris. In the introduction to the brochure of Marx "The Communist Trial at Cologne," Engels recounts how in 1844 he visited Marx in Paris and expressed full agreement with Marx in all theoretical questions, as also in

1845, "when we . . . again met in Brussels, Marx, proceeding from the above fundamental principles, had already worked out the main lines of his materialist theory of history, and we accepted this newly-discovered method of research for detailed working out in the most diverse fields." From the field of Utopian dreamings Communism became a scientifically grounded theory, with a programme of action, "Communism no longer remained a fantastic visioning of all possible more complete ideal societies, but the definition of the origins and conditions of proletarian struggle and its objectives developing from them." (F. Engels.)

It is well known, that Marx and Engels working on the theory of historical materialism, did not for one moment stand apart from the proletarian movement at that time developing. "We by no means intended to achieve new scientific results available exclusively to the 'educated' world, recording them in bulky tomes; on the contrary, we went deeply into the political movement, we gathered a goodly number of followers in the cultured world, especially in Western Germany and had sufficient contact with the organised proletarians. We were duty bound to scientifically ground our views, but no less important was for us the rallying of the European and, above all, the German proletariat to the side of our standpoint."

In Brussels Marx and Engels organised the Society of German Workers (Deutsche Arbeiterbund) which issued the "German Brussels News" ("Deutsche-Brüsseler Zeitung"), and maintained contact with the revolutionary section of the English Chartists through the editor of the Chartist organ "Northern Star," Julian Harney,

Marx was vice-president of the Democratic Society in Brussels and at the same time in close touch with the French social-democrats of "La Réforme."

In 1846 and 1847 Marx and Engels organised the Committee of Communist Correspondence, which was connected with the workers' organisations of France, Switzerland and England, and endeavoured to guide their activities by sending out special circular letters.

In the revolution of 1848 Marx already appeared as a Communist, giving as the joint author with Engels, the "Programme of Action for Communist Parties of All Countries."

The "Federation of the Just" at its Congress in the summer of 1847 in London, changed its name to the Communist League, and the programme of this League was based on the views of the Communist Manifesto, drafted by Marx and Engels. The first paragraph of the Statutes of the Communist League was formulated completely in the spirit of the Communist Manifesto. "The object of the League is the overthrow of the bourgeoisie, the rule of the proletariat, the destruction of the old bourgeois society based on the antagonism of classes, and the foundation of a new society without classes and private property."

We dealt somewhat in detail with the foregoing because it is in this period that the basic teaching of Marx on the class struggle and the role of the proletariat was worked out, which serves as the basis for the entire further practice of the Communist movement of the working class. Marx was not a passive spectator of great events, he was a militant participant in these events. To him belongs the leading role in the creation of the First International. He took an enthusiastic part in the first steps of the social-democratic movement, followed the developed of this movement and helped it by fighting all opportunist movements of his time.

In the Communist Manifesto, Marx considered it necessary to attack decisively such theories as "feudal socialism"—half echo of the past, half menace of the future, at times, by its bitter witty and incisive criticism, striking the bourgeoisie to the very heart's core, but always ludicrous in its effect, through total incapacity to comprehend the march of history."

Marx sharply criticises "petty bourgeois socialism" (at the head of which stood Sismondi), which "dissected with great acuteness

the contradiction in the conditions of modern production . . . laid bare the hypocritical apologies of economists," but which "aspired either to restoring the old means of production and exchange, and with them the old property relations, and the old society, or to cramping the modern means of production and of exchange within the framework of the old property relations that have been and were bound to be exploded by these means," which, therefore is "both reactionary and Utopian."

Just as ruthlessly Marx criticised German or "true" socialism. "The role of speculative cobwebs, embroidered with flowers of rhetoric, steeped in the dew of sickly sentiment"; against the Conservative or bourgeois socialism to which school belong "economists, philanthropists, humanitarians, improvers of the condition of the working class, temperance fanatics, hole-and-corner reformers of every kind," the entire wisdom of whom is summed up in the fact that: "the bourgeois is a bourgeois—for the benefit of the working class." Marx criticised, although less sharply, the critical utopian socialism and Communism of St. Simon, Fourier, Owen, Babeuf, Truly, "The founders of these systems see, indeed, the class antagonisms, as well as the action of the decomposing elements in the prevailing form of society. But the proletariat, as yet in its infancy, offers to them the spectacle of a class without any historical initiative or any independent political movement."

Some were displeased by the criticism of Marx and Engels of those theories in such an important document as the Communist Manifesto, just as in the period of the Third International for example the Trotskyists are displeased that the programme of the Communist International devotes attention to such theories as the theory of Guild Socialism of Hobson, the Austro-Marxism of Otto Bauer, the Constructive socialism of MacDonald, and co-operative socialism, etc., that the programme of the Communist International explains the reactionary role of anarchism and "revolutionary" syndicalism, that in regard to the colonial countries the programme of the Communist International points out the especially harmful role of such theories as Sun-Yat-Senism in China, Gandhism in India, or Garveyism among the negro masses in the present period.

These people forget that the all-sufficing theory of the workers' movement demands the relentless exposure of such theories, which endeavour to establish influence over the working class, and which have nothing in common with the revolutionary movement of the working class.

In the article "Marxism and Revisionism" Lenin gives such an estimation of the struggle Marx and Engels waged against all opportunist and revisionist tendencies :

"For the first half-century of its existence (from the forties of the nineteenth century) Marxism fought the theories which were naturally opposed to it.

"In the first half of the forties Marx and Engels squared accounts with the radical young Hegelians, who stood for philosophic idealism. At the end of the forties they led the struggle in the economic field—against Proudhonism : the fifties completed this struggle : the criticism of parties and doctrines transformed into the storm of 1848. In the sixties the struggle is carried from the field of general theory to questions nearer and more immediate to the workers' movement : the exclusion of Bakuninism from the First International. At the commencement of the seventies in Germany there arose for a short time the Proudhonist Mulberger ; at the end of the seventies, the positivist Dühring. But the influence of one or the other on the proletariat was completely destroyed. Marxism already conquered indisputably all other ideas of the workers' movement.

"With the nineties of the last century this victory was, on main issues, complete.

"Nevertheless, this did not mean that the struggle against the teachings of Marx was concluded, often among the Marxists themselves.

"When Marxism exploded all those teachings wholly opposed to itself, those tendencies, which had found expression in such teachings, sought new means of expression. The form and means of struggle changed, but the struggle continued. The second half century of the existence of Marxism commenced (nineties) with the struggle of the anti-Marxist tendencies within Marxism. Pre-Marxist socialism is exploded, it now continues the struggle not on its own independent

basis, but on the general basis of Marxism, as revisionism."

Lenin analyses exactly how revisionism attempted to give battle to the revolutionary Marxist theory in various fields.

In what consisted this revisionism ?

"It determined its activities from case to case, adjusted itself to the events of the day, to somersaults in political details, forgetting the root interests of the proletariat and the basic features of the entire capitalist structure, all capitalist evolution, sacrificing these root interests for real or fancied gains of the moment—such is the revisionist policy."

Lenin prefaced this by saying that for the revisionists, for those "fellow-travellers," of whom there are not few in our workers' movement, "every somewhat 'new' question, somewhat unexpected and unforeseen turn of events, although perhaps this changes the basic line of development in only a miniature degree and for a very short time—unavoidably will always call forth this or the other aspect of revisionism." How correct Lenin has proved to be in his prognosis ! How many times since those lines were written during the last twenty years have unexpected and unforeseen turns of events brought forward different aspects of revisionism !

What is the class content of this revisionism ? What explains its inevitable appearance in different countries ? Lenin explains this, "that in all capitalist countries, side by side with the proletariat, are always large strata of petty bourgeoisie, small master men." Capitalism was born and permanently generates from small production. Whole groups of "middle strata" are inevitably created by capitalism (small workshops, accessory factories, "out-work" at home), thrown up in all countries by the demands of big industry (*e.g.*, bicycle and motor industry, etc.).

These new small producers are just as inevitably again thrown down into the ranks of the proletariat.

Small wonder that the petty bourgeois outlook breaks out again and again in the ranks of all big workers' parties.

It is perfectly natural that it must be so and will remain so right up to the advent of the proletarian revolution, for it would be a serious mistake to imagine that it is necessary

to "completely" proletarianise a majority of the population for the realisation of such a revolution.

"That which we now experience, partially only ideologically : differences with theoretical corrections of Marx—that which now breaks forth merely in separate partial questions of the workers' movement in practical work, as tactical differences with the revisionists and splits on these grounds—will be certainly undergone by the working class again under indisputably greater dimensions, when the proletarian revolution sharpens all questions of differences, concentrates all disagreements on those points of the most immediate significance for the determination of the leadership of the mass, and in the dust of battle compel the separation of enemies from friends and discards bad allies for the heaping of decisive blows to the enemy." (Lenin, "Marxism and Revisionism.")

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Lenin was an immediate continuator of the work of Marx. Lenin commences his revolutionary activity approximately when Marx concludes. If the views of Marx ripened on the eve of the revolutionary storm of 1848, then the ideas of Lenin formulated on the eve of the first Russian revolution, 1905-07. Marx actively participated in the organisation of the first Communist League and the first International Workingmen's Association—the First International.

He worked out together with Engels the most important documents which have led the whole workers' movement. He gave a deep fundamental theory to the workers' movement of whole epochs.

Lenin continues the work of Marx. He was the organiser of the workers' party, a party which became the advance-guard of the revolutionary socialist movement of the whole world. Lenin worked out the fundamental directives which laid the basis of the practice of the workers' movement not only of Russia, but also other countries for whole epochs, epochs of war and revolution, the last stage of capitalist development—the epoch of imperialism.

Lenin was the organiser of that movement, the organiser of the Communist International, he worked out the most important questions connected with the practice of that movement.

Marx gave a deep analysis of the capitalist development in concise form, filled with the whole ardour of the proletarian revolution; "The capitalist fabric is shattered, the knell of capitalist private property is sounding—the expropriation of the expropriators."

Lenin in the new epoch, in the epoch of imperialism developed the teaching of Marx, showed how in that stage the development of capitalism was of a jumpy, unequal, character, and that the unequal development of the different imperialist countries leads to inevitable social revolutions in separate countries and the possibility of the victory of socialism in one country or a number of countries

Marx lived through the epoch of the Commune, he made forceful revolutionary conclusions from that great effort to create a new type of State. Lenin lives through the epoch of three consecutive liberating revolutions in Russia : he leads these revolutions; before his eyes already in 1905 the Soviets were born, and Lenin systematised everything said by Marx and Engels on the question of the State, and on the basis of the experience of two revolutions—1905 and February, 1917, and this study gives on the eve of the October revolution 1917, his teachings on State and revolution. The experience of the Paris Commune proves how the proletariat, capturing the State power and smashing the old State machine, may build a new type of State.

This new type of State is the republic of Soviets.

Lenin wrote his work, "State and Revolution" on the eve of the October battles. In the foreword of the 30th November, 1917, Lenin wrote: "This little book was written in August and September, 1917. I had already drawn up the plan for the next, the seventh, chapter, on the experiences of the Russian revolutions of 1905 to 1917.

"But, apart from the title, I had not succeeded in writing a single line of the chapter, being presented therefrom by a political crisis—the eve of the November revolution of 1917. Such a hindrance can only be welcomed. However, this final part of the book devoted to the lessons of the Russian revolutions of 1905 and 1917, will probably have to be put off for a long time. It is more pleasant and

more useful to live through the experience of a revolution than to write about it."

Marx, at the first sign of the awakening of revolutionary consciousness in the masses of China and India, made bold prophecies of the future revolutionary events in those countries. Lenin lives in the epoch of the rising mass revolutionary movement in these countries—China, India, Turkey, Persia and others, the colonial and semi-colonial countries. Lenin had already not merely prophesied the development of revolutionary events, he participated in them, he gives them clear and concise formulations, he gives them revolutionary slogans, he outlines the basis of revolutionary tactics—the tactics of the Communists of these countries. Lenin lives in the period prophesied by Marx, the epoch of war and revolution, and in the epoch when the bourgeoisie subjects the social-democratic parties to its influence, and makes them weapons of its policy; Lenin boldly and unhesitatingly breaks with the Second International and organises the new International Workingmen's Association—the Third International. He creates the revolutionary tactics of the working class in this epoch of war and revolution. He shows the way, how the working class must conduct the war against war, how to convert the war, war for the division of the earth, war for annexations and contributions, plunder and loot, into war against the bourgeoisie, into socialist revolution.

Marx, on the basis of the great experience of the European revolution gives his immortal laws and rules of armed insurrection. For Marx the armed insurrection, as war, is an art. He studies the tactics of war; the military works of Klausewitz and other authorities on military affairs were carefully remarked and pencilled by Lenin, and on the eve of the October battles Lenin issues (8-10-17) his "Advice from One Absent."

"Armed insurrection is a special form of political struggle, subject to special rules which must be deeply reflected upon.

"Karl Marx expressed this thought with particular clearness when he said that 'Armed insurrection like warfare, is an art.'

"The principal rules of this art, as laid down by Marx, are as follows:

"(1) Never play with insurrection, and, when it is once begun, understand clearly that it must be carried through to the end.

"(2) Collect, at the decisive place and time, forces which are greatly superior to those of the enemy, otherwise the latter, better prepared and organised, will annihilate the insurgents.

"(3) Once the insurrection has begun, it is necessary to act with the utmost vigour and to wage at all costs the offensive. 'The defensive is death to the insurrection.'

"(4) Make sure of taking the enemy by surprise, and take advantage of the moment when his troops are scattered.

"(5) Win successes each day even small ones (one might say 'each hour' in the case of a small town) and at all costs keep the 'moral superiority.'

"Marx has summarised the lessons of all revolutions or armed insurrections in the words of the greatest master of revolutionary tactics known to history, Danton: 'Be daring, be still more daring, be daring always.'"

As it is impossible to conceive of the Communist League and the First International without Marx and Engels, so the Communist International is inconceivable without Lenin.

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Even in his very earliest works Lenin displays a deep acquaintance with the works of Marx. Already in his work on the economic contents of Narodnikism and the criticism of them in the work of Struve in 1894, Lenin expresses philosophical views in complete accord with those of Marx and Engels. Marx was compelled to overcome various forms of anti-Marxist or revisionist theory for the triumph of his theory and to ensure the success of the workers' movement. Lenin in the first steps of his political activity attacks "the powers of thought" of his time—the "Narodniki" and the "Narodnikist" teachings, but at the same time in the ranks of the Marxists Lenin fights falsifications of Marxism, against the attempt to transform Marxism for the uses of bourgeois Liberalism.

He fights with the legal Marxists, with the "Economists," the "worker leaders" and in this is the great service of Lenin. Fulfilling this work he continued the work of Marx.

"The ideological struggle of revolutionary Marxism with revisionism at the end of the 19th century is only the presage of the mighty revolutionary battles of the proletariat, going forward to political victory in its fight, despite all vacillations and weaknesses of petty bourgeois outlook."

Lenin was completely justified in regarding his struggle against revisionist tendencies as the presage of the great revolutionary battles of the proletariat, and we, the followers of Lenin and those who continue his work, cannot regard otherwise our struggle against all attempts to revise the teachings of Lenin than as a necessary component part of those "great revolutionary struggles of the proletariat," cannot regard them otherwise than as struggles against vacillations and petty bourgeois outlook.

So Lenin regarded also his struggle against those philosophic tendencies directed against dialectic materialism.

"The new philosophy," wrote Lenin, "is just as partisan as that of two thousand years ago." In the struggle of philosophical tendencies Lenin perceived the "struggle of parties in philosophy," a struggle, "which, in the last resort expresses the tendencies and ideologies of the conflicting classes of modern society."

"The contending parties are in the main materialism and idealism, although their nature may be concealed under a pseudo-erudite verbal charlatanry or beneath the guise of a non-partisanship. Idealism is merely a cunning and refined form of fideism which, being fully armoured, has great organisations under its control and invariably continues to influence the masses, taking advantage of the least vacillation in philosophical thought."

So concluded Lenin his work on "Materialism and Empirio-Criticism," which he wrote in the period of the decline of the revolution, in the period between two revolutions, when the liquidators increased their activities against the Bolshevik Party, and when among the Bolsheviks themselves serious confusion and vacillation were in evidence.

In this part of his works on philosophy. Lenin also continued the work of Marx and Engels, the donors of the foundations of the theory of historical materialism as a philoso-

phical system, which not merely explains the world, but teaches how to transform that world in the interests of the working class.

For Lenin, however, theoretical work must above all lead to the concrete study of the form of antagonism between classes, the study of their connections, and of the outcome of development: "It must reveal this antagonism everywhere, where it is hidden by political history, the peculiarities of the systems of jurisprudence, or instituted by theoretical prejudices. It must give a complete picture of our real surroundings, as a definite system of productive relationships, showing the necessity of exploitation and the expropriation of the labouring mass under that system, and show the way out from this order of things indicated by economic development."

So Lenin already in 1894 in his work "Who are the Friends of the People?" defined the theoretical tasks.

It is necessary also to add that just as the analysis of the capitalist epoch by Marx is unequalled—so the analysis of Lenin of the last epoch of capitalism—the imperialist epoch—is unequalled. Whole volumes have been written on the epoch of imperialism—it suffices but to mention such work as that of Hilferding—and not one of these theoreticians possessed the boldness of thought to form such conclusions which to-day our workers' parties draw their revolutionary practice, from which develops the inevitability of socialist revolution. For that was necessary the deep devotion to the revolution which was incarnate in Lenin.

He as no other of our time completely mastered the dialectical method of Marx.

The achievement of Lenin consists in the fact that Lenin not merely was able to show the correctness of that method, in all the most important events of the epoch, but he also taught this and hundreds of thousands of his Leninist disciples to master this method.

Nevertheless it would be wrong to think, that Lenin only taught how to apply the laws of Marxism in practical work—Lenin not merely deeply valued the great significance of theory, he considered that "without a revolutionary theory there can be no revolutionary movement."

* * * * *

Lenin worked out the revolutionary tactics of Marxism during the epoch of proletarian revolution. Marx showed the irreconcilable contradictions between bourgeoisie and proletariat, which unavoidably lead to clashes and revolutionary struggles.

The aim of that struggle is the overthrow of the bourgeoisie and the setting up of the proletarian dictatorship.

In what must consist the tactics of the proletariat, the tactics of the proletarian party? It must clearly perceive the contradictions, and permanently raise and utilise them as the source of the development of revolutionary struggle. "The Communists disdain to conceal their views and aims. They openly declare that their ends can be attained only by the forcible overthrow of all existing social conditions." (Communist Manifesto). The revolutionary tactics must consist in the rallying of masses for the realisation of these aims.

The masses cannot be rallied without distributing correct conceptions of revolutionary struggle and the class struggles amongst them about the aims of the movement, or without a great deal of propaganda work. Therefore the Communist Party "never ceases for a single instant to instil into the working class the clearest possible recognition of the hostile antagonism between bourgeoisie and proletariat." (Communist Manifesto.)

Marx placed before the working class a revolutionary task: "Raise the proletariat to the position of a ruling class, to win the battle (of democracy)."

But it was necessary to show how to do this, and win the working class to believe in the possibility of the realisation of this task. The great achievement of Lenin consists in the fact that he was able to arm tens of thousands of leading workers in such a backward country as Russia with the teachings of Marxism and teach them how to do this, how "to wrest all capital from the bourgeoisie, to centralise all instruments of production in the hands of the State, i.e., of the proletariat organised as the ruling class; and to increase the total of productive forces as rapidly as possible." (Communist Manifesto.)

Marx advised the proletariat to bring to the front "as the leading question . . . in all these movements . . . the property question no matter what its degree of development,"

to support at the same time "every revolutionary movement against the existing social and political order of things." (Communist Manifesto.) Marx advised the proletariat where necessary to labour "for the union and agreement of the democratic parties of all countries." In this Marx placed before the proletariat the task of attaining the hegemony of the revolutionary movement. Lenin showed how this must be done, and despite all parties and groups, which tried to restrict the proletariat during mighty revolutionary events to an opposition role, to being mere accessories of the bourgeois movement, Lenin formulated the tasks of the proletariat with his Bolshevik Party, as the tasks of the leader of the proletarian revolution.

Lenin held, as Marx, that the success of the movement of the revolutionary proletariat depended on the degree to which the Communist Party could rally the masses to itself.

The idea itself could become a colossal material force if it dominates the masses.

"Our teaching is no dogma—but a guide to action," said Lenin. "We do not pretend that Marx or the Marxists know the way to socialism in all its concrete developments. That is nonsense. We know the direction of the road, we know which class forces lead to socialism, but concretely this will only be practically shown in the experience of millions, when they take action."

This is the chief task of the Bolshevik Party, as concisely formulated by Lenin and consists in attracting millions into politics. Only when it is a question of millions of masses can we speak of real politics. This is why, in April-July, 1917, when the masses of peasantry were still not implicated in the movement to the full, when among the soldier masses a defensive mood still hovered, Lenin considered the armed insurrection premature, even considered that particular moment fatal, and on the contrary, when things had completely reached the stage, where the million masses could be drawn in to the movement, Lenin held that delay meant death.

* * * *

The colossal service of Lenin, as also Marx lies in the fact that he defined the relationship of the proletariat and peasantry in the socialist revolution.

In his remarkable work, "The Development of Capitalism in Russia," which Lenin wrote on the eve of the Russian revolution, during a period of comparative calm, which occurred after the outbreak of the big strikes of 1895-1896, Lenin gave an analysis of social and class structure which was fully endorsed by "the open political appearance of all classes in the course of the revolution." (Foreword to Second Edition, July, 1907.) That was a brilliant analysis of pre-revolutionary Russian economy, and this analysis, like the analysis of Marx of the development of classes in capitalist society, was magnificently upheld in the entire course of further development of class struggle in Russia and the entire world. It was important not merely to designate various strata of peasants, and the tendencies of their further development, but more important to show how the proletariat could react in the process of class struggle to separate strata of peasantry as allies, to show, that it must perceive in the poor and middle peasant strata such allies, and attract these strata to the side of the proletarian revolution.

The happy coincidence of the peasant revolution with the proletarian, under the leadership of the proletariat, led to the victory of the latter. Had the Bolshevik Party not been able, however, under Lenin's leadership, to define the correct relationships of the proletariat to the peasantry during and on the morrow of the revolution, to define the correct tactics in regard to the peasantry, the revolution would not have maintained victory over the bourgeoisie or landlords.

Lenin, as Marx, worked out the tactics of the proletariat up to the revolution in the period of unfolding revolutionary events and on the morrow of the revolution—in the period of capture of power. Already in his early work "Who are the Friends of the People?" Lenin outlined a plan of action and Marxist tactics, the tactics of the leading workers in the period of preparation of the revolution. This is the work of propaganda and organisation of the leading strata of the workers, creation of the workers' party, establishing opponents and allies, organisation of connections with these allies, studying and mastering the political experience of other revolutions, educating and tempering the proletariat and the strata of petty bourgeoisie allied with

it, in revolutionary skirmishes with the class enemy, posing of such political tasks calculated to attract broader democratic forces to the side of the proletariat, learning and acquiring different methods of revolutionary struggle, demonstrations, strikes, general strikes, armed uprisings, and the permissibility under given circumstances of agreements with the revolutionary bourgeoisie.

Lenin was more than once—as Marx called a revolutionary romancer—a dreamer. Lenin answered the philistines and cowardly small bourgeois, who could not even dream of a revolutionary outcome, and were frightened by it :

"A revolutionary social-democrat spurns such theories with contempt. On the eve of the revolution he will not content himself with prophesying its 'bad end.' No, he will indicate the possibilities of a better conclusion. He will dream, he is duty bound to dream, unless he is a miserably hopeless philistine, that after the gigantic experience of Europe, after the unprecedented display of energy of the working class of Russia, we will be successful, as never before, in kindling the first small flame of the beacon of revolution before the dark and crushed masses, that we will succeed, thanks to the fact that we stand on the shoulders of a whole series of the revolutionary generations of Europe—to realise, in hitherto inconceivable magnitude, all democratic reforms, our entire minimum programme; that we will succeed to attain the stage where the Russian revolution will not be a movement of a few months but many years, that the revolution will not lead merely to a few concessions on the part of the powers that be but to the complete extirpation of those powers. If we succeed then . . . then the revolutionary flames will ignite Europe. In their turn the European workers, exasperated with bourgeois reaction, will rise and show us 'how it is done'; then the revolutionary upheaval of Europe will react on Russia, and the epoch of a few revolutionary years will become an epoch of a number of revolutionary decades, then . . . but we have time yet to speak of what we will do 'then,' we will speak not from the accursed distant Geneva, but before thousands of workers assembled on the

streets of Moscow and Petersburg, before the marching emancipated Russian moujiks."

Lenin not merely dreamed of that great swing of revolutionary energy of the working class, however. He was capable of building such a Bolshevik Party, which drew into the movement all forces, suitable to the ensuring of the strength of that revolutionary swing.

In the differences which were fought out between the Bolsheviks and the Mensheviks and other political parties in the period of the first revolution on the question of the arming of the workers, the question of the organisation of uprisings (the arming of the workers, the relationship to the army, the creation of means of revolutionary power and the participation in temporary revolutionary governments), the question of relations to the peasantry, relations to bourgeois parties, Lenin always acted upon the precepts of Marxist theory. The Marxist theory was for him, as for all Bolsheviks, a guide to action.

In the period of the first revolution when the difference on guerrilla warfare took place, Lenin asks: "Which fundamental demands must all Marxists observe in the review of the question of forms of struggle?" and answers, "In the first place Marxism differs from all primitive forms of socialism inasmuch as it does not connect the movement with any one definite form of struggle. Marxism recognises the most varied forms of struggle, but does not fabricate them, but only organises, nurtures, and gives consciousness to all forms of struggle of revolutionary classes which arise naturally in the course of the movement. Unconditionally antagonistic to all ready-made formulæ, all doctrinaire recipes, Marxism demands an attentive attitude to the mass struggles in progress, which in the development of the movement, and with the growth of consciousness of the masses, with the sharpening of economic and political crises, produce newer and more variform means of defence and attack. Therefore Marxism does not refrain from any form of struggle whatsoever. . . .

"In the second place, Marxism demands unconditionally an historical review of the question of forms of struggle. To pose this question outside its concrete historical situation is to fail to understand the A B C of dialectical materialism. In various periods of eco-

nomic evolution, in dependence on different political, national-cultural and traditional conditions, etc. different forms of struggle become uppermost, and in connection therewith, in their turn, change the secondary accessory forms of struggle." (Lenin, "Guerrilla Warfare.")

Here Lenin, as in other cases, in this tactical question develops and expounds Marxian views. He constantly raises tactical questions from the viewpoint of the logical application of Marxism. But Lenin does not merely expound Marx, he adds always his own, Leninist, new contribution founded on the latest experience of the revolutionary struggle, and the modern conditions of the revolutionary movement.

Examining the results and forming conclusions on the lessons of the Moscow insurrection, Lenin says: "The general course of the Russian revolution after October and the sequence of events in Moscow in the December days have strikingly confirmed one of the most profound principles of Marx: The revolution goes ahead of that which the strong concentrated counter-revolution is able to create, i.e., forces the enemy to recourse to constantly diminishing means of defence and creates therefore constantly increasing means of attack." (Lenin.)

December, for Lenin, confirmed another of Marx's principles, namely, that "insurrection is an art," and the chief rule of this art is the daring, bold and unhesitatingly decisive attack. Lenin analysed the reasons of the defeat. But for him the defeat of to-day is no source of despair and inaction, it must be for every Bolshevik, for every Communist, the stimulus to new, still more decisive, revolutionary struggle.

"We will remember," concludes Lenin in his article on the lessons of the Moscow insurrection, "that the hour of great mass struggle is at hand. It will be armed uprising. It must be, as far as possible, simultaneous. The masses must know that they go into an armed, bloody and desperate struggle. Contempt for death must animate the masses and ensure the victory. The attack against the enemy must be carried out with the acme of energy; attack, not defence, must be the slogan of the masses, ruthless extirpation of the enemy is their

task; the fighting organisation must be mobile and flexible: the hesitant elements of the troops will be drawn into actual struggle. The party of the class-conscious proletariat must fulfil its duty in this great struggle." (Lenin.)

Elsewhere, in 1917, Lenin speaks of the fact that in the near future we will have to distinguish between enemies and friends according to their attitude to the question of armed uprising.

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Marx indicated not merely the tactics of the proletariat in the pre-revolutionary period and during the revolution—Marx indicated the tactics after the conquest of power. The basis of these tactics is given at the end of the chapter on Proletarians and Communists in the Communist Manifesto. Marx foresees that dispossession of the bourgeoisie of all capital and concentration of all means of production in the hands of the proletariat State, from the commencement, would only be possible "by means of despotic inroads on the rights of property, and on the conditions of bourgeois production, by means of measures, therefore, which appear economically insufficient and untenable, but which in the course of the movement outstrip themselves, necessitate further inroads upon the old social order, and are unavoidable as a means of entirely revolutionising the mode of production."

Marx and Engels show in the Communist Manifesto the concrete measures which will be taken in different countries according to varying conditions. Marx indicates the objective of these measures after the capture of power. They must lead in the last resort to the withering away of the State and the destruction of class society, to the establishment of an association "in which the free development of each is the condition of the free development of all."

If the proletariat during its contest with the bourgeoisie is compelled by the force of circumstances to organise itself as a class, if by means of a revolution it makes itself the ruling class, and, as such, sweeps away by force the old conditions of production, then it will, along with these conditions, have swept away the conditions for the existence of class antagonisms, and of classes generally, and will

thereby have abolished its own supremacy as a class."

Marx had before him the experience of the Commune of Paris. Lenin had to stand at the head of the proletarian State organised on the morrow of the October revolution. He led the creation of that Government, he elaborated the chief edicts and fundamental decrees of that Government, he "roughed-out" the entire plan of all our future work. This plan consists in the organisation of powers which realise the socialist tasks of the proletariat in union or alliance with the great masses of the peasantry.

This proletarian State encounters on the following day the resistance of the counter-revolution, the proletarian State can realise its tasks only by ruthlessly crushing the counter-revolutionary movement, and crushing the counter-revolutionary class.

Lenin said even in 1905 that if "a decisive success of the revolution is achieved then we will settle with Tsarism in the Jacobin, or, if you prefer it, the plebeian manner." Lenin quoted the words of Marx: "The whole of French terrorism," wrote Marx in the remarkable "Neue Rheinische Zeitung" in 1848, "was nothing else but a new plebeian method of settling with the enemy—with the bourgeoisie absolutism, feudalism."

Lenin asked: "Have those people who try to frighten the Russian social-democratic workers with scare-cries of Jacobinism pondered at any time the significance of those words of Marx in the epoch of the Russian revolution?"

This bogey of Jacobinism stood before a handful of opportunists in 1917; unfortunately it stands to-day before certain de-classed elements of the workers of Western Europe, and prevents them taking the road of decisive revolutionary struggles.

They still dream of a peaceful arrival at socialism, of the possibilities of winning socialism without a bloody overthrow, without the ruthless plebeian settlement with the class enemies of the proletariat and the reactionary forces of the bourgeois State. When one of these philistines, Trotsky, called Lenin a "Jacobinist," Lenin replied that a revolutionary Jacobin, armed with the Marxist

theory, is a Bolshevik, and that there is nothing to fear in the epithet "Jacobinist."

If Marx, on the basis of his study of the Paris Commune, outlined the general aspects of those tasks which arise before the proletarian State after the capture of power, then it fell to Lenin's lot to elaborate the concrete plan of organisation of that State. Here arise the questions of the organisation of production, questions of the socialist reconstruction, of industry ("socialism—that is, Soviet power plus electrification").

Here arise the questions of the socialist reconstruction of agriculture ("The Co-operative Plan of Lenin"). Lenin considered that in a certain sense it was possible to term the Soviet structure, co-operative structure, because with co-operation under the proletarian dictatorship all the necessities for the complete building of socialism are to hand. It was Lenin's lot to lead over a period of years a proletarian party, which built socialism, and not merely dreamt of the building of a socialist society.

* * * * *

Lenin held one of the certain conditions of the victory of socialism to be correct policy on the national question. and he was in this regard a close and orthodox pupil of Marx, who allocated particularly great significance to the national question.

But Lenin was not merely the pupil of Marx, he introduced much that is new into the national question, as conditions, without the fulfilment of which it is impossible to solve questions of the world movement.

The national question has significance not merely because it is the greatest motive power in the modern revolutionary movement, the national question is the most important question of the world movement, because the success of the movement is dependent to a pronounced degree on whether and to what extent the proletariat can establish the united front of struggle with the national liberating movement of colonial and semi-colonial countries. *This* is why Lenin accorded such colossal significance to the solution of such questions as that of the right of nations to self-determination. *This* is why he proposed and defended this right of nations to self-determination right up to separation against all, who were incapable of carrying the Marx-

ist thought in this question to its logical conclusion, against the leader of the Austrian school of Marxists, Otto Bauer, against Rosa Luxemburg, Karl Radek, G. Piatakov, N. Bukharin and others, who also commenced from the Marxist theory, but who, nevertheless, could not understand that self-determination in the Marxist programme could not have, from an historico-economic viewpoint, any other meaning outside of the political self-determination of State independence, the creation of the national State.

Marx wrote in the sixties in connection with the Taiping insurrection: "We may boldly prophesy that the Chinese revolution flings a spark into the powder magazine of the modern productive system and precipitates the long-preparing general crisis, which will be immediately followed, when it spreads across the frontiers, by a political revolution on the Continent."

That which Marx foresaw in the sixties occurred, naturally in somewhat narrow forms, during the life of Lenin. Lenin was a witness and participant in the growing revolutionary blaze of the East, which the introduction of capitalism and the feudal and semi-feudal relations still maintained by the people of the East awakening to revolutionary struggle, placed the Communist advance-guard at the head of this movement, as a composite part of the advance-guard of the world revolutionary movement—the Communist International.

It fell to Lenin's lot in the Communist International to work out the most important document on the national and colonial question. Understanding the great part which would still be played by the bourgeois democratic parties in the national and colonial movements, Lenin sketched the main lines of the tactics of the proletariat in regard to these bourgeois democratic parties.

"The Communist International," said Lenin, "must support the bourgeois-democratic movements in the colonies and backward countries on the sole condition that the elements of the future proletarian party, not merely Communist in name, shall be in all backward countries grouped together and educated in the consciousness of their main task, the task of struggle with the bourgeois-democratic movements within those nations.

The Communist International must enter into temporary alliances with the bourgeois-democracy of colonial and backward countries, but not fuse with it, and in any case protect the independence of the proletarian movement even in its most pronounced forms."

The colossal significance accorded the national question by Lenin is observable in the fact that in those notes which he wrote shortly before his death, he made the central point the growing movement of the East. "The fate of the struggle depends in the last resort on the fact that India, China, etc. constitute a gigantic majority of the population. This majority of the population has flung itself with unwonted vigour into the struggle for its emancipation during the last years.

In this sense there cannot be the shadow of a doubt of the final result of the world struggle. In this sense the final victory of the nations is fully and unconditionally guaranteed."

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Marx as also Lenin had not a few enemies whilst neither of them spared any of their previous associates should these betray the proletariat and desert the true road. Lenin underwent a very difficult break with Plekhanov, but he broke with him when it was necessary to the workers' cause. Lenin could stigmatise his best friends of yesterday in the most merciless terms if they betrayed the cause of the proletariat. Lenin was *proud* of the hatred accorded him by the opportunists of all shades, as also was Marx.

Marx wrote to Engels on the 18th May, 1859: "Our title of representatives of the proletarian party we receive from ourselves and from nobody else, but our right to this title is fully substantiated by the exclusive and general hatred accorded us by all fractions and parties of the old world."

Lenin could have spoken of himself somewhat more strongly. When Marx wrote the

above-quoted words to Engels there was no mighty proletarian movement, such as that led by Lenin, and no mighty proletarian party, at the head of which stood Lenin. Lenin could have said that we receive our title as representatives of the proletarian Party from millions of workers and tens of millions of toilers who follow the slogans of our Party. But together with this his right to the title of representative of the proletarian Party was fully substantiated by the "exclusive and general hatred" accorded him by "all fractions and parties of the old world."

Lenin was born—and died—in the struggle. He bequeathed us the greatest ideological heritage. In our day Leninism has become a theory, without the mastery of which it is already impossible to call oneself a logical and consistent Marxist, because it is impossible to be a consistent Marxist, if ignorant of the colossal ideological heritage, which constitutes a development and elaboration of the doctrines of Marx.

Unfortunately we have such "monsters" who consider it beneath their dignity to call themselves Leninists, fondly imagining that it is possible at the present time to be a Marxist without being a Leninist.

Lenin bequeathed us the Communist International. We, his pupils and associates, must just as attentively treat the further elaboration of the revolutionary theory of the proletarian movement, as did Marx and Lenin throughout all the vicissitudes of their glorious lives.

We must participate in all the developments of proletarian struggle with that passion and earnestness with which Marx and Lenin approach the proletarian revolution.

Our duty is to devote all our strength to the ensurance of the final victory of Communism throughout the world.

Without we do this we should have no right to call ourselves Marxists or Leninists.

The C.P. of the Soviet Union and the Communist International

Bela Kun

ONLY great conditions give rise to great ideas. The capacity to think in terms of the universe, to lead the revolutionary working class movement of the world, to arouse whole nations to the struggle for the emancipation of the oppressed—such capacity could only develop in the revolutionary party which took the lead in three events of world importance. It was this which determined the part played by the C.P.S.U. in the foundation and management of the C.I. The philistine, though he may wear a revolutionary cloak on Sundays, does not understand this fact. From the “western heights” of his petty bourgeois culture, he looks down upon the working class movement of backward countries. From the beginning of the revolution, every philistine felt hurt by the fact that the revolution did not begin in England, then in the vanguard of capitalist development, and still more hurt by the Bolsheviks becoming the leading party in the international working class movement. And to-day, on the tenth anniversary of the C.I., when the revolutionary international of the working class has embodied its principles, strategy and tactics in a programme, the concentrated fire of the reformists and the traitors to Communism is directed on the C.P. of the Soviet Union. The troglodytes of socialist treachery, Kautsky, Potressov and Co., foaming wildly at the mouth, are again trying to instil into the workers a fear of “Russian disorganisation and splitting.” The front-line trenches are supplied by newspapers of the Trotsky adherents and Brandler, which form the arsenal of anti-Bolshevik munitions. From these quarters, for more than ten years, time and again attacks have been launched on the C.P.S.U., only to rebound each time from its granite walls. The most recent of the renegades cannot boast of having enriched the anti-Bolshevik arsenal by a single new weapon. In essentials, these weapons do not differ from those used, on innumerable infamous

occasions, by Kautsky, Bauer, the Russian Mensheviks, Levi and Frossard, Hoeglund and Souvarine. They seized the weapons of the old deserters from Communism when, because of new struggles, after a defeat, or on account of a retreat forced on the revolutionary vanguard, they fled from the revolutionary working class into the camp of the enemy.

The Trotskyists and Brandlerites have gone back to the old war-cry of the “mechanical application of experiences in Russia to the advanced countries of the West.” Within the narrow circle of the National Right Wing Conference, this thesis, held by all the Levi’s and Friedrich Adler’s, was laboriously raised by Thallheimer to the status of a theory. In the Saxon Parliament, Böttcher publicly transformed the theory into a battle-cry. Listened to by Urbahns and Maslov, Brandler makes murderous speeches against the leadership of the C.P.S.U. in the International. These “honest revolutionaries” have replaced Marxian dialectic by Friderizian liberalism: “Let everybody be happy in their own way.” A good dozen renegade sects join with Brandler in maintaining that the leading role of the C.P.S.U. is “fatal to the international revolution.” They do not yet all agree with Kautsky and the Russian Mensheviks that Bolshevism is “Asiatic socialism,” there are still some like Renner, who must graciously admit that Bolshevism in Russia is, perhaps, representative of some sort of socialism.

The denial of the international validity of Bolshevism and, what in practice amounts to the same thing, the ferocious attacks on the leading position of the C.P.S.U., were the methods always used by the renegades to disguise their flight into the enemy camp. It is no accident that Trotskyism and Brandlerism do the same. It is no accident, because ideological, political and organisational unity has been objectively based for many years on the leading position of the C.P.S.U. When,

therefore, the renegades, and often, too, the irresolute, disguise their opportunism by appealing to the "objective conditions" of their countries, when they combat the historically necessary leadership of the international revolution, they are actually fighting the revolution itself. And so, of the "objectivity" of the renegades, one can only say with Engels that such "objectivity" doesn't see farther than its own nose, and is consequently the most limited sort of subjectivity, although it may be shared by thousands of subjects. (Engels' letters to Bernstein, p. 50.) Fortunately, the number of such subjects does not exceed a very few thousand.

THE INTERNATIONAL HEGEMONY OF THE PARTY OF A BACKWARD COUNTRY

"It is fatal," said Brandler at Offenbach, "that there is no party in the C.I. of equal importance to the C.P.S.U.

"Thalheimer declared that the Russian comrades would not see them [i.e., the leaders of the Brandler group—B.K.] again until they could speak on equal terms as one power to another." ("Rote Fahne," 3-1-29.)

Brandler's problem of leadership in the C.I. has thus been solved by Thalheimer. The work to be done is not that of strengthening and improving the collective leadership of the C.I. by sending better representatives from the sections, not that of Bolshevizing so that the leading bodies of the sections shall become more capable and efficient, not that of the struggle against provincialism—no, what must be done is the "creation" of one power as against another.

"Power against power"—in a revolutionary movement this is the language of men standing behind one of two hostile barricades. Thalheimer and Brandler are confronted by barricades as little as they are supported by the masses. These statements have to be considered rather as "theoretical proclamations," and it will be a long time before they materialise. Taken in their real context, they embody the following wisdom: the Communist movement in the West cannot recognise the leading position of the C.P.S.U. The C.P.S.U. is the workers' party of an economically and socially backward country. Its experiences can, therefore, arise only from such undeveloped

conditions, etc. This was practically the same attitude adopted by Bordiga at the Sixth Enlarged Plenum of the E.C.C.I. And Frossard and Hoeglund, Levi and Maslov, said the same. Bordiga said it frankly and openly when he declared that the term "Leninism" was false, and unacceptable by him. Maslov did the same in the name of "orthodox Marxism-Leninism." Levi referred to the authority of Rosa Luxemburg, Hoeglund to Zimmerwald, when he joined the social-democrats, when he entered the camp of Rosa Luxemburg's murderers and the enemies of Zimmerwald. Thalheimer and Brandler are doubtful as to whether their desertion is that of "true Leninists" or of "guardians of the traditions of the Spartakus Bund." Thus the common feature of all of them is the protest against the "international hegemony of the party of a backward country."

This attitude has its real origin in the Kautskian theory which could not join with the Russian revolution, could not "approve" it, because the Russian proletariat, led by the Bolshevik Party, were courageous enough to carry out their work of emancipation before the proletarian revolution, in accordance with Kautsky's scheme, had begun in England, the most highly developed of capitalist countries. For its foolhardiness, the C.P.S.U. has been repaid by Kautsky with ten years of assistance to international imperialism in its hostility towards the C.P.S.U. and with support for all those renegades of Communism who have protested against the leadership of the Communist Party of a backward country. The renegades, a great number of whom state that in themselves they embody a whole period of the international working class movement, forget some elementary facts in the history of that movement. The history of the working class movement shows that this is not the first time in which the Communist Party of a "backward" country has played the leading role. Rather can it be said that, with but one exception, it was always the workers' party of a country backward both in economic and social development, which took the leading part in the workers' international. Marx himself stated that in his letters to Bracke referring to the future of the workers' party

of Germany—at that time a country backward in every respect—Marx says:

“... this war, in which Germany has shown that, even with the exclusion of German Austria, it is capable of going its own way independently of foreign countries, will move the centre of gravity of the Continental Labour movement from France to Germany.” (Manifesto of the Brunswick Committee, 5-9-1870.)

Nowadays, it only occurs to the anarchists to accuse Marx of pan-Germanism because he believed it possible that the lead in the international working class movement could be taken by the workers of a country whose economic, social and political structure was far less advanced than that of France or England.

Lenin—as though he had really foreseen this “theory” of the latest renegades—studied the question of which countries, which workers’ parties, had played and would play a leading role in the international working class movement. Shortly after the foundation of the International, Lenin wrote. “England affords the example of a country in which, as Engels says, the bourgeoisie has created not merely an aristocracy, but also an upper section of the proletariat permeated by and holding bourgeois ideas. In the proletarian struggle, the most advanced capitalist country was, for many decades, left far behind.” (This was the case after England, at the time of the Chartist movement, had stood at the head of the international Labour movement.)

“In the two heroic revolutions of 1848 and 1871, France exhausted her proletarian forces. The leadership of the international movement passed to Germany in the seventies of the last century, when Germany was, economically, behind both France and England. But when Germany caught up, towards the second decade of the present century, the exemplary Marxist German workers’ party was led by a handful of arch-ruffians, the same vile mob which sold itself to capitalism So it happened—for a time only, of course—that leadership in the international movement was taken by the Russians, while during the 19th century it had been held at various times by the English, French and Germans.” (Lenin: “The struggle for the social revolution,” German edition, p. 546.)

We can add to the above that when, before the war, Germany reached the top of capitalist development, and so ceased to be a backward country, and when, at about the time of Bebel’s death, the Second International, in theory and practice, entered on the road of opportunism and reformism, the German party almost entirely lost its leadership of the international movement. In any case, that leadership was shared with the social-democrats of Austria, a country far behind in development, and of France. This state of affairs was expressed in the triumvirate of Bebel, Victor Adler and Jaurès, who, in the years preceding the war, were the real leaders of the Second International.

In their blindness, the renegades, of course, lose their logic completely. When they speak of a backward country, they fail to mention in what respect the country is behindhand. Backwardness in capitalist development is, as history shows, a different thing from backwardness in revolutionary development. It is beyond all question that the C.P.S.U. is the leading party of an economically backward country. But this economically backward country was, not only now, but before the building up of socialism began under the Soviet State, advanced in the revolutionary sense, and its Bolshevik Party was an advanced revolutionary party. For this very reason, the Bolshevik party could not take the lead in the Second International. But the existence of this revolutionary party and the existence of this revolutionary workers’ state were the pre-requisites for the establishment of a revolutionary international. Their existence was again essential, firstly because the experiences of Bolshevism were necessary for the establishment of the third revolutionary workers’ international after the collapse of the Second, and secondly because they afforded a basis, a central staff around which the new revolutionary international could be built. At the time of the foundation of the C.I., the Spartakists did not recognise this, and they opposed its formation. Although many, even to-day, fail to understand this, Marx foresaw it in 1881. In a letter dated 22nd February of that year, and addressed to Domela Nieuwenhuis, the Dutch socialist pastor who afterwards turned anarchist, Marx wrote:

"I am convinced that the correct, the critical time for a new international workingmen's association is not yet at hand. I think, therefore, that all workers' congresses, in so far as they do not deal with the immediate given conditions in this or that definite country, are not useless, but harmful. They will always blunder out numberless, endlessly repeated, banal generalities."

Marx wrote this in connection with a plan for a Zurich Congress, at which questions of the revolutionary measures of a socialist government were to be discussed.

It is obvious that "the correct, the critical time for a 'new international workingmen's association' " had been brought about by the revolutionary activity of the C.P.S.U. Not only in the sense that it had created the basis of the international in the form of the Soviet Republic, but also in that it had lived through events which made it possible for the new international to be one of revolutionary action, and not one condemned to turn out "numberless, endlessly repeated, banal generalities," to which status the renegades would wish to limit it.

THE INTERNATIONALITY OF BOLSHEVISM

The leading position of the C.P.S.U. arises from Bolshevik ideology. The ideological foundation of this position is Leninism, that is, Marxism of the epoch of imperialism and the proletarian revolution. But the internationality of Bolshevism is by no means of the same age as the leading international position of the C.P.S.U., as the Russian revolution or as the foundation of the C.I. Bolshevism at its very beginning was, as Lenin used to say, the last word in socialism, and this it has always remained. It is no accident that almost all the parties and leaders of the Second International, definitely national, practising mutual "non-interference," grown conservative, considered Bolshevism—as described by the Russian Mensheviks—as a sort of "native Russian socialism." For them, Menshevism and its Trotskyist variation were the real representatives of "European socialism" within the Russian labour movement. This conception, long before actual disagreement arose, changed among Ebert and Co., into hatred of the revolutionary tendencies, and

this hatred was expressed in the attitude adopted towards the Bolsheviks as towards a sect, one of a dozen "groups of emigrants." And as reformism developed within the Second International, the Bolsheviks drew closer to the masses, and felt themselves an alien body in this international association. Their appearance was of a rather episodic character, although these episodes were actually the only expressions of a revolutionary spirit in the Second International (Stuttgart, Copenhagen, the war and trade union questions). Because of its real internationality Bolshevism caused extreme surprise in the Second International. From the very outset, Lenin took up a different attitude towards the internationalism of socialism from that of 99 per cent. of the leaders of the Second International. According to him, internationalism was not merely "the organisation of mutual support on an international scale," or "the struggle against nationalism." The essential content of internationalism, according to Lenin, is that the strategic, tactical and organisational experience of the working class movement should have international significance and application. In stating the principles of Bolshevism, Lenin wrote in 1902, on the importance of the theoretical struggle as the third form of the class struggle:

"The social-democratic movement is, in its very nature, international. This means that we have not only to fight national chauvinism, but also that a movement starting in a young country can only be successful if it works out the experiences of other countries. This requires more than a knowledge of those experiences, more than a simple repetition of the most recent resolutions. It is necessary to understand them, to consider them critically, to re-examine them continuously." (Lenin: "The Struggle for the Social Revolution," p. 39.)

This shows that Bolshevism began as a movement based on the experiences of the international working class. It also shows that Lenin, at the very beginning, had thoroughly grasped the method to be adopted by the C.I. in the sphere of international exchange and application of revolutionary experience.

In spite of its internationalism, Bolshevism had no chance of finding international acceptance in the Second International, where the

militant left-radical groups—otherwise so bold and heroic—never once put forward a revolutionary policy as against opportunism. Within the period of the Second International, Bolshevism developed its capacities for international leadership. Whatever was Marxist, revolutionary in the theory and practice of the working-class movement from its very beginnings, was accepted and assimilated by the C.P.S.U., under Lenin's leadership, in its struggle against the bourgeoisie, against the remains of feudalism and against the opportunist wing in the working-class movement. It is true that the C.P.S.U. applied the science of leadership in the revolutionary class struggle, a science which grew out of the study of the economy and of the class relations of the most highly developed capitalist countries, and applied it to a less developed country; but it was this low level of development which helped the Russian Party to work out those methods of class struggle which banished the reformism of the Second International to the lumber-room, Menshevism, hailed as "European socialism," and its Trotskyist variety were European in so far as they signified the uncritical application to Russian society of the opportunism practised in the Second International. And so it happened that during the war the so-called "international" section, the Mensheviks, together with the Second International, drowned in a sea of social chauvinism, while the native "Russian" Bolshevism not only remained international, but took the lead of all the groups which remained more or less consistently international during the war. This sudden advance of Bolshevism, of the C.P.S.U. of to-day, to the leadership of the revolutionary wing in the international working-class movement was possible because, even at that time, it contained all the elements of an internationally valid revolutionary theory, and particularly the experiences of the movement and theoretical readiness to apply those experiences in a critical manner. In "Left-Wing Communism," Lenin sums up the most important pre-requisites through which Bolshevism attained success, not only nationally but also internationally:

"For half a century—approximately between the forties and nineties of the preceding century—advanced intellects in Russia,

under the yoke of the wildest and most reactionary Tsarism, sought eagerly for a correct revolutionary theory, following each and every 'last word' in Europe and America with astounding diligence and thoroughness. Russia has attained Marxism, the only revolutionary theory, by dint of fifty years' travail and sacrifice, through the greatest revolutionary heroism, the most incredible energy and devotion in study, education, practical experience, disappointment, and comparison with European experience. Thanks to the emigration forced by the Tsar, revolutionary Russia, in the second half of the nineteenth century, came into possession of rich international connections, and of a grasp of the best forms and theories of the revolutionary movement abroad, such as no other country had.

"On the other hand, having come into existence on this granite theoretical foundation, Bolshevism went through fifteen years (1903-1917) of practical history, which, in fertility of experience, had no equal anywhere else in the world. In no other country, during those fifteen years, was there anything approximating to such wide revolutionary expedience, such variety and rapidity of shifting forms in the movement, legal and illegal, peaceful and stormy, open and underground, embracing small circles and large masses, parliamentary and terrorist. In no other country, during so short a period of time, has there been concentrated such multiplicity, shades and methods of struggle, embracing all classes of modern society. To this it must be added that the struggle maturing with such rapidity, because of the backwardness of the country and the heavy yoke of Tsarism, assimilated eagerly and successfully the latest developments of American and European political experience." ("Left-Wing Communism," pp. 11 and 12.)

When we take into account, in addition, the fact that since 1917 the C.P.S.U. has had a world policy in the most exact sense of the word, then the leading international position of the C.P.S.U. becomes quite clear. This "world policy" necessarily added to the international political experience of the C.P.S.U.

Because of that Lenin's Party, which played the largest part in the foundation of the C.I. and was at the head in all its struggles, could partly carry out what Kautsky, the creator of

the "Asiatic socialism" legend, foretold at a time when he was still a Marxist :

"Russia, which has imbibed so much revolutionary initiative from the West, is now perhaps itself ready to serve as a source of revolutionary energy. The Russian revolutionary movement, which is now bursting into flame, will perhaps become the strongest means for the extermination of the senile philistinism and sedate politics which are beginning to spread in our ranks, and will again rekindle the militant spirit and passionate devotion to our great ideals." (Kautsky, "The Slavs and the Revolution," 1902.)

The task has become much greater since Kautsky wrote. The "senile philistinism" and "sedate politics" became, to a large extent, shameful treachery and shameless social-imperialism. To a small extent they remained at the stage of philistinism and politics, and found a provisional lurking place in the C.I., crying out against the mechanical application of the experiences of the Russian revolution. The task which at that time Kautsky laid down has been partly fulfilled by the C.P.S.U. at the head of the C.I., and the C.P.S.U. must strive to continue this work with all its strength; to give back, in greater measure, what it received from the international working-class movement.

THE APPLICATION OF RUSSIAN EXPERIENCE

Bolshevism includes not only the obligation to study and work from international experience, but also the dialectic, or, as Lenin called it, critical international application of that experience. If there have been cases in which it was really attempted to apply the experiences of Bolshevism in Russia mechanically, they occurred in opposition to Bolshevism. In truth (and not to defend the C.P.S.U.) it must be said that those who attempted such a mechanical application, seldom came from the ranks of the C.P.S.U., and never from its leaders. Those who have spread this legend of "mechanical application," from Friedrich Adler and Levi, Hoeglund and the rest, right up to Brandler and Thalheimer, have tried to build up a "theory" against the application of Russian experience.

The essence of this theory is: Only the methods of Bolshevism can be employed in the working-class movements of the more developed western countries, not its experiences. The same is maintained by Pannekoek, Gorter, Bordiga, Roland-Holst and the various sub-species of syndicalists. Thalheimer, the Marx-and-Hegel expert, is denying the principles of materialist dialectic when he makes this discovery of the mystic idealist Roland-Holst or the Bergsonian Bordiga his own. For all of them, this theory which denies Marxist principles, is extraneous to its object and to objective reality, becomes the merest subjectivity, dissociated from experience. Correspondingly, for them, experience is not the reflection of objective reality (immediate consciousness of its content, *i.e.*, of objective reality, as Hegel said), the reality which is "apprehended and realised in its verity" by being "completely subjugated to method."

Opportunism, which thus in practice is treacherous, denies the principles of Marxism when it takes the field against the party of Marxism, against the Communist International and its sections.

It is obvious and self-evident that the experiences of the Russian revolution can only be applied with the methods to which those experiences were themselves subjected when the Russian proletariat and its leading party, the C.P.S.U., lived through them in their revolutionary struggles, that is, with the methods of Marxism dialectic. Were there not still some people who have not yet understood this elementary truth even now, in the twelfth year of the revolution and the tenth year of the C.I., the remark would appear platitudinous. Lenin, in his work in the C.I., always reckoned with such a lack of understanding. Lenin, and the C.P.S.U. generally, whenever questions of the international revolution were raised, emphasised again and again, what now sounds such a truism: "dialectical application," "critical application," "differentiation," "careful, not crude application"—these and similar expressions occur again and again in all the declarations and proposals which the responsible leaders of the C.P.S.U. ever made, about the application of Russian experiences and about the Bolshevisation of the Com-

munist Parties, to the committees of the C.I. and the C.P.S.U.

In dealing with the tactical principle of the C.I. Lenin laid down the following guiding principle with regard to the international application of Bolshevik experience.

"We have now considerable experience of international scope which pretty definitely establishes the fact that some fundamental features of our revolution are not local, not purely national, not Russian only, but that they are of international significance. Not in the strictest sense of the word—that is, taking it in its essence—or in the sense of the historical inevitability of a repetition, on an international scale, of what we in Russia have gone through, but one must admit some fundamental features of our revolution to be of such international significance. Of course, it would be the greatest mistake to exaggerate this truth and to apply it to more than the fundamental features of our revolution. It would be likewise erroneous not to keep in mind that, after the proletarian revolution in at least one of the advanced countries, things will in all probability take a sharp turn; Russia will cease to be the model, and will become again the backward (in the Soviet and socialist sense) country.

"But at this historical moment the state of affairs is such that the Russian example reveals something quite essential to all countries in their near and inevitable future. The advanced workers in every land have long understood it—although in many cases they did not so much understand it as feel it, through the instinct of their revolutionary class. Hence the international significance (in the strict sense of the word) of the Soviet Power, as well as of the fundamentals of Bolshevik theory and tactics." ("Left-Wing Communism," pp. 7-8.)

The development of the Russian revolution and the slowing down of the international revolution were necessarily followed by an extension of this truth. This was expressed in the programme of the C.I.—as opposed, for example, to Ruth Fischer—which laid down a new economic policy, varying from place to place, but having general international validity. It is no accident that many of the

disputes within the C.I. were and are concerned with the application of the experiences of the Russian revolution. And these disputes are always screened by some sort of "left" or "right" opposition of principle to the revolutionary principles of strategy, tactics and organisation held by the C.I. Now it is the experiences which point to the inevitability of a civil war to which exception is taken, now the experiences which indicate the role of the party, another time factory groups, etc. And when the opportunism in these strategical, tactical and organisational questions has been fully exposed, the legend of the "mechanical application of experience" is brought up. Lenin combated this legend, against both the centrists and the left deviators. After Lenin's death, those who appealed to this legend tried in one way or another to get Lenin's authority for it. So it was not superfluous for the Sixth Enlarged Plenum of the E.C.C.I. to include at the suggestion of the delegation from the C.P.S.U., the following, in its thesis on Bolshevisation :

"Bolshevisation means the capacity to apply the general principles of Leninism to the given concrete situation in this or that country. Bolshevisation is, in addition, the capacity to seize that essential link in the chain on which all the others depend. But this link, because of the variety of circumstances in different countries, cannot be the same in every country."

The supporters of the "power against power" theory, as well as the orthodox Marxist-Leninists, by their campaign against this "mechanical application," are in reality continuing their fight against Bolshevism as a whole. They forget that it was Lenin himself who, in his letter addressed to the German Communists in 1921, said that it was the task of the German proletariat to emulate the German bourgeoisie in their evaluation of the Russian experience, if they were to work out a correct strategy. "Our tactical and strategic methods (if we look at the matter from an international standpoint) are behindhand, far behind the excellent strategy of the bourgeoisie, who have learnt from the Russian example." (Lenin: "Letter to the German Communists.")

If we consider the struggles of the international revolution and the campaign of the

social-democrats against that revolution, we can still say to-day, as Lenin said then, that the bourgeoisie and the social-democrats have made better use of the experiences of the Russian revolution against us, than we, up to the present, have made of it against them.

THE "VINDICATORS OF THE INTERNATIONAL"

The renegades are exerting all their efforts in this struggle against the "mechanical application of Russian experiences." Following Levi's example, the German right-wingers are again using the name of Rosa Luxemburg in their campaign against the C.P.S.U.—of Rosa Luxemburg who said of the proletarian revolution which had worked to success under the leadership of that party, of the proletariat which stood under the leadership of that party, that they had "saved the honour of the International." This vindication is, in fact, the service rendered by the C.P.S.U., although not quite in the sense that Rosa Luxemburg meant when, at that time, she was still hesitating about the split in the Second Inter-

national and the foundation of a new revolutionary international.

It is true, quite true, that the matter was one of saving the honour of the international working class, but in the sense that the C.P.S.U. and the small revolutionary groups and the young Communist Parties founded the C.I. and so established anew the honour of the International. The honour of the International was saved when the C.I. was founded and the struggle against socialist treachery organised internationally. That was, above all, the work of the C.P.S.U. against which the renegades of all shades wish to oppose a "power."

Whoever wishes to oppose "power to power" within the C.I., as suggested by these renegades, wishes to direct the power of the proletariat, not against the bourgeoisie, but against the Soviet Union, against the proletarian State led by the C.P.S.U. The position to the C.P.S.U. is in the present situation synonymous with the position of Communism generally. Whoever takes up towards this Party, the founder and leader of the C.I., the attitude of "power against power," is really anxious to oppose Communism as a whole.

The Comintern and the Struggle for the Masses

A. Lozovsky

The very conception of the masses has changed of recent years. What was regarded as the mass during the period of parliamentarism and trade unionism has now been transformed into an upper group. Millions and dozens of millions who have lived outside all political life are now being transformed into a revolutionary mass. War has put them all on their feet, aroused the political attention of the most backward sections, has awakened in them illusions and hopes, and has deluded them.—("Manifesto of the Second Congress of the Comintern.")

One must learn to approach the masses with especial patience and caution, in order to know how to understand their peculiarities, the special features of the psychology of each stratum, trade, etc. of that mass.—("Theses on the Basic Tasks of the Second Congress of the Comintern.")

THE Comintern was founded in March, 1919, when there was a considerable revolutionary ferment among the masses, but at a time when there was still no C.P. in the great majority of capitalist countries. Consequently the Comintern could not from the first moment of its existence raise the question of how to lead the dissatisfaction of the masses and to transform the elemental ferment into conscious hatred of the capitalist system. Even in the preparatory period it was clear to the organisers of the Comintern, and to Lenin first and foremost, that it would be possible to transform the Comintern into a decisive force only to the extent that it was successful in getting political and organisational control of the masses. And so the Communist International, which grew out of the objective needs of the international workers' movement, being a product of war and revolution, set itself the task of becoming the organiser and leader of the masses, in order to carry through the struggle of the proletariat for power.

At the beginning the Comintern had behind it an enormous force in the form of the October revolution, but beyond the frontiers of

Russia, in the capitalist States, it was followed by only small groups of class conscious workers. The basic task consisted in extending the front of the October revolution, in other words, in continuing the line through all capitalist countries, and that was possible only by way of winning the masses to the side of the social revolution. The objective situation was revolutionary. Capitalist society was ripe for its overthrow, but the subjective factor was non-existent, there was no Communist Party, the worker masses were still tied to the tails of the social-democrats. And so from the very first day of its inception the Comintern set itself the task of winning the masses, i.e., set itself the problem of emancipating the vast masses from bourgeois social-democratic ideology. But it is not possible to win the masses by miracles; it was necessary to get a clear understanding of the trend of development of the workers' movement, to take a sound historical course. Had Bolshevism begun by asking only on which side at that moment was the majority of the international proletariat, the Comintern could not have been born. But the organiser of the Comintern saw far ahead, he started not on the basis of the formal majority, but of the transient nature of the bourgeois social-democratic influence on the proletarian masses, and the deeper class necessities and interests of the international proletariat. Hence arose the slogan at the beginning of the war: "Against the current," a slogan directed against the delusions of the majority in the interests of that majority.

THE POSITION OF THE WORKING CLASS AFTER THE WAR

What was the situation of the working class immediately after the end of the war? The masses had been reduced to despair by the long protracted war. Risings in Germany,

Austria, Hungary, mass movements in Britain and France, gigantic strikes in the United States—all these reflected the extreme dissatisfaction of the masses. They were seeking a way out from the deadlock created by the war, but they rarely went beyond the bounds marked out by the social-democratic party. Although the mass movement had not been confined within the framework of international reformism, it none the less had an extremely mournful intellectual and political nature, it could not achieve the aims and tasks set by the course of the class struggle. The unconscious historical process, which had flung vast masses into the streets, did not find conscious expression. The little Communist groups and parties were intellectually, politically and organisationally extremely weak, and hence followed the defeat of all the mass movements during the period directly after the war. These elemental movements showed that a profound discontent ruled among the masses, but that the influence of the social-democratic parties and the reformist trade unions was still strong within them, that they were clinging to traditional organisations, taking no account of the fact that the organisations which they had created had been transformed from organs of struggle against the capitalist system into organs of conservation, consolidation and revival of capitalist society.

The first wave of the workers' movement was guided by the social-democrats and trade unions into legal channels. Even those revolutionary organisations which had developed during the revolutionary period (factory committees and soviets) were transformed by social-democracy into auxiliary organs of their bourgeois policies; and wherever the workers' movement refused to be confined within the framework of bourgeois legality (Hungary and Bavaria), wherever the working class tried to take power into its own hands, those attempts, owing to the political and organisational weakness of the Communist Parties, ended in the bloody suppression of the advance guard of the working class.

THE FIRST TASK OF THE COMINTERN

All these factors set before the organisers of the Comintern, as the imperative task of the day, the problem of the struggle for the

masses. All the congresses of the Communist International, from the first to the sixth inclusive, all the decisions of the directing organs of the Comintern in relation to individual parties, had in mind the question how to win the masses from the bourgeoisie and the social-democrats, and to draw them to the side of international Communism. Ten years of the Comintern—ten years of stubborn and ruthless struggle for the masses, struggle for the majority of the working class.

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In order to wage a successful war against the bourgeoisie it is necessary to have a strong political consciousness among the masses and a strong revolutionary Communist organisation—for the Bolshevik this needs no demonstration. Every rank and file Communist realises full well that it is necessary to win the masses. But how is it to be achieved? How are we to set about it? What are the links to lay hold upon? What are the keys to the situation, which have to be seized at the right moment? What are the questions on which the attention of the masses must be concentrated? These are the issues which chiefly absorbed the attention of the Communist International, and to which it has given concrete answers over the last ten years.

These answers have followed two lines: the political line and the organisational line. In order to win the masses it is necessary to pursue a sound policy. That would appear to be as elementary as ABC., but it ceases to be elementary when we set ourselves the question of what constitutes a sound policy. The Comintern cannot restrict itself to an abstract answer to this question, it cannot confine itself to a formula, such as: a sound policy is one which assembles the masses around the Communist Party, raises their class consciousness, strengthens revolutionary mass organisations and conduces to the success of the struggle waged by the working class against the bourgeoisie. If such general formulæ were required of the Comintern it would not be difficult to supply them, but the Comintern could not rest satisfied with formulæ. It had not merely to decide what constitutes a sound Bolshevik policy, but to define that policy both in the international sphere and for every separate country. And here the difficulties

began. These difficulties arose out of the fact that it was necessary to apply the principles of Bolshevik tactics to a concrete situation. It was necessary to draw from the international experience of revolutionary class struggle the conclusion that was applicable to a particular country in a definite situation as it arose. Bolshevism is not a dogma, not an abstract formula. If that were so, it would be very easy to learn that formula once and for all, and so become a Bolshevik. No, it is no formula, which has only to be learnt by heart and repeated, but a method of revolutionary action. The extremely varied conditions of the class struggle, the various inter-relationships of forces between classes within the working class, the varying ideological and political attitude of the working masses, the degree of disintegration of capitalism, etc.—all have to be taken into account in determining Communist tactics for the given country and in the given concrete situation. The opportunists draw from this the conclusion that it is necessary to have as many varieties of Communism as there are countries. That, of course, is untrue, for Communism is one and indivisible. But that the methods of approach to the masses vary according to circumstances, that the masses are not to be won with a bare formula, does not admit of the least doubt.

In order intelligently to apply revolutionary tactics it was necessary first and foremost to clear the ground of any kind of social-democratic traditions, ideological and organisational survivals, which hampered not only the working masses but their vanguard, the Communist Party, also.

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To clear the ground meant first to determine what was the epoch through which we were passing, and what the role of the working class in that epoch. It was on this very question that the parting of the ways arose between Communism and social-democracy, it was on this very question that the influence of the social-democrats and bourgeoisie with the working masses was strongest. "Nothing unusual has happened. War is an inevitable convulsion, but with the collaboration of all classes, it will be possible swiftly to heal the wounds inflicted by the war"—such was the

view of social-democracy. First and foremost it was necessary to strike a blow at this philosophy, which conjured up before the working class the prospect of the everlasting existence of capitalist society, and transformed the working class into the defender of capitalism. The epoch of peaceful reforms or the epoch of the social revolution, the struggle for democracy or the struggle for dictatorship, peaceful or violent conquest of power, the expropriation of the expropriators or nationalisation by way of compensation, bourgeois democracy or the Soviet system, etc.—these were the questions which the very course of the struggle was raising. These questions led to a differentiation in the masses, they compelled the workers to self-determination, for experience contradicted all the social-democratic teaching, all the social-democratic "philosophy of history."

But this political setting of the question affected only part of the workers. The conscious, revolutionary elements had begun to group themselves around the Communist groups and organisations, transforming them into the advance-guard of the working class of each country. But that was not enough. The problem of the masses, which had been raised on the day of the founding of the Comintern, had not been solved during the first years of the Comintern's existence, and had not been solved because a considerable mass of the workers followed social-democracy even during that period of storm and pressure. It was clear that when the wave broke and the movement began to ebb the influence of the social-democrats was bound to strengthen. Thus the problem of the masses confronted the Comintern on the eve of the third congress, which in this sense is one of the most important congresses held by the Comintern.

THE THIRD CONGRESS

The Third Congress realised (see the theses "On the world situation and our tasks") that "at the present time the open revolutionary struggle of the proletariat for power is passing through a backwater, a slowing up in tempo, on a world scale. But from its very nature the revolutionary advance after the war could not be expected to develop along an unbroken rising line, in so far as it did not lead at once to victory. Political

development also has its cycles, its rises and falls. The enemy does not remain passive, he struggles. If the proletarian advance is not crowned with success the bourgeoisie passes to the counter-attack at the first opportunity."

Thus the Third Congress recognised a slowing up in the tempo of the revolutionary struggle about the middle of 1921. The frontal attack was repulsed, the bourgeoisie had passed to the counter-attack. What were the reasons for the failure of the first revolutionary wave? We have spoken above of those reasons: there was no leader, no standard-bearer, no organiser of the struggle—there were no mass Communist Parties.

And what conclusion did the Third Congress come to on this? Its conclusion consisted in realising that no matter how heroic the struggle of small groups, that struggle is destined to failure if the Communist Parties have not succeeded in carrying the vast masses into the struggle behind them. The second conclusion consisted in the realisation that the Communist Party can carry the masses behind it only provided it frees itself of sectarianism and opportunist errors. In other words, the first basic conclusion from the new situation was drawn by the Comintern in the form of the slogan: "Neither sectarianism, nor putschism, nor opportunism." But what does this mean? It means that the active minority cannot and ought not to substitute themselves for the masses, that it is impossible to set up a theory of attack, as was done in Germany in 1921, and think that attack is always advantageous to the working class, irrespective of the situation, the inter-relationship of forces, and the conditions of struggle.

THE STRUGGLE AGAINST OPPORTUNISM

What did the theory of the offensive involve in Germany in 1921? It was somewhat similar to Social-Revolutionary terrorism, which consisted in thinking that every terrorist act would arouse the masses for struggle. The offensive, i.e., the attack of an active minority, was to play the same role as terrorist acts in the case of the S.R.'s. The Comintern could not accept that point of view, for it was contrary to the experience of the international class struggle, contrary to the

experience of Bolshevism. That theory of severance from the masses, the theory of the heroic minority, which was to make the revolution on behalf of the masses, is a theory very close to the anarcho-syndicalist conception of the inter-relationships between the active minority and the working class, a theory which has nothing whatever in common with the Bolshevik setting of the problem: "party and class."

But the rejection of the syndicalist setting of the problem of active minorities did not in the least mean a continual adaptation to the masses, did not connote the theory and practice of a lagging between the advance-guard and the army. The Party is to be the advance-guard in order to go ahead of the masses, and not to hang on to their tail. The whole art of Bolshevik tactics consists in being continually in the advance-guard, not severed from the basic masses of the proletariat, not getting too far ahead, but certainly not hanging on to their tail. It consists in feeling the pulse of the vast masses, always reflecting the militant attitude of the masses, putting up resistance to the backward elements of their own class. But in order to fulfil this role of militant advance-guard, it is necessary to put our own ranks in order, and to expel from the ranks of the Party all the elements which reflect that backwardness, which have not outlived social-democratic traditions, which in the ranks of the Party reflect the past, and not the future of the working class. In other words, it is necessary to eradicate opportunism.

BOLSHEVIK TACTICS

Here the question may be asked: what is the difference between the syndicalist theory of an active minority and the Bolshevik view of the role of the Communist Parties? Is the Party not an advanced minority, then? Is the Party not the most active section of the working class? And why did the Comintern act sharply and categorically against the anarcho-syndicalist theory of an active minority from the very first day of its existence? There is not the least doubt that the Communist Party is an active minority, which under capitalism, as the resolution of the Second Comintern Congress also affirms, "as

a rule will have only a minority of workers in its organised ranks." But the centre of our disagreement with the anarcho-syndicalists consists in the question of what should be the tactics of that active minority, whether that active minority can be a substitute for the struggle of the masses. Can it always, under any conditions, begin a struggle without taking the condition of the masses into account? Should the active minority run far ahead, severing itself from the main army, in the hope that the masses "may possibly" support it? What was the view of the anarcho-syndicalists on strikes, for instance? "Every strike is a blessing. Our task is to declare a strike, and it is the workers' job to adhere to the strike we have declared." The Communists have never acted on that principle and cannot act on it. We can neither declare a strike nor organise a rising on the basis of a peradventure. In all such cases we must start from the question of the position of our army; is there close contact between the advance-guard and the army, will the army follow the advance-guard, or turn aside, or remain passive? Consequently the disagreement between the anarcho-syndicalists and the Communists lies in their attitude to the masses. The anarcho-syndicalists adopt a haughty attitude towards the worker "plebeians" and their tactics are built on the principle of the "hero and the crowd." There are heroic personalities and an unconscious mass, on whose behalf the "hero" has to struggle. The Communists plan their tactics on a mass basis. The Communist Party is the most class-conscious, most advanced section of the working class. It is always with the masses and only with the masses. The degree of Bolshevisation of the Communist Party is measured not so much by the number of members it contains, as by its ability to head a mass movement, to be always ahead, without severing itself from the basic mass of the proletariat.

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This attitude of the Comintern to the mass movement serves as an object of attack on the part of the enemies of Bolshevism. The anarchists and social-democrats accuse the Communists of being entangled in the tail of the masses, of conniving at their "low instincts" and backward moods, of exploiting

the backwardness and ignorance of the masses. These accusations still fall from the lips of social-democrats at the present time. Fortunately the October revolution has no need of the recognition of the social-democrats, and so can ignore the repeated attempts to explain October as the result of an "elemental rising." What did Lenin write in answer to that kind of accusation? When one of the leaders of the German independent social-democratic party, Daümig, attacked the Communists on this ground, Lenin wrote:

"That the Communists connive at elementalism is a lie on the part of Mr. Daümig, exactly the same kind of lie as that which we have heard so many times from the Mensheviks and Social-Revolutionaries. The Communists do not connive at elementalism, they do not stand for disconnected explosions. The Communists teach us organised, purposeful, vigorous, timely, mature attack. The philistine slanders of Messrs. Daümig, Kautsky and Company cannot disprove that fact.

"But the philistines are unable to understand that the Communists consider, and quite rightly consider, it their duty to be with the struggling masses of the oppressed, and not with the heroes of suburbia, who stand aside and wait cowardly upon the event. When the masses struggle, errors in the struggle are inevitable. The Communists, seeing those errors, explaining them to the masses, obtaining a correction of the errors, unswervingly insisting on the advantage of conscious action over elementalism, remain with the masses. It is better to be with the struggling masses, who in the course of the struggle gradually emancipate themselves from their errors, than with the intelligentsia, the philistines, the Kautskyites, who stand on one side awaiting the 'complete victory.' That is a truth which the Daümigs are not given to understand." (From the article "The Heroes of the Berne International," Vol. XVI., p. 233.)

Here with all Lenin's peculiar clarity is given the Communists' attitude on this central question of Bolshevik tactics. In order to win the masses it is necessary always to be

with the masses. So Lenin declared, and so he willed to the Communist International.

TO THE MASSES

Inasmuch as in the middle of 1921 the Comintern recognised a slowing up in the tempo of the revolution and a renewal of attack on the part of the bourgeoisie, it was necessary to raise the question of new methods of winning the masses. In 1919 and 1920, when the masses were in a ferment, there was the hope that they would come to Communism in the process of open attacks. But the force of inertia of the gigantic social-democratic machine, the strength of the pressure of the reformists proved to be so great that only a minority followed the Communists. The great majority of the workers remained in intellectual bondage to the social-democrats. It was necessary to find a road to the masses, it was necessary to confront all the Communist Parties with the question of adopting new tactics, of pressing from a frontal attack to a prolonged siege, to flanking movements, from the conquest of the masses by way of open attacks to their conquest by way of everyday, detailed, undermining activity. How was this to be done? Inasmuch as the bourgeoisie had begun to strike at the elementary conquests of the masses, it was quite natural to bring to the front the struggle for everyday demands, and on the basis of defence to forge a strong proletarian army, and then to pass from defence to attack. Hence the sharp volte-face of the Third Congress under the slogan of "To the masses!" The Third Congress not only gave the slogan of "To the masses!" but also said how it was to be achieved. The Communists must learn to head the daily struggles of the proletariat, for those daily struggle have a profound political character. The Third Congress of the Comintern expressed this in the following clear formula:

"The revolutionary essence of the present period consists in the fact that the most modest demands of the masses are incompatible with the existence of capitalist society, and that thus the struggle for those demands will grow into the struggle for Communism."

From this it is clear that the basic task is to connect the struggle for sectional demands with the ultimate end. But how was that to be achieved? The Third Congress provided an answer on this point, an answer which has preserved all its importance down to the present time. First and foremost the Third Congress set the problem of the independent leadership of the struggle. This is what we find on this question in the resolution on tactics.

"This independent policy of defence of the vital interests of the proletariat, of its most active or most class-conscious section, will be crowned with success only if it leads to the awakening of the remaining masses, if the aims of the struggle grow out of the concrete situation, if those aims are understandable to the vast masses, if the masses see in those aims their own aims, although they may not yet be able to struggle independently for them.

But the Communist Party should not restrict itself to the defence of the proletariat from the dangers threatening it, to defence from the strokes inflicted on the working masses. During the period of the world revolution the Communist Party by its very essence is a party of attack, of pressure on capitalist society: it is compelled to transform any kind of defensive struggle, as it grows wider and deeper, into an attack on capitalist society. It is obliged to do everything in order to carry the working masses into that attack everywhere where the conditions for this exist."

This resolution was written with Lenin's active participation, and it still has a burning, actual interest at the present time. Here are given the two essentials of Bolshevik tactics in regard to the leadership of the mass movement. Here are set forth the struggle for sectional demands, and also the conditions for raising that struggle to a higher stage, the methods of transforming economic into political struggle, principles which have by no means been assimilated even now by all sections of the Comintern. The decisions of the Fourth Congress of the R.I.L.U. and the Sixth Congress of the Comintern only rendered more concrete the decisions of the Third Congress. This shows best of all how ludicrous are the efforts of right wing Communists

to contrast the decisions of the first three congresses with those of the last three.

THE REFORMIST TRADE UNIONS

Inasmuch as the social-democrats were at the head of the mass trade union organisations, it was quite natural that the Comintern was bound to set itself the problem of the relations between the Communist Party and the reformist unions. The role of the trade unions during the war and immediately after was such a miserable one that many of the leading workers believed in the necessity of leaving the trade unions and beginning immediately to set up their own organisations. Inasmuch as there were millions of proletarians in the reformist trade unions, this kind of exodus could not be supported. And the Comintern therefore resolutely raised the problem of work in the reactionary trade unions. "There's no need for nerves, there's no need to run away from the spots where the workers are. It is necessary to work in the trade unions, no matter how reactionary their leaders." So declared the Comintern to all those revolutionary proletarians who had fled from the trade unions because of the reactionary nature of their leaders. "It is necessary to win the working masses organised in the trade unions," said the Comintern, whilst perfectly realising the reactionary nature of the entire trade union machinery and the treacherous role of the trade union bureaucracy. The Comintern always understood the conquest of the trade unions as meaning the conquest of the main mass of the members, and not the conquest of the reformist trade union machinery, the trade union officials. The Comintern has put this point of view into effect throughout the whole ten years of its existence, teaching all the parties the truth that the Communists must in no case allow themselves to be severed from the masses, that they must be where the masses are.

But whilst teaching Communists not to run away from the reformist trade unions, the Comintern at the same time systematically pronounced against those Communists who stood for unity at all costs, who adopted a "fetishist" attitude to the trade unions, who suffered from trade union legalism and were subservient to rules and regulations, to the

injury of the interests of the Communist movement. Many Parties drew from the necessity of working in reformist trade unions the conclusion that only the trade unions can and ought to direct the economic struggles of the proletariat, whilst the Communists' task was only to "drive" the reformists into the struggle. Hence the slogan of "Force the trade union bureaucrats to struggle," the rejection of the independent leadership of the economic struggle, and of trade union legalism which bordered on cretinism. Communists work in the reformist trade unions only in order to win the workers in those unions, and not to inspire the masses with the spirit of obedience and loyalty to the trade union bureaucracy. Communists work in the reformist trade unions not in order to drive the reformist officials into the struggle, but in order to kick these traitors out of the workers' movement. That is why the Comintern declared resolute war on all who sacrifice Communist principles and the interests of the workers' movement to trade union legalism. By such methods not only will you fail to win the working masses, but you will lose even the influence which you previously possessed. A brilliant confirmation of this is the conduct of the right-wing Communists in Germany. They broke with the Comintern, putting forward their own methods of winning the masses. Result: within a few months they have succeeded in losing the remainder of their influence with the masses.

FACTORY COMMITTEES

But the trade unions are not the sole mass organisations. The October revolution brought other mass organisations, arising directly in the workshops and factories, into the picture: such organisations as factory committees and workers' soviets. Both these organisations develop in the process of the revolutionary struggle. The development of these organisations itself bears witness to the fact that there is a revolutionary situation in the country, that the working class is raising the problem of the struggle for power. Factory committees and workers' soviets arose in Germany, in Austria, and in Hungary, and it was quite natural that the Comintern should concern itself with the problem of factory

committees and workers' soviets. The Comintern was bound to give the workers an answer to the question in what circumstances workers' soviets could and should be set up. To this question it answered: it is necessary to set up workers' soviets at the moment when a revolutionary situation is present, when the problem of power arises. To the question of the attitude to be adopted towards factory committees, the Comintern answered, that it is necessary to struggle for the establishment of representatives in the factories and workshops, for the masses can be won where the masses are congregated. Hence the Comintern slogan which runs through all the congresses, sounding in all its declarations—"Into the factories, into the workshops, to the masses!" But factory committees which had arisen during the revolutionary period had been transformed by the social-democrats wherever they had been preserved (Germany, Austria, Czecho-Slovakia) into organs of co-operation with the bourgeoisie. In such circumstances the position of the factory committees was completely different. The task consisted here in wresting the factory committees from the influence of the trade union bureaucracy, in transforming them into organs of the class struggle. How was this to be achieved? By intensifying work in these enterprises, by putting forward independent lists for election, by drawing the factory committees into economic struggles and putting them into opposition to the reformist trade unions. The chief task was to break down the framework of legality and to extend the functions and competence of the factory committees wherever they existed, and to create forms of representation of all workers in any enterprise where these did not exist. What forms of representation? That depends upon the country. In certain places it was possible to establish special commissions, elect delegations, set up committees and so on. The name and the form of the organisation was a secondary question: the important thing was that the organ thus set up should be genuinely elected by all the workers and should represent their interests. On the question of the trade unions and factory committees all the congresses and plenums of the Comintern have given the most detailed instructions (see the trade union question dis-

cussions at all the congresses and plenums) the purport of which is the conquest of the basic mass of the workers and the expulsion of the agents of capital from these organisations.

THE UNITED FRONT

Having set itself the problem of the leadership of the day-to-day struggle, the Comintern was bound to come to the slogan of the united front and of unity. In reality, if the Communists have to head every struggle of the proletariat, they cannot but raise the problem of the composition of the fighting army. The capitalist attack confronts every worker with the question of the organisation of counter-action. In so far as it was a question of defending elementary gains, workers of various tendencies could be drawn into the struggle. Hence the united front for defence against the attack of capitalism, a united front which had to lead to a transition from defence to attack, in so far as the masses could be drawn into the task of defence. Thus the united front arose and was formulated as a method of mobilising the masses in the struggle against capital. "The tactics of the united front," says the Comintern program, "as a means of the most successful struggle against capital, of the mobilisation of the masses, the unmasking and isolation of the reformist upper groups, constitutes the most important part of the Communist Parties' tactics during the whole of the pre-revolution period." But if the masses are prepared to act in a united front against capital, why cannot they be in one trade union organisation? The united front led logically to the slogan of the unity of the trade union movement, to the slogan proclaimed by the fifth congress of the Comintern.

Both these slogans, when tested in practice, revealed that within the Comintern social-democratic elements existed, which had made a fetish of the slogan of unity and the united front, and that in order to achieve the united front and unity they were prepared to pay whatever political price you liked. In certain instances the united front degenerated into a pact for mutual non-aggression between the Communists and the reformists, whilst unity became a capitulation to the trade union reformist machine. This capitulation is ex-

plained by the fact that there are Communists who regard the existence of reformist trade unions as an advantage to the working class, and maintain that as long as these trade unions have a positive significance for the workers, capitulation before the trade union bureaucracy is justified. This is a most dangerous and opportunist deviation. Can it be seriously maintained that the American Federation of Labour represents an advantage to the workers' movement of the United States? Or, possibly, the All-German Federation of Trade Unions, which has shattered one revolutionary movement after another, is an advantage to the German proletariat? Would it not have been better for the German proletariat if that strike-breakers' organisation had not existed in November, 1918? One would have thought so. And if that is so, it is quite obvious that the Communists who construct their tactics on such an estimate of the reformist trade unions are closer to the social-democrats than to Communism.

Capitulation arises from a fetishist attitude to the trade unions, from an internal conviction that the reformist trade unions do none the less defend the interests of the workers. The Comintern long ago declared a resolute struggle against this capitulation, believing that an unsound estimate of the real role of the reformist trade unions may lead to a distortion of the whole policy of the Communist Parties and the Comintern.

LEADERSHIP AND ORGANISATION IN THE IMMEDIATE STRUGGLE

The struggle for the masses confronted the Comintern and its sections with the problem of leadership in economic struggles. The right wing Communists settle this problem very simply: as the trade unions have been set up for the direction of economic struggles, let them direct them. But the trouble is that the reformist trade unions do not lead them, or if they do, it is only in order to effect the break-up of the movement. In such circumstances the phrase: "Let the reformist trade unions direct the economic struggle," is the very worst form of capitulation and borders on treachery to the interests of the working class. It is quite obvious that the Comintern cannot accept any such view in regard to economic

struggles. The instructions of the Third Congress were put into concrete form by the Ninth Plenum of the E.C.C.I., the Fourth Congress of the R.I.L.U. and the Sixth Congress of the Comintern, and in all the decisions reached the chief feature was the leadership of the economic struggle through organs specially elected for this purpose (militant leadership, strike and lock-out committees, etc.). It may seem strange, but these decisions of the Comintern suffered the heaviest attack of all. Why strike committees, when there are trade unions? If strike committees are necessary, let the trade unions set them up. If strike committees must be elected, let them be elected only by members of the trade unions, and so on. But despite their apparent innocence all these counter-proposals arose from the idea that it was the reformist trade unions who ought to have the leadership in economic battles, whilst the Comintern holds the view that with the aid of strike committees the direction of the struggle for everyday demands can be in the hands of revolutionary trade unions, or where these do not exist, in the hands of the revolutionary opposition. On what ground did the Comintern and R.I.L.U. come to these decisions? On the same basis from which the Second and Third Congresses of the Comintern started: the best method of transforming Communist Parties into mass organisations and linking them with the widest masses of the proletariat. This is all the more necessary since apart from the Communist Parties and the revolutionary trade unions there is no one to direct economic struggles and since without our intervention the working class is condemned to endure constant and systematic depression of its standards of existence and to suffer one defeat after another. In such circumstances any opposition to the independent leadership of economic struggles is playing into the hands of the reformist trade union bureaucrats, the worst enemies of the proletariat.

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The independent leadership of the economic struggles brought before the Comintern and its sections the problem of the organisation of the unorganised. This also is no new problem to the Comintern. But although this is not a new problem, it arises in new forms in a par-

ticular situation. First and foremost, the majority of the workers in most countries are unorganised—but this is not new, this was so before. The new factor consists in the fact that with capitalist rationalisation there is developing the application of unskilled labour in place of skilled labour. And as the unskilled labourer is also generally unorganised, this means that the unorganised workers are now playing a much greater part in the process of production than previously, and that without them any strike is condemned to failure. On the other hand, it is necessary to bear in mind that among the unorganised workers there are not a few who have already been in trade unions, who have left them from political motives. All this compels us to regard the problem of organising the unorganised with the maximum of seriousness, for it is one of the most important roads to the masses. Whilst everybody is unanimous on the question of the necessity of organising the unorganised, that unanimity vanishes when the question of how they are to be organised is raised. For countries with a divided trade union movement (France, Czecho-Slovakia, Greece, Roumania, Japan, and so on) the question is clear: the unorganised masses have to be gathered round the class trade unions. In countries where the great majority of the proletariat are unorganised (U.S.A., Poland, etc.), the question is no less clear—the masses have to be drawn into new unions. The question is not so simple in the case of countries with a single trade union movement (Germany, Austria, Britain, etc.). What is to be done with the millions of unorganised workers in these countries, especially during and after large-scale wage struggles? Hitherto, in Germany, for instance, three answers have been given to this question: (1) Organise the unorganised into the reformist trade unions; (2) Assemble them around the International Workers' Committee; (3) keep the Party out of this question, so as to avoid being transformed into a "party of the unorganised workers."

I personally put forward a different solution of the problem (the setting up of anti-lockout associations, of societies for mutual aid in strikes, etc.). I had no idea of maintaining that this was an ideal and final answer to this

complicated question. No. I raised the question with a view to calling attention to it and securing its consideration from all aspects. There are comrades who consider this form of organisation unsuccessful. That is a question not of principle but of practice. But no matter what the forms of organisation and the methods of capturing the unorganised, this is clearly a difficult point in the Comintern's struggle for the masses. We must not forget that the section of the workers organised by the social-democrats is the most reactionary section of the proletariat. It is possible to break the united front of the employers, the bourgeois State, social-democracy and the reformist trade union machinery only after the unorganised workers have been drawn into the active struggle. Without achieving this we shall never advance.

WHO ARE THE MASSES?

It is necessary to bear in mind that the conception of the "masses" changes from day to day. Lenin considered this problem even at the Third Congress of the Comintern. In some countries and circumstances, even a few thousand workers may constitute a mass; in other countries, we can talk of a mass only when tens and hundreds of thousands are brought into the movement. On this question Lenin at the Third Congress said:

"If a few thousand non-party workers, customarily living good citizen's lives and dragging out a miserable existence, and never having heard a word about politics before, begin to take revolutionary action, we have before us a mass. If the movement extends and grows stronger, it gradually passes into a real revolution. When the revolution is adequately prepared, the conception of the 'mass' changes: a few thousand workers no longer constitute a mass. This word begins to have a different meaning. The conception of the mass changes in the sense that by it we understand a majority, and moreover not merely a simple majority of the workers, but a majority of all the exploited; any other understanding of the matter is impermissible to a revolutionary; any other meaning of this word becomes incomprehensible."

In no circumstances can the conclusion be drawn from this passage that Lenin did not

contemplate a revolution before the Party had united the formal majority of the working class. No, Lenin did not approach the question from the aspect of how many members there were in the Party, but what was its influence on the mass. In the same speech Lenin also said:

"It is possible that even a small Party, the British or American Party for instance, after carefully studying the course of political development and acquainting itself with the life and habits of the non-Party masses, may evoke a revolutionary movement at a favourable moment. If at such a moment it comes out with its slogans and succeeds in drawing a million workers after it, before us is a mass movement. I do not unconditionally reject the possibility that a revolution can be begun by quite a small Party and carried to a victorious end, but it is necessary to know by what methods the masses are to be drawn to your side. To this end fundamental preparation for the revolution is indispensable. Quite a small party is sufficient to draw the masses behind it. At certain moments there is no necessity for large organisations.

But in order to achieve the victory the sympathy of the masses is necessary. An absolute majority is not always necessary, but for victory, for the maintenance of power, not only is a majority of the working class necessary—I use the term "working class" in its west-European sense, i.e., in the sense of the industrial proletariat—but a majority of the exploited and the toilers of the rural population."

Here the problem of the inter-relations between the Party and the masses in the revolution is put with such clarity that it is worth while recalling this passage again and again to the memory of all the Parties. The practical work of the Comintern consisted in explaining to all the parties what the masses are and how they have to be won. In this, as in other questions, the road was laid down by Lenin.

TEN YEARS OF STRUGGLE

The Communist Parties under capitalism can capture the class-conscious minority of the working class, that is not open to the least doubt. Thus the whole problem amounts to

the question what road the Comintern has taken during these years. Has it got its roots into the masses, or is it, as the social-democrats assure us, losing all its influence? It is sufficient merely to compare the Comintern of ten years ago in order to be convinced that the social-democratic gutter press is lying. How is the growth in influence of the Comintern to be explained? (1) The economic growth of the U.S.S.R.; (2) the growing social antagonisms inside capitalist countries; (3) the growing antagonism between the capitalist Great Powers. All these factors are shaking capitalist stabilisation and making more and more illusory the hopes of the bourgeoisie and of social-democracy for the restoration of capitalism. If capitalism had really emerged from its crisis and a period of organic development and prosperity were to begin, the Comintern would wane in influence. But the whole essence of the matter is that this is out of the question, that antagonisms and conflicts are increasing every day, that clashes between labour and capital are growing, enormous reserves of unemployed are increasing the uncertainty of the morrow, the national emancipation movement is growing in the colonies, the prognosis given by the Sixth Congress of the Comintern as to the intensification of the social, national, imperial and colonial antagonisms is being confirmed. It is true that capitalism has obtained a series of victories of recent years (the victory of Fascism in various countries, the defeat of the Chinese revolution, the repeal of a number of social laws, etc.), but none the less that which the Third Congress said in its thesis on the world situation remains in full force.

"It remains unchallengeable that during the present epoch the general curve of capitalism, in spite of transient rises, is downward; the curve of revolution—through all its fluctuations—is tending upward."

What is the result of the ten years' struggle for the masses? If a comparison be made between the Comintern of ten years ago and the Comintern of to-day, we see what an enormous stretch of road has been traversed by the international Communist movement. From a group made up of one large party (the Communist Party of the Soviet Union), and several small Communist Parties and

small revolutionary and Communist groups in Europe, the Comintern has been transformed into a mighty World Bolshevik Party. Against whom are all the resources and forces of bourgeois States directed? Against the Comintern. Whose banner is unfurled in all the insurrections and mass movements, from Britain to Australia, from India to China, from Germany to Japan? The banner of the Comintern. Even when the insurgents have no conception of the Comintern and its organisation, the attack upon the exploiters, the rising against the imperialists has to be placed to the credit of the Comintern, for it is the organiser and leader of the social revolution, the inspiration of all the exploited class and oppressed peoples.

This decade has been filled with heavy battles. The position of the Comintern is by no means the same in all sections of the international class front. The united forces of the bourgeoisie and social-democracy have driven the Communist Parties underground in a number of countries; wherever the Communist Party has a legal existence it is subjected to unbroken blows and persecutions; and none the less the influence of the Comintern is enormous. There is not a corner of the globe where the Comintern has no base. It is true the forces of the Comintern are not distributed equally over all countries. In certain countries the Comintern is stronger, in others it is weaker. In many countries the social-democrats still have considerable influence with the masses, but it must always be borne in mind that the strength of reformism is rooted in the strength of capitalism. International reformism bases itself on all the might of capitalism in its struggle against Communism. Hence the defeat of the Comintern in isolated sections of the front. International reformism plus international capitalism is still stronger than the Comintern. That is unquestionable. But for us the important factor is the direction of development of the international workers' movement—whether it is moving from the right leftward, from reformism to Communism, or vice versa. The task of the Comintern is so to work as to hasten the historic process of the emancipation of the proletariat from bourgeois social-democratic ideology. How is that to be achieved? In that consists the

whole of Bolshevik tactics. One thing is clear; that one essential for the conquest of the masses is the constant self-cleansing of the Comintern from right and left wing opportunism, and the struggle against compromise with deviations from the Bolshevik line.

The Comintern still cannot boast of having won the majority of the International proletariat, but it is swiftly moving towards that goal. It is moving in that direction because from the very first day of its inception it took a sound course on the basic question: the party—the class—the masses. This course was laid down by the organiser and leader of the Comintern, Lenin, in his theses "On the basic tasks of the Second Congress of the Comintern." In those theses we read:

"For the victory over capitalism a sound correlation between the leading Communist Party, the revolutionary class, the proletariat and the masses is necessary. Only the Communist Party, if it is genuinely the advance-guard of the revolutionary class, if it includes all the finest representatives of that class, if it consists of completely class-conscious and devoted Communists, educated and steeled by the experience of a stubborn revolutionary struggle, if that Party has succeeded in linking itself up indissolubly with the whole life of its class, and through it with the entire mass of the exploited, and in inspiring that class and that mass with trust, only such a Party is capable of leading the proletariat in the most ruthless, the decisive last struggle against all the forces of capitalism. On the other hand, only under the leadership of such a Party is the proletariat capable of unfolding all the might of its revolutionary force, reducing to nothingness the inevitable apathy and partial opposition of a small minority of the capitalist-infected labour aristocracy, the old trade union and co-operative leaders and such like—only thus is it capable of developing all its power, which is immeasurably more than its proportion to the population, owing to the very economic structure of capitalist society."

The service of the Comintern consists in the fact that throughout the entire period of its activity it has unswervingly taken that road. By the example of the October revolution Bolshevism has demonstrated that it

knows how to attack, retreat, and conquer, without for one moment losing contact with the masses. This basic quality of Bolshevism is also the basic quality of the Communist

International, which in victories and defeats has always been with the masses, always at the head of the masses. So it was, so is it now, and so it ever shall be.

TEN DAYS THAT SHOOK THE WORLD

by

JOHN REED

A vivid account of the November revolution in Russia as witnessed and recorded by that brilliant journalist and author, the late John Reed

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Revolutionary Alliance of the Workers and Peasantry

V. Kolarov

“THE current period of history may justly be defined as a period of desperate struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie not only to win the backward sections of the proletariat, but also the vast sections of the peasantry.” This closing section of the “Theses on the Peasant Question,” adopted at the Enlarged Plenum of the E.C.C.I. in 1925, characterises the strategic disposition of the basic class forces during the historical period through which we are now passing both on an international scale and for each separate capitalist country. Owing to their large numbers, and especially owing to the fact that they are the chief reserves for the army, and finally, because they are the producers of foodstuffs and raw materials for industry, the peasant masses are called to play a decisive role in the historic struggle for power between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie in the majority of the capitalist countries. On their adhesion to one or other of the chief warring forces, on their active participation or neutrality in the struggle, will in the last resort depend the victory or the defeat of the proletariat. Even in such a highly industrial country as Britain, where agriculture occupies only seven per cent. of the population, the peasant problem retains its extraordinary importance, although in that case it is preponderantly a colonial problem. The British proletariat cannot deal finally with its class enemy if it does not succeed in drawing the small farmers of Britain to its side, and if it does not assist the peasants of the British colonies to emancipate themselves from the yoke of British imperialism. The exceptional importance of the peasant problem for the proletariat was confirmed both by the experience of the victorious Russian revolution, and by the defeat of the revolution in Hungary, Poland and Italy. In the resolution of the conference of the Bolsheviks, held in April,

1917, a resolution written by Lenin, the issue was put with the utmost clarity: “Whether the urban proletariat succeeds in drawing the rural proletariat to its side and in securing the adhesion of the mass of the semi-proletarians of the villages, or whether that mass follows the peasant bourgeoisie, which is tending towards alliance with Guchkov, Miliukov, the capitalists and the landed proprietors and towards counter-revolution; on the decision between these alternatives will the fate and result of the Russian revolution depend.” As we know, in October the Bolshevik Party achieved a preponderant influence over the masses of the villages, and thus the victory of the revolution was assured. The Hungarian Communists, on the contrary, and the Polish and Italian socialists as the leaders of the revolutionary proletariat, remained isolated from the vast peasant masses owing to their unsound tactics in regard to the peasantry, and this circumstance predetermined the defeat of the proletarian revolution in those countries. Consequently the “theses on the peasant problem” very pointedly warn those Communist parties who do not sufficiently realise the importance of the problem of winning the peasantry, that they “do not observe the terrible danger which threatens the proletarian movement in the event of the bourgeoisie succeeding in binding the vast strata of the peasantry more closely to itself.”

THE PEASANT POLICY OF THE BOURGEOISIE

And the bourgeoisie are certainly straining all their energies to recover the influence over the villages which they had before the imperialist war, when they found in the agricultural population a vigorous opponent of the revolutionary ideas of the town and a firm bulwark against the revolutionary tendencies of the industrial proletariat. The struggle to win the

soul of the peasant constitutes one of the chief objects of their care in the work of preserving their shaken class supremacy. In order to achieve this end they do not even stop at certain sacrifices.

Immediately after the October revolution, in order to turn the peasant masses away from the road to the revolution, which the Russian workers and peasants had opened before them, the bourgeoisie was forced to make a number of concessions to the peasantry. Its first concession was in regard to the agrarian question. Everywhere where the land problem was particularly acute, they entered on an era of "agrarian reforms." Owing to the growing political consciousness of the peasantry, the urban bourgeoisie was also forced to renounce its monopoly of State power. Whilst retaining its leading role, it divided the administration of the State with certain peasant strata.

And it would be foolish to deny the successes of this bourgeois strategy. One of the chief causes of the swift ebb in the post-war revolutionary wave in a number of countries was this very weakening of the united front of the workers and peasants, as a result of the concessions which the bourgeoisie made to the latter.

In order completely to safeguard their class hegemony, however, the bourgeoisie had to prepare the economic foundation of their alliance with the peasantry. Consequently all the bourgeois parties and governments brought forward the question of the improvement of agriculture, either by the introduction of a number of agricultural measures, or with the aid of a system of agricultural credits, or by the stimulation of agricultural co-operation, or with the help of protective tariffs, and so on.

In the solution of these vital problems the bourgeoisie has a valuable assistant in the form of international social-democracy. The social-democratic parties of all countries have also intensified their interest in the peasantry and are endeavouring to clear the road for their own influence over them. Their old agrarian programmes have proved useless or inadequate to that end, and in consequence everywhere they are turning to their reconsideration. But it is in their theory and practice in regard to the peasant problem that the irrecoverable decline of the social-democratic parties is revealed most clearly. Nor does it matter

whether they are "left" or "right"; their retreat from their pre-war positions and their final entry into the camp of counter-revolution are obvious. The whole purport of their new advance into the villages lies in their attempt to stop the process of the leftward trend among the peasant masses, i.e., to undermine the ground of the revolutionary alliance between the workers and the peasants, and to extend the basis for their own co-operation with the bourgeoisie and for maintaining the economic and political foundations of the existing social system.

This attitude of the bourgeoisie and its social-democratic instruments towards the village may undoubtedly lead to great difficulties in the Communists' work among the peasantry, and is already doing so. It would be stupid and dangerous to deny this. It is the duty of the Communist parties to recognise these difficulties created by their class enemies, difficulties which will increase and not diminish, and to learn to struggle against and to overcome them. The peasant masses will be drawn into the revolutionary alliance with the proletariat only as the result of a constant, stubborn and systematic struggle by the Communists against all bourgeois, petty bourgeois and counter-revolutionary influences in the villages. It would be absolutely un-Communist, un-Leninist, to count only on the elemental factor. The task which the counter-revolutionaries set themselves consists in diverting the elemental revolution of the peasant masses by their conscious intervention. And, as we have already seen, they have been successful in the past; they may have similar successes in the future. The basic class antagonisms of capitalist society in the present epoch set bounds to their intervention, open great possibilities for Communists to work among the peasantry, and create objective conditions for the victory of the revolution. But actual victory can be won only on condition that the Communist parties recognising all the enormous importance of the peasant problem, carry out a sound policy in regard to the peasants, and thus systematically undermine the influence of the bourgeoisie and the social-democrats in the villages, and consolidate the revolutionary alliance between the workers and peasants under the leadership of the proletariat.

THE PEASANT PROBLEM FROM A REVOLUTIONARY
MARXIST STANDPOINT

The preliminary condition for the creation of the revolutionary alliance between the workers and the peasantry is such an intensification of class antagonisms as will revolutionise not only the industrial proletariat but also the peasant masses. A study of the history of peasant risings and war shows us that the peasantry developed a state of strong revolutionary agitation during the transition of agriculture from one historical form to another: i.e., at turning-points when, under the influence of increased productive forces, the old agrarian relationships are shattered and replaced by new ones. Thus, for instance, the peasant revolts and wars of the 14th century in France and Britain, of the 15th and 16th centuries in Central Europe, which from the 16th to the 18th centuries embraced Russia also, were the answer of the peasant masses to their enslavement under serfdom or to the destructive activity of merchant capital, which was drawing agriculture into its sphere of influence, breaking up the old patriarchal relations in the village and replacing them by new bourgeois relationships. A similar phenomenon is to be observed during the transition from the epoch of merchant capital to the industrial era and again during the period of the constriction of agriculture in the pincers of finance capital. The revolutionising of the peasantry during the present epoch, the epoch of imperialism, is a manifestation of those enormous class antagonisms into whose orbit finance capital is drawing the village more and more.

During the period of its struggle for political hegemony the bourgeoisie of the west succeeded to a more or less extent in carrying through its task, owing to the fact that the swift destruction of the old agrarian relationships wrested enormous peasant masses from a condition of political indifference, and drew them into the struggle with the old regime. The bourgeois revolution was victorious because it was face to face with the fact of the revolutionisation of the peasantry, and the bourgeoisie succeeded in drawing the majority of them to its side.

But history also teaches us that wherever the peasantry rose against its oppressors as

an independent and self-dependent force, in the last result it suffered defeat. It was successful only when it entered the struggle in alliance with another revolutionary social class and under its leadership. In the epoch of the British and the great French revolutions, the peasantry constituted a reserve for the bourgeoisie in its struggle for the overthrow of absolutism and the annihilation of the survivals of feudalism and serfdom. Owing to its alliance with the bourgeoisie it gained its emancipation, and certain peasant strata also acquired part of the lands of the landed proprietors.

Marx and Engels, the strategic geniuses of the proletarian revolution, had thoroughly assimilated this historical lesson, and for the first time raised the problem of a revolutionary bloc between the workers and the peasantry. Wherever they considered the concrete tasks of the proletariat in the revolution they pointed out the necessity of an alliance between the industrial workers and the peasantry—not only with the agricultural labourers, but with the small farmers and tenants also. Thus, for instance, in the program of the German section of the Communist League of 1847, signed by Marx and Engels among others, after laying down the revolutionary demands of the Communists, we read: "In the interests of the German proletariat, the petty bourgeoisie, and the peasant estates, to assist with all our energy to bring the above-specified measures into force." Here is expressed very clearly the idea that, despite their attachment to different social classes and groups, the workers and peasants are bound together during a revolutionary epoch by such vital interests as to make it quite possible and absolutely necessary that they should wage a joint revolutionary struggle. And in his famous letter to Engels dated 16th March, 1856, Marx writes: "The whole business in Germany will depend on the possibility of consolidating the proletarian revolution by a kind of second edition of the peasant war: then the affair will be excellent." With the penetration of genius this passage points out the basic disposition of class forces in the proletarian revolution, a disposition which retains its soundness down to the present time; and also puts forward the chief strategic task of the proletariat in ensur-

ing the success of the proletarian revolution namely: the mobilisation of as wide a circle as possible of the peasant masses, in the name of their own interests, in the struggle to overthrow the ruling classes, under the leadership of the proletariat. Developing this same conception, Engels, in his foreword to "The Peasant War in France," written in 1870, i.e., at the moment when he considered that the proletarian revolution was by no means "over the hills and far away," wrote: "The section of the population which depends entirely and permanently on wages is now, as then, a minority of the German people. This class is naturally compelled to seek allies. The latter can be found only among the petty bourgeoisie, the low grade proletariat [lumpenproletariat] of the cities, the small peasants, and the agricultural wage workers." (1927 ed.) And finally, as we know, one of the chief reasons for the defeat of the Paris Commune specified by Marx was the alienation of the town population from the peasantry.

But it must not be forgotten that Marx and Engels raised the question of the alliance between the proletariat and the peasantry at a moment when, according to their estimates, the conditions for revolution had matured and when they had in view the success of the revolution. In their view this alliance has its historical justification only as a revolutionary alliance between the proletariat and the oppressed peasant masses, for the overthrow of the power of the capitalists.

The estimates made by Marx and Engels, as to the immediate development of the international revolution, were, as we know, unjustified. The period of organic development of capitalism proved to be more protracted than they had thought. This circumstance served as a starting point for the revival of petty bourgeois theories about the special roads of development of agriculture, and for petty bourgeois and agrarian-co-operative Utopias describing the painless, evolutionary road to socialism, theories which Marx and Engels had buried long before. In these conditions the question of the attitude of the proletariat to the masses also took on new aspects.

SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC REVISIONS

The revisionists, reformists, and other fraternities among the socialist parties, took

it upon themselves to "prove" by a series of "unchallengeable facts" that the law of concentration does not find any confirmation in the development of agriculture, that petty rural economy not only is not disappearing, but is manifesting a tendency to a numerical increase, that small-scale farming has advantages over large-scale, which will not only ensure its future but will make it economically more advantageous to society, and so on. In the same spirit they developed their criticism of other basic assumptions of Marxism.

The inevitable result of this theoretical attack on Marxism was bound to be the transformation of social democracy from a party of the proletarian revolution into a party of petty bourgeois reform; and in regard to the agrarian problem in particular the revisionists put forward a "positive agrarian program," which, while it rested entirely and unconditionally on the basis of private capitalist relationships in agriculture, i.e., irretrievably sacrificed basic socialist principles, set itself the task of merely increasing the influx of peasants into the social-democratic party. Thus the revolutionary alliance between the workers and peasants put forward by Marx and Engels as a weapon of the proletarian revolution, degenerated in the suburban minds of the opportunists into a vulgar fishing for peasant votes in order to ensure the electoral successes of the social-democratic parties.

Under such conditions the revolutionary Marxists in the capitalist countries had first of all to shatter the petty bourgeois theories of the inapplicability of the laws of capitalist development discovered by Marx to agriculture, theories which the revisionists ardently spread among the proletariat with the complete approval of the bourgeoisie, and also to unmask their reactionary and counter-revolutionary purport. As early as 1894, in the Frankfurt congress of the German social-democratic party, Engels stigmatised as reactionary these agrarian theories which sacrificed socialist principles. Under Engels' inspiration the German revolutionary Marxists turned down resolutely the "positive agrarian programme" of the revisionists, with David, Vollmar and others at their head.

The theoretic defeat of revisionism generally and of revisionism on the agrarian problem in

particular undoubtedly signified a great victory for the revolutionary wing of social-democracy. In the determination of the proletariat's attitude to the peasantry the predominant view was that alliance between the workers and peasants is conceivable and permissible only in so far as the latter come to the realisation that their salvation is only in the proletarian revolution, i.e., only in so far, as Plekhanov put it, as the "peasant abandons the viewpoint of his own class and accepts the viewpoint of the proletariat." Of course, the propaganda of socialism among the small peasants ruined and oppressed by capitalism, the development in them of the conviction that only the proletarian revolution can, by putting an end to capitalistic relationships, save them from exploitation and disaster, was an extraordinarily valuable piece of work, but it was inadequate. It was necessary to associate it with the practical defence of the small peasants against all exploitation to which they are subjected in the process of capitalist development, for this was the most hopeful road to their emancipation from the influence of the bourgeoisie. However, it was here, in the sphere of practical activity, that the revolutionary wing of social-democracy in the majority of cases showed the greatest indifference to the small peasants.

In countries where the tasks of the bourgeois-democratic revolution were still unfulfilled (in Russia, for instance), the revolutionary Marxists stood by the theoretical position of Marxism not only against the attack of the revisionists of Marxism, but also against the belated influence of populist ideology, which sought to combine revisionist Marxism with "subjective sociology." In addition, in 1905 they agitated for the complete abolition of landed estates and for the confiscation of the landed proprietors' land in favour of the peasantry, considering that they would thus establish most favourable conditions for the further struggle for socialism. Here the alliance between the workers and the peasantry acquired exceptional importance particularly as an instrument of direct revolutionary activity. On this point, the Bolsheviks obtained a brilliant victory over the Russian Mensheviks who had set the peasantry at the tail of the bourgeoisie. Lenin

demonstrated that in the conditions in which the Russian bourgeois-democratic revolution was taking place—a higher development of capitalism than that prevailing in western European countries during their bourgeois revolutions, and in a different world relationship of class forces—the chief motive power of the revolution was the proletariat, and not the bourgeoisie. As soon as the proletariat entered the struggle as an independent class, from the very beginning of the deepening of the revolution, the latter became a counter-revolutionary class, and under such conditions only one revolutionary bloc is possible: that of the workers and peasants under the hegemony of the proletariat. The accuracy of the Bolshevik slogan in the bourgeois-democratic revolution: "the revolutionary-democratic dictatorship of the workers and peasants," was completely confirmed by events.

THE ATTITUDE OF THE PROLETARIAT TO THE PEASANTRY DURING THE EPOCH OF THE PROLETARIAN REVOLUTION

The Communist International had its inception in the epoch of the international proletarian revolution. Its historic task was to assemble the revolutionary forces engendered in the womb of modern capitalist society during its last, imperialist phase, and to organise and bring them into the attack upon world capitalism. "Expressing the historic need for an international organisation of revolutionary proletarians—the gravediggers of the capitalist order—the Communist International is the only force that has for its programme the dictatorship of the proletariat and Communism, and that openly comes out as the organiser of the international proletarian revolution"—so runs the conclusion of the introduction to the "Programme of the Communist International." In relation to this basic task, which is also the task of the individual Communist Parties, the peasant problem, i.e., the problem of the relationships between the proletariat and the peasantry, takes on fresh aspects during the proletarian revolution. Whilst in the preceding period, in order to establish the most favourable conditions for the class struggle, the proletariat was interested in clearing the road of capitalist development from the vestiges of feudalism and in

simultaneously collecting its own forces, during the period of the proletarian revolution, when the immediate issue is the annihilation of the capitalist system, the strategic task of finding allies in the proletarian revolution is of first importance. Under threat of the most serious defeats, rising about their narrow craft interests and renouncing their exclusive care for the improvement of their own situation, the proletariat must secure the active support of their great peasant masses, must become the "advance-guard of all the exploited, their leader in the struggle for the overthrow of the exploiters," as it is expressed in Lenin's theses on the agrarian problem. From this aspect we now have to solve all the most important problems of the agrarian programme and tactics.

THE PROBLEM OF NATIONALISATION

In the pre-revolutionary period, the social-democratic parties as a general rule put forward in their programmes the slogan of the nationalisation of the land. They regarded nationalisation as the specific form of social ownership of the land, which in turn they regarded as the preliminary and indispensable condition of the introduction of socialist forms of production in agriculture.

Of course, all this was and still remains absolutely sound. The nationalisation of all land is the general aim of the Communist parties also. None the less the latter would be miserable doctrinaires, and not revolutionary parties, if, in working out their agrarian programme for the period of the struggle for the proletarian dictatorship, they did not place the interests of the proletarian revolution and the assurance of its victory above all doctrinaire considerations. As we know, the bourgeoisie has always built up its united front with the peasant masses on private property, and now, during the revolutionary period, it counts on the same influence. Its strongest agitational weapon against the Communists in the villages is the argument that the peasants are private owners, and the Communists want to destroy private ownership. And, of course, in countries where, owing to the long-accomplished elimination of pre-capitalist relationships from the villages the sense of private ownership has been deeply inculcated into the

peasants, that agitation may meet with success. It is clear that in such countries the Communist parties cannot, as the result of the slogan of the immediate nationalisation of all land in the event of the victory of the revolution, allow the owner-bloc of the large landowners with the small peasants to be consolidated or permit a wedge to be driven between the proletariat and the peasantry over what is for the latter the most burning question of all. On the contrary, they should put forward such a slogan as will shatter the private ownership front, isolating the large landed proprietors from the peasant masses, and at the same time creating and consolidating an alliance between the proletariat and the peasantry—such a slogan as the confiscation of all large estates and the transference of part of this land for the free use of the landless peasants, and in certain instances, to the middle peasantry. Unconditionally expropriating the large-scale owners, landed proprietors, etc., and putting part of the confiscated lands into the hands of the peasantry, the proletarian power simultaneously decrees the complete repeal of the right of private ownership in land and the nationalisation of all land only where the concrete conditions of the particular country permit this, only where this will not drive the peasant masses away from the revolution. In certain instances, particularly in countries where the traces of feudalism and serfdom are still fresh (as was the case in Tsarist Russia, for instance), such a reform can be carried through without risk. But in the older capitalist countries, where the peasantry have become accustomed to their own private ownership, it would be risky, and consequently erroneous to propose the nationalisation of all land, and including the land of the small and middle peasantry, as an immediate demand of the Communist Parties.

The problem of the nationalisation of the land was given its correct evaluation in the Leninist agrarian theses, and the programme of the Communist International gave it its final solution. The nationalisation of the land is the inevitable prospect in society evolving towards socialism, and then Communism, under the dictatorship of the proletariat. But immediately after its victory the proletariat proclaims only the "confiscation and nationali-

sation of all large landed estates in town and country (private, church, monastery and other lands) and the transference of State and municipal landed property including forests, minerals, lakes, rivers, etc., to the Soviets, with subsequent nationalisation of the whole of the land." As regards the "subsequent nationalisation of the whole of the land," this reform will be bound up with the inevitable transformation of individual agriculture into collective husbandry, a transition which, however, will be a more or less protracted process; the State authorities will have to realise it "only with extreme caution and gradualness, by the force of example, without any exertion of pressure on the middle peasant." (Lenin's theses.) The same idea was also expressed by Engels. Until the complete nationalisation of the land the programme restrains the peasantry from alienating their land in favour of the capitalists, usurers, etc., by the fact that it prohibits all sale and purchase of land.

"For the sake of the success of the revolution the proletariat has no right to pause before a temporary lowering of productivity"—so strictly and categorically did Lenin formulate one of the basic tactics of the proletarian revolution, in connection with the question whether in certain cases the partitioning of the confiscated large-scale landed estates was permissible. From the viewpoint of vulgarised Marxism such a method of action is impermissible, and the Leninist formulation is heretical from that viewpoint. And it certainly came up against a certain amount of resistance at the Second International Congress, during the consideration of the agrarian theses, owing to the very fact that at that time social-democratic prejudices still survived in the ranks of the Communist parties. Since then, however, on the basis of the positive experience of the October revolution and on the negative experience of the revolutions in Hungary and Poland, this formulation has received universal assent in the Comintern.

The proletarian socialist revolution breaks down the framework of capitalist relationships, which had become fetters on the developing productive forces; its victory brings with it a new unexpected growth of productive forces. But in order to make that result generally possible, it is necessary first of all to over-

throw the exploiters. "To ensure the proletarian victory and its stability is the first and basic task of the proletariat." Consequently, if in order to raise the peasant masses against the large-scale landowners and capitalists it is necessary that certain large landed estates should be divided among the peasantry, the proletariat should not pause before such a measure, even if it brings with it a "temporary decline in production." Of course in the foremost capitalist countries with a highly developed technique and a large educated proletariat, the partitioning of large-scale and well-organised farms will be a rare exception, and these latter will be transformed mainly into State farms on the lines of the Soviet farms. In the backward countries this division will be met with much more frequently. Whilst allowing the division of large scale estates in certain cases, the Communists by no means reject the view of revolutionary Marxism concerning the superiority of large-scale over petty agriculture, and the necessity and inevitability of establishing collective agriculture. Nor do they join the camp of the petty bourgeois Utopians and reactionaries of the type of Bernstein and David and their pupils Hilferding, Krüge, Baade and other new lights of the German social-democrats. At the Kiel congress in 1927, these luminaries laid down their new agrarian programme, which broke finally with the traditional views of revolutionary Marxism on the agrarian problem, views which for more than thirty years had withstood the storm of petty bourgeois revisionism. In his article "Theoretical observations on the Agrarian Question" (in "Die Gesellschaft" No. 5, 1927), Hilferding profoundly remarked: "The application of the Marxist method shows us that the law of concentration is not applicable to rural economy." And immediately following him, Krüge, the lecturer on the agrarian problem at Kiel repeated: "There is no socialist teaching which would compel us to insist on the replacement of small farms, since the law of concentration is applicable only in industry, and not in agriculture." And further on: "All the important representatives of socialism, with Marx at their head, who were convinced of the disappearance of small-scale farming, were in error." "Marx and Engels regard large-

scale farming as the form of the future because, under the impression they had gained from the Stein-Hardenburg agrarian reform in Prussia and the failure of small-holdings in Britain, they had come to hold the view that owing to economic causes large-scale economy had swallowed up small-scale. They still were unable to realise that in that case the reasons were not so much economic as political." (All the quotations are taken from Willi Torner's article, "The agrarian problem and social-democracy in Germany," published in Nos. 3 and 4 of the journal "Agrarian Problems.") It becomes quite clear that the German social-democrats, the ideological leaders of the Second International, have completely surrendered the socialist position on the agrarian question, and have passed over to the viewpoint of private ownership and capitalist relationships in the village. The Communists on the other hand, with a view to the liquidation of bourgeois relationships both in industry and in agriculture, with a view to the liquidation of the entire bourgeois system, and in order to safeguard the successes of the proletarian revolution, which is the sole means of effecting that liquidation—the Communists agree to the division of part of the large estates "among the peasantry as a temporary measure dictated by revolutionary strategy." Thus they demonstrate that they are revolutionary Marxists, for revolutionary Marxism is above all the theory of the overthrow of the power of the capitalists, large landowners and other parasites by the revolutionary proletariat which leads the masses.

THE PROLETARIAN REVOLUTION AND THE EMANCIPATION OF THE PEASANTRY

This strategic manoeuvre in the task of attracting the peasant masses to the side of the proletariat in the proletarian revolution, if that manoeuvre be soundly and profoundly thought out, and carried through with determination, has, as the October revolution showed, every chance of success. For wide circles of the peasantry are also vitally interested in the overthrow of the power of the capitalists and the large landowners. "For the masses of the village there is no way of salvation other than in alliance with the Communist proletariat, in wholehearted support of

its revolutionary struggle for the overthrow of the landowners (large landed proprietors), and the bourgeoisie," since "only the urban and industrial proletariat, led by the Communist Party, can save the masses of the villages from the oppression of capital and large-scale landed proprietorship, from ruin and from imperialist wars." (Lenin theses.)

The Communists show the peasants the revolutionary way of solving the land problem, a way which has been tested and proved in the experience of the Russian revolution. Following this road, the peasants received without any payment all the land at their disposition, together with agricultural implements and stock; the revolution abolished land rent, finally and irretrievably, without replacing it by any other form of exploitation of their labour; it liberated the peasants not only from their immediate mortgage, and other obligations, but also from the obligation to pay war and other State debts by ruinous taxation. Further, it liberated them from all other forms of exploitation by trading, industrial and finance capital. Can the peasantry achieve all this, or even part of it, in any other way?

The bourgeoisie and the social-democratic sycophants point to "peaceful agrarian reform." To begin with, such agrarian reforms were undertaken under pressure from the revolutionary movement of the peasants in order to avoid their complete Bolshevisation through the influence of the Russian example. Consequently they are far from bearing such a "peaceable" character. As soon as the revolutionary pressure relaxed, and the bourgeoisie felt firm ground under their feet, they either sent all idea of agrarian reforms to the devil, or else they began to sabotage their operation. But even where they were put into force only certain of the peasant strata, and those predominantly well-off, received part of the land of the large landowners, in return for which they were burdened with heavy purchase payments, which not only did not relieve them from the oppression of the landowners, but added to that oppression their enslavement to usurers, bankers, the State and so on. The experience of all capitalist countries has shown that under the hegemony of the capitalists and landowners "agrarian reforms" are in reality

transformed into a means of intensifying the exploitation of the masses in new forms, i.e., they prepare the conditions for a new mass expropriation of the small owners. Being unable to overcome the laws of capitalist development, these "reforms" lead again and again to the same situation which served as their starting point.

Even the widest "agrarian reform" in the epoch of finance capital cannot lead to any essential change in the situation of the peasant masses, and still less can it lead to their emancipation from all forms of exploitation. It is enough to point to the poverty-stricken state from which the poor peasants never emerge, and into which the middle peasants also frequently fall. It is sufficient to point to the economic crises which frequently desolate agriculture and evoke ruin even among the richer peasantry. The source of the evil torturing the peasant now is not the fact that he is deprived of his own land, on which he could apply his own labour, but the domination of parasitic classes, which exploit and oppress him equally in his capacity of hired worker and in his capacity of semi-proletarian, small owner, or tenant. Without the overthrow of the power of the capitalists and large landed proprietors there can be no talk of the emancipation of the peasantry. Not only from the viewpoint of the proletariat, but also from that of the peasantry the agrarian problem now arises as a revolutionary problem. Any other statement reflects the interests only of the bourgeoisie, and must be rejected not only by the proletariat but by the peasantry also.

We have pointed out that German social-democracy has already gone over to the bourgeoisie on the agrarian problem. But in essence there is a similar point of view in the Austro-Marxist wing of the Second International, which plays the role of "left wing" and frequently plays even with Bolshevik phrases. The characteristic feature of the agrarian programme of the most prominent theoretician of Austro-Marxism, Otto Bauer, is the retention of small peasant husbandry, guaranteeing the large-scale and middle peasantry an adequate and cheap supply of labour power, especially during the seasons of intensified agricultural labour. Thus, in his brochure "The Struggle for Forest and Field,"

we read: "In order that the agricultural labourer should use his labour power in working for wages, we must not give him too much land—none the less we must afford him the possibility of living by the receipts from his own farm during those months in which the demand for labour power is not great." Obviously Austrian social-democracy, driven into a corner by the rising power of fascism, systematically stupefying the Austrian proletariat and willingly co-operating with the bourgeoisie to stifle its revolutionary outbursts, is experiencing an extreme necessity to prove the success of its "democratic," "parliamentary" methods. Previously it strove to show this to the workers, now it includes the peasantry also. It is now turning its face to the village, is making eyes at the Austrian kulaks and the middle peasants. The "peaceable" "evolutionary" and "parliamentary" tactics of the Austrian social-democrats in an epoch of maturing civil war must inevitably lead to the betrayal of the proletariat and to the support of the bourgeoisie. For the same "democratic" and "parliamentary" considerations, the Austrian social-democratic party has been transformed into an organic, component part of the existing capitalist-kulak-fascist system in Austria. In his agrarian programme Otto Bauer is wisely silent on the question whether there will be purchase of the expropriated parts of large estates, or whether they will be handed over to the peasants free. But his silence signifies consent to the principle of purchase. The "left wing" social-democrats are binding themselves carefully to preserve the interests of the large-scale owners and capitalists in carrying through their reforms: they have completely surrendered to the camp of the bourgeoisie.

In capitalist countries, where the attachment of the peasantry to private ownership has taken deep root, bourgeois ideologists represent an alliance between peasant owners and the peasant poor as nonsensical, utopian, and convincingly "demonstrate" that the place of the peasant is in the bourgeois camp. Only close co-operation with the latter, on the basis of private ownership, can, they say, "safeguard" his interests. Only a joint struggle with the bourgeoisie in defence of private pro-

erty against the attack of the village poor can "safeguard" his future. Not the "alliance of the peasants and workers," but "the alliance of the peasants and the bourgeoisie" is the slogan of the day, which will bring "order," "prosperity," and "security" into the village.

This theory has its adherents in the village also. There are first and foremost the large landowners. Finance capital solves the antagonism between large-scale landed property and industrial capital, and cements their counter-revolutionary alliance. But in fact, the large landowners do not belong to the peasantry. These large-scale peasants are kulaks, who in fact are capitalist employers, and as a general rule are the masters of several wage-labourers. Despite certain contradictions, they are bound by innumerable threads with the industrial capitalist groups. "This is the most numerous of the bourgeois strata which are direct and resolute enemies of the revolutionary proletariat." (Agrarian resolution of 1920). Concerning them Lenin in 1918 wrote: (in "Comrade Workers, we are going into the last decisive struggle," in the "Lenin Album," 1925): "the kulaks are the most bestial, the coarsest, the most savage of all exploiters, who in the history of other countries have more than once restored the power of the landowners, the kings, priests and capitalists. . . . The kulak can easily be reconciled with the landowner, the king and the priest, even if they have quarrelled, but with the working class, never." Of course, co-operation of the urban bourgeoisie with the rural bourgeoisie, especially during revolutionary periods, is quite certain. But in view of the fact that the large-scale peasantry constitute an insignificant minority in the sea of landless, small and middle peasants, the problem of the alliance between the bourgeoisie and the peasantry is far from solved by that fact. The peasant theory of the bourgeoisie has in mind the basic peasant strata, and they constitute the chief object of its exploitation in the countryside.

The agricultural workers, and to a considerable extent the agricultural semi-proletariat, the small peasantry, who constitute one of the most numerous strata in the villages, cannot by any means be included directly in the

bourgeois property-owning bloc. Despite that fact, the bourgeoisie will not renounce the right to fool them. But wherever their devices are unmasked, they apply other methods, think out other theories in order to turn this group from the revolutionary road; for example the theory of harmony of interests between labour and capital, the theory of class co-operation, the preachers of which among the peasantry are the heroes of international social-democracy and the Amsterdam International. None the less the efforts of the bourgeoisie and its social-democratic agents cannot count on a genuine and permanent success among these peasant strata. The agricultural workers are directly drawn into the class struggle between labour and capital, and are directly interested in the overthrow of the power of the capitalists and large-scale landed proprietors; they are the standard-bearers of the proletarian revolution in the countryside. The situation of the peasant semi-proletarians is so arduous and the relief which the proletarian dictatorship would mean for them so great, that they can become the convinced allies only of the proletariat.

But the chief task of the bourgeoisie in the countryside is to unite the middle and small peasants, the independent peasant farmers and producers, who with few exceptions constitute the majority of the peasant population of capitalist countries, firmly under their leadership. To them above all they demonstrate the "solidarity" of ownership, and convince them of the necessity of defending the existing bourgeois system against the attack of the poor and landless.

As for the middle peasantry, whose farms are partly worked by wage labour, and not only feed their families but also supply some amount of surplus which (in years of good harvest) can be transformed into capital, their class association with the capitalists is evident. In the majority of the capitalist countries the capitalists can establish co-operation with them on a number of questions of practical policy. As a general rule, the middle peasantry are now hand-in-hand with the bourgeoisie, and in a number of countries they participate in the administration of the country under the hegemony of the large-scale capitalists. None the less, their com-

plete dependence on banking and large-scale commercial and industrial capital makes their situation quite unstable, and they feel this especially at time of crisis, when in the main they are ruined; consequently their class "solidarity" with the capitalists has no solid basis, and their co-operation with them can be regarded only as temporary and unstable. During revolutionary crises, under the mighty blows of civil war, their alliance with the large-scale bourgeoisie can be destroyed, and they can be neutralised. And in agrarian countries, which are in a state of semi-colonial dependence on imperialist Powers, or in countries in which considerable traces of feudalism exist, the middle peasantry can even be drawn directly on to the side of the revolution.

Despite the assertions of the bourgeoisie and their sycophants, their attempt to win the petty peasantry to the side of the owners' bloc is foredoomed to failure. The trouble is that ownership or independent production may sometimes unite, but also sometimes dis-unites. Everything depends on what is the real content of the ownership. The private owner or the independent master can only be a dependable basis for the regime of private ownership when the latter ensures him a tolerable existence and opens before him good prospects for the future. The situation of the petty peasant, who exploits only his own labour and that of his family, as an "independent master" is nothing but that of a wage-labourer in a disguised form, permitting of the most rapacious and most cynical exploitation of his labour and the labour of his family both by the capitalists of all categories (landowners, traders, industrialists, etc.), and by the State through the pressure of taxation. The receipts of the small peasant are a special form of wage payment, which the exploiting classes can cut down to the lowest limit, and which from the class point of view brings him close to the wage labourer, even if it does not place him on the same level; whilst from the social-economic point of view it frequently places him below the wage labourer. The similarity of ownership between the bourgeoisie and the small peasant creates only a formal, i.e., an ostensible solidarity between them, which can temporarily encourage illusions in the small peasant, but cannot

eliminate the profound antagonisms which attach these groups to two opposing camps. And on the other hand, the formal attachment of the small peasants and wage labourers to two different social categories cannot abolish their solidarity in the struggle against capitalist oppression. As the proletariat has no interest in opposing measures capable of lightening the miserable position of the small peasants, so the latter cannot object to the struggle of the proletariat for a general improvement of the conditions of his labour and existence. Real class interests draw the small peasants away, both ideologically and politically, from the influence of the bourgeoisie and bring them close to the workers.

Thus the "peaceable" road of the bourgeoisie and its social-democratic sycophants cannot be a substitute, under the guise of "agrarian reform," for the revolutionary settlement of the agrarian problem. So, too, the united front of ownership which is to isolate the revolutionary proletariat from the peasant masses and to foredoom to failure any attempt to overthrow the existing system, is shattered against the class antagonisms, which permeate and embrace the whole of agriculture and condemn the workers of the countryside to ruin. The proletarian revolution remains the only road which history opens before the peasant masses in their struggle for emancipation from the yoke of the landowners and the capitalists. Their first and deepest interests drive the peasantry towards a revolutionary alliance with the proletariat.

THE ALLIANCE OF WORKERS AND PEASANT IN THE PERIOD OF PARTIAL CAPITALIST STABILISATION

The partial stabilisation of agriculture under capitalism is undoubtedly reflected in the relations between the proletariat and the peasantry. It is extraordinarily important that the Communist Parties should study and note the new factors which result from this.

On the basis of the war destruction and the severe economic crisis, evoked by that war, we had the post-war revolutionary rise, which embraced the masses of the peasantry of all countries, and, in a number of countries, led to revolutions, risings, and great agrarian

movements. The depth of the crisis is shown by the fact that the revolutionary movement drew in the middle peasantry also, despite the fact that owing to inflation the latter were in fact emancipated from mortgage and other debts. But as capitalism succeeded in overcoming the crisis and stabilising world economy, the revolutionary wave declined and the middle peasantry were the first to abandon the struggle.

But does the partial stabilisation of capitalism, which has undoubtedly embraced agriculture also, imply that the epoch of agrarian crises is over, that a "normal" development of agriculture is ahead? Not at all. The point is that the process of restoration in agriculture, like the reconstruction of its technical basis, occurs unequally both in different countries, and also in industry as a whole. Hence the instability of the market, the lack of correspondence between the prices of agricultural products and industrial products, and so on. The law of capitalist development is working in the direction of further and still deeper agrarian crises.

The agrarian crisis in the transoceanic countries, which was at its height during 1923 and 1924, and caused the wholesale ruin of American farmers, is explained by the fact that in those countries the restoration process in agriculture came before the same process in industry, and led to a sharp decline in the prices of agricultural products. The crisis, as we know, evoked a revolutionary agitation among the peasant masses in the United States, Canada, the Argentine and other countries. It was outlived only when industry gradually caught up with and then surpassed the tempo of development of agriculture. On the other hand the process of concentration of industry in all its forms (trustification, combination and so on) which is going on with extraordinary swiftness, brings agriculture, disintegrated into innumerable independent farms, face to face with the fact of monopoly and creates the conditions for new agrarian crises. The rapid restoration and development of American agriculture leads to a condition of chronic crisis in agriculture in a number of backward countries such as the Balkan, Baltic and similar States, where the costs of production surpass the level

of prices on the world market. In the same way the scissors, which connotes an agrarian crisis, have not yet been outlived in all countries.

Thus the agrarian crisis cannot by any means be regarded as past. The development of agriculture in the conditions of capitalist stabilisation can be regarded only as the maturing of conditions for fresh crises, with all their social and political consequences. The rationalisation of agriculture, i.e., the application of machinery, the extensive use of artificial manure, the introduction of perfected methods of working the land and so on, are inevitably accompanied by an intensification of the class struggle in the villages. The attraction of agriculture into the orbit of finance capital, which, during recent years, has been proceeding at an extraordinary speed, is preparing the ground for its complete subordination to the power of finance capital, for the concentration of colossal power in the hands of the latter, which in turn must evoke a further wave of class antagonism, intensifying class conflicts and giving rise to vast social and political disturbances. This is being accomplished before our eyes in America, the chief producer of grain for the international market, when the bankers' trusts have established a real monopoly in the grain trade by the complete subordination of the farmers' pools. The consequences of this will be immeasurable in the development of class and political relations both in America and throughout the world.

International competition on the market for agricultural products, which is growing steadily more intense, owing first to the rationalisation of agriculture, and secondly to the decline or the lag in the purchasing power of the masses, is leading inevitably to a fresh development of the system of protection for "national agriculture," which includes protective and prohibitive import tariffs, the development of agricultural credit and co-operation, export bonuses, etc. A similar policy, the clearest agents of which are large-scale agrarian interests, may strengthen the influence of the bourgeoisie over the middle peasantry and even give rise to certain illusions among the small peasantry. There is, for instance, a similar phenomenon in Germany, Austria and

a number of other countries. Undoubtedly during this period it will render more difficult the work of Communists among agricultural populations, whilst the middle peasantry will be completely eliminated as objects of Communist activity, if other factors rendering them more accessible to Communist agitation, such as imperialist oppression, national enslavement, the danger of war, the white terror and so on are absent.

"Protection for agriculture" is a clearly expressed class policy. It is the policy of the upper groups in the villages. It cannot give the poor peasantry anything more than crumbs even in isolated cases, whilst as a whole it will lead rather to a worsening of their general position. Agrarian taxation falls with all its oppressive weight on the proletariat, the urban masses and small peasant producers: it supplements the capitalist system of extraction through direct and especially through indirect taxes, absorbing as much as possible of the receipts of the workers. Partial capitalist stabilisation is everywhere accompanied by an incessant intensification of taxation, thus cutting down the consumption of the workers, deepening and intensifying class antagonisms on a general scale, and thus undermining the stabilisation itself. The agrarian and taxation policy of the bourgeoisie provides enormous material for the work of the Communists in the villages; arising from the immediate practical interests of the small peasantry and from those which they have in common with the proletariat, the Communists must establish a strict line of class demarcation between the small peasantry and the bourgeoisie and so undermine bourgeois influence on the small peasantry.

High import tariffs as a system of defence of national industry and national agriculture are weapons fraught with extraordinarily dangerous consequences. Under the influence of the kulaks the Austrian government made an attempt to defend "national agriculture" by introducing high import tariffs on meat. But that attempt came up against the firm opposition of the Polish government, which threatened to close the Polish frontiers to the products of Austrian industry. But bearing in mind that agrarian taxes are in reality chiefly directed against America, which is the chief

supplier of grain, meat and other articles to Europe, it is obvious that the consequence of their introduction would be a sharp intensification of relations with the United States, and the danger of a fresh imperialist war. The development of agriculture, which has not yet got over the ruin of the first imperialist war, as well as the development of industry, will, by deepening and intensifying inter-class and inter-State antagonisms, inevitably lead to a new war. This becomes all the clearer if we take into account the tense relations between world economy and its socialist sector, which find expression in the feverish preparations of international imperialism for the military destruction of the U.S.S.R. But the danger of the swift approach of a new imperialist war opens the widest prospects for the work of the Communists in the villages, as is shown by the periodical mass risings of the reservists, preponderantly peasants, in France.

What we have said shows quite clearly that the stabilisation of agriculture is accompanied by an increase in the antagonisms which are destroying it, and that under its regime the leftward trend of the peasant masses will steadily continue, whilst the temporary and partial retreat of certain peasant sections is compensated by the more rapid advance of the others. This very circumstance compels the ruling bourgeoisie to organise their dual political attack on the peasant masses, on the one hand in the form of the attack of the social-democrats on the villages, and on the other in the form of the attack of fascism. By these two roads, and with the aid of these two complementary methods, they will strive to prevent the spread of Communism in the villages and to paralyse the formation of a revolutionary alliance between the peasants and the proletariat under the leadership of the latter. The task of the social-democrats in the villages consists now in strengthening bourgeois influence over the small peasants, and in organising "peace" on large-scale capitalist farms. Fascism, the White Terror, a naked dictatorship, which in a greater or less degree, in an open or masked form is becoming more and more dominant as the political system of the bourgeoisie, supplements the work of the social-democrats wherever the latter proves inadequate. The unmasking of

the social-democrats at every stage, in connection with the concrete problems of the agricultural workers and peasantry, and also the most energetic resistance to Fascism in the villages, constitute a very essential task for the Communists in the village. The revolutionary alliance between the workers and peasants will be created finally in the struggle against social democracy and Fascism.

Capitalist stabilisation is inevitably reflected in the peasant mass organisations, in the unions and parties, and in their programme and tactics. The organisations under the leadership of large agrarian interests, after first pacifying the middle peasants, have again become the agents of the interests of capitalist landowners, frequently drawing after them certain sections of the small peasantry also. The peasant unions, in which the leading role is played by the middle peasants, have also in the majority of cases taken a step to the right on the road towards co-operation with the urban capitalist bourgeoisie; but this meets with the opposition of the small peasantry, who come into conflict with the leading groups. In their relations with the agricultural mass unions and parties, the Communist Parties must set themselves the basic task of struggling against bourgeois influence, wresting from it in the first place, the agricultural workers, semi-proletarians and small peasantry. To this end they must ruthlessly unmask the compromising tendencies of the petty bourgeois leaders. The general support of the Peasant International by the Communists will render easier the work of leadership and organisation of the left revolutionary tendencies among the peasantry.

Frequently bourgeois influence seeks to find a way to the peasant masses in the guise of the "independent activity" of the peasantry. "Neither with the bourgeoisie nor with the workers." But historical experience, confirmed, inter alia, by the miserable fate of the agricultural government of Stambulinsky

in Bulgaria, proves irrefutably that a stable independent peasant government is impossible. "The tactics of an independent peasantry in this given instance can be nothing but a means of wresting the small peasants from the proletariat, a preparatory step towards their passing into the bourgeois camp." The Communists must unmask this bourgeois manoeuvre and firmly inculcate into the consciousness of the peasant masses that "only the dictatorship of the proletariat, supported by the peasantry, is capable of ensuring the victorious struggle of both classes against the exploiters." (1925 theses.)

The development of the capitalist world in the present epoch and as it continues under partial capitalist stabilisation, constantly creates favourable conditions for the attraction of the peasant masses to the side of the proletariat. On the Communist parties will fall the task of transforming this objective possibility into reality. The measure of the extent to which the parties are Bolshevised is the correct understanding of Lenin's teaching on the inter-relations between the workers and the peasantry, and the exact observance of that teaching in practice. The overcoming of purely propagandist methods and of political passivity in the countryside; the estimate of the every-day needs and direct interests of the peasant masses with a view to drawing them into the struggle against capitalism, with emphasis above all on the agricultural workers, semi-proletarians and poor peasants, whilst not for a moment neglecting work for the neutralisation of the middle peasants; untiring energy in overcoming the innumerable barriers which the bourgeoisie creates, using as their weapons first the social-democrats then Fascism—this is the road by which the Communist Party will create the revolutionary alliance between the workers and peasants and will ensure the success of the proletarian revolution.

War, Revolution, and the Birth of the Comintern

G. Zinoviev

THAT the birth of the Comintern was largely the result of the world imperialist war can be seen not only from chronological facts. Between the first world imperialist war and the rise of the new workers' International, which has written on its banner the immediate realisation of the dictatorship of the proletariat, there is more than a chronological connection: there is a logical connection.

How and why did the Comintern arise from the world war? How and why did the fight against future imperialist wars become the axis of the whole policy of the new International? How and why was the slogan of turning the imperialist war into a civil war able to rally to itself the entire vanguard of the international proletariat and become the chief slogan of the Comintern?

In the formation of each of the three Internationals—the first International of Marx, the Second International of the social-democrats, the Third, Communist International of Lenin—a certain part was played by wars. At all events, problems of foreign politics, which were chiefly connected with the danger of war, played an enormous part in the formation of each of the three Internationals. But in the birth of the Third International, war played an absolutely unique and decisive part.

The First International, as is well known, was founded in 1864; in the early seventies it had practically ceased to exist. What historical events preceded the formation of the First International, and what events brought its existence to a close? Chartism in England; the events of 1848 on the Continent; the European crisis of the fifties; the Italian war of 1859; the Crimean War; the emancipation of the peasantry in Russia; the war of the duchies of Schleswig-Holstein; the Austro-Prussian War; the Franco-Prussian War; and the Paris Commune—these are the most important historical events which prepared the

ground for the formation of the First International, and then provided the field for its activities during the following ten years. The doctrine of Marxism was developed and completed in this period. Nevertheless, it did not have an undivided influence on the First International, in spite of the fact that Marx and Engels themselves were at the head of this International.

In one sense, it might be said that Chartism and the events of 1848 were the introduction to the activities of the First International; while the Paris Commune was the concluding chapter of the International—its swan song. Chartism and 1848 were the Overture to the Marx International; its concluding chord was the Paris Commune. Wars and revolutions alternated with each other during the whole of this period.

The Second International was born in 1889, and broke up in 1914, having existed in its original form for just a quarter of a century. At its cradle stood German social-democracy. It played a decisive part in the International for practically the whole of the twenty-five years. The defeat of the Paris Commune and the triumph of world reaction led to the fact that for fifteen years the proletariat had no international organisation of any form. Very slowly and by degrees the ground for the Second International was prepared.

The second half of the seventies, together with the eighties, may be called the "embryonic" period of the Second International, and the twenty-five years of its existence its period of maturity. What historical events fill this "embryonic period" of the Second International and the twenty-five years of its existence as a mature organisation?

The victory of the Third Republic in France; the Bismarck period in Germany; the wars of Serbia and Montenegro against Turkey (1876); the Russo-Turkish War (1877-1878); the repressive law against the

socialists in Germany; the entry of the British forces into Afghanistan (1879); the war between France and China about Tonquin (1883-1885); the war between Serbia and Bulgaria (1885-1886); the first stage in the development of capitalism in Russia; the war between Russian and Afghanistan (1885); between Japan and China about Korea (1894); the war between Spain and Cuba (1895); the Abyssinian War (1896); the war between Turkey and Greece (1897); the Spanish-American War about Cuba (1898); the Boer War (1899-1900); the war between the European Powers and China, i.e., the Boxer War (1900); the war of England against Tibet (1904); the war of Germany against the Herreros (1904-1905); the Russo-Japanese War (1904-1905); the Russian revolution of 1905; the revolutionary movements in Turkey, Persia and China; the war between Italy and Turkey about Tripoli (1911-1912); the war of Serbia and Greece against Bulgaria (1913).

The terrifically quick growth of German social-democracy on the lines of parliamentarism and strict legality, and then the events of the Russian revolution of 1905—these are the two factors which laid an indelible stamp on the whole period of the Second International. The first factor in connection with a series of other circumstances gradually led towards the degeneration of the Second International and strengthened its opportunism; the second factor in connection with the gradual removal of the revolutionary centre from the West to the East, tended to a differentiation in the Second International, prepared the revolutionary wing within it, and in this way prepared the breaking up of the Second International and the formation of the Comintern.

By the beginning of the nineties, imperialism was completely developed. The series of wars enumerated above had the character of definitely expressed imperialist wars; they were more or less of a local character—they were not yet world wars. The historical position was such that the Second International had either to fight imperialism face to face, or to submit to it and become its tool. Owing to various influences, which are explained elsewhere, the Second International took the second alternative. This made the breaking up of the Second International inevitable.

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Looking back on the course of events, it is quite obvious that the Russian revolution of 1905 acted as the first big stimulus to the breaking up of the Second International. The important ideological fights at the Jena Congress of the German social-democratic party were entirely concerned with the Russian revolution of 1905, and had an enormous importance for the whole of the Second International. In 1907, at the Stuttgart Congress of the Second International, the left wing began to consolidate itself under the leadership of Lenin and Rosa Luxemburg. The dividing line was the question of the attitude of the working class to the war, i.e., to the imminent world imperialist war, the chief features of which were already foretold in 1907.

Even Lenin, however, the most clear-sighted leader of the left wing, did not dream at that time of a complete and direct splitting up of the Second International. Everybody's mind was entirely filled with the idea of working-class unity. The admiration for the Second International and its chief party, the German social-democratic party, was so great, that at that time nobody could dream of its splitting up. Lenin put this question only during the world imperialist war, when the fall of its chief parties, above all, of the German social-democratic party, was made apparent. Until then Lenin had worked first as a member of the Second International, and then, from 1904-1914, as a member of its highest organ, the so-called International Socialist Bureau.

Of course, it cannot be said that the position of the Bolsheviks in the Second International was in any way satisfactory. Already in 1904 (at the Amsterdam Congress), the Bolsheviks had been received into the Second International as "rebels," "sectarians"—in a word, as "enfants terribles." After the second congress of the Russian Social-Democratic Workers' Party (1903), the Mensheviks and especially their patriarch, P. B. Axelrod, who had the most important connections in the Second International, began to call Lenin a "semi-anarchist," a "plotter," a "follower of Nechaev," and so on.

The Bolsheviks, for the first time, sent a special delegation of their own to the International Congress at Amsterdam (1904), in addition to the delegation where the Mensheviks were in the majority. Lenin did not go

to Amsterdam himself. The Bolsheviks had the greatest majority. Lenin did not go to Amsterdam himself. The Bolsheviks had the greatest difficulty in obtaining permission to attend the Congress, and even then they had no vote.

At that time Bebel, the recognised leader of the German social-democratic party and the entire Second International, sent a letter to the Bolsheviks in which he invited them to place their "quarrel" with the Mensheviks before a court of arbitration to be nominated by the German social-democrats. All the sympathy of the leaders of the Second International was on the side of the Mensheviks. Even Rosa Luxemburg, who did not at first realise what the real difference was between the Bolsheviks and Mensheviks, took the side of the latter in many questions after 1903. The differences between the Bolsheviks and Mensheviks were understood, even by such people as Bebel, to be a simple fight between little groups of émigrés, a fight which had no special fundamental basis. Naturally Lenin, in a polite manner, declined the German social-democratic proposal for an inquiry by a court of arbitration. Such enormously important questions, as had to be decided by the revolution of 1905, and then by the revolution of 1917, could not, of course, be decided by any court of arbitration.

After the events of 1905, after the extremely important struggles of 1905-1906, when the tactics of the Bolsheviks took the lead, after the Mensheviks, with the defeat of the revolution of 1905, had begun to turn very energetically to the right—then some of the leaders of the Second International began to listen to the voice of the Bolsheviks, and even supported them in part. Rosa Luxemburg and the Polish social-democratic party which she led, tended, in 1905-1906, to the side of the Bolsheviks. In some fundamental questions—in the estimation of the counter-revolutionism of the Russian bourgeoisie, in the question of the relationship between the proletariat and the peasantry, in the question of the character of the Russian revolution—Kautsky himself supported the Bolsheviks (Rosa Luxemburg at that time had a very big influence on Kautsky, especially in questions of the Russian revolution, in which Kautsky recognised her authority).

Lenin was at the head of the Russian delegation at the Stuttgart Congress in 1907; for at the London Congress of the Russian Social-Democratic Workers' Party which had taken place a few weeks before, the Bolsheviks, supported by the Polish and Lettish social-democrats, had received the majority, though by a very slight margin. In the question of the neutrality of the trade unions, the Bolsheviks received full satisfaction at Stuttgart; for the Second International declared against neutrality. Matters were worse with the question of the struggle against war. The famous amendment of Lenin and Rosa Luxemburg was carried, but in a weakened form.

"I remember that a long conversation between Bebel and us preceded the final edition of this amendment. The first edition spoke much more directly of revolutionary agitation and revolutionary actions. We showed it to Bebel: he answered, 'I cannot accept it, for then our party organisations would be dissolved by law, and we are not yet prepared for that while there is no serious cause.' After many consultations with lawyers, and many alterations in the text which would nevertheless express the same ideas legally, the final formula was found, and to this Bebel gave his consent." This is what Lenin wrote in a note to an article by the writer of these lines ("Against the Current," third edition, p. 494.)

The joined forces of the Russian Marxists and the German "orthodoxists" (their leader was Kautsky) were able to repel the attacks of the right, which was trying to impose its completely reformist point of view on the colonial question. Nevertheless, nearly half of the votes at Stuttgart supported the frank attitude of the social-chauvinists.

In 1908-1910 there was a certain rapprochement between Plekhanov and the Bolsheviks, and this, to a certain extent, strengthened the position of the Bolsheviks in the Second International, where the authority of Plekhanov stood high. At the international Congress at Copenhagen (1910) the Bolsheviks, together with Plekhanov, had the majority in the Russian delegation. Lenin and Plekhanov made endeavours to consolidate the left wing in the Second International into a more organised body. In Copenhagen Lenin took the initiative in calling together two conferences,

at which the Russians, the French (Guesdists), a few Germans, Belgians (de Brouckère), Bulgarians (Blagoev), and Poles, were present. Nearly all the "Europeans," however, invited to these conferences, showed great timidity, and no serious results were obtained. Indeed, the Copenhagen Congress itself was not very interesting. The internationalists gained a victory in the discussion on the inadmissibility of the division of trade unions on the basis of nationality (the famous dispute of the centralists and nationalists of Austria-Hungary). But worthless resolutions, against which Lenin fought, were passed on co-operation. (See Lenin's Works, Vol. XI, Part 2, page 99.)

Lenin was not present at the Bâle Congress (1912), which was entirely concerned with the war danger. The resolutions passed at Bâle were on the whole satisfactory. Only the Bolsheviks, however, ever fought seriously for the Bâle manifesto against war. The Bâle Congress was the last before the beginning of the imperialist war.

Lenin attended the meetings of the International Socialist Bureau regularly, and took part in all the important discussions. His speech, for instance, on the question of admitting the British Labour Party into the Second International can be read in the collection of his works (Vol. XI, Part I). Generally Lenin was in the minority. At that time three people were all-powerful in the International Socialist Bureau—Bebel, Jaurès and Victor Adler. But even these leaders listened with respect to Lenin's voice.

The fight between the Bolsheviks and Mensheviks in Russia was naturally reflected in the Second International. The weaker the Mensheviks became and the stronger the Bolsheviks, the more the Mensheviks turned to the leaders of the Second International, asking them for help against Lenin. Their favourite accusation against Lenin was that of sectarianism. By 1908 the Mensheviks were openly degenerating into liquidation. When, in 1907, Lenin emigrated a second time, he found a staff of Mensheviks under the leadership of P. Axelrod and Martov. Soon the Mensheviks succeeded in raising a campaign against the Bolsheviks in nearly the whole of the International press. From 1910 the hos-

tility of the leaders of the Second International became more or less open. The International Socialist Bureau more and more frequently interfered in the fight between the Bolsheviks and Mensheviks; whenever possible, it came to the aid of the latter. This continued right up to 1914. The International Socialist Bureau supported the Menshevik liquidators against Lenin at their conference in August, 1912. In 1914 Vandervelde, as President of the International Socialist Bureau, went to Russia hoping to force the Bolsheviks to weaken in their fight against the Mensheviks. And finally, not very long before the commencement of the world war the International Socialist Bureau, at Brussels, summoned several conferences of all the so-called "currents" in the Russian Party, with the object of leaving the Bolsheviks in the minority, and so forcing them to submit to the Mensheviks. Even Rosa Luxemburg made the mistake of supporting the Second International in this question.

It is useless to try and guess what would have happened if there had been no world war—whether the Bolsheviks would have remained for long within the Second International, or whether, owing to the fight over the "Russian" question, they would have had to break with the Second International. However that may be, the Second International became more persistent and more systematic in its support of the Mensheviks. There is nothing surprising in that. Just as the task of the Communist International is to support international Bolshevism against Menshevism so the task of the Second International, when opportunism became the ruling factor in it, was to support the Russian Mensheviks against the Russian Bolsheviks. It is quite possible, and even probable, that in 1914 the Second International might have delivered an ultimatum to the Bolsheviks. It is possible that in that case the Bolsheviks might not have rid themselves of the interference of Vandervelde and Co. as easily as they were able to reject Bebel's arbitration suggestion in 1904-1905, in 1905 they were saved by the revolution. In 1914 the opportunists in the Second International were quite capable of insisting on obedience to their own terms. The Bolsheviks could certainly not submit in this question, for this would

simply have meant surrendering to the Mensheviks. This was quite out of the question. But just at that time the world war broke out. On the 4th August, 1914, the German social-democratic leaders voted for war credits. The leaders of the French Socialist Party did exactly the same thing. The fire that had been smouldering for years suddenly blazed up. The end of the Second International became a fact. Then, and only then, did Lenin raise the question of smashing up the Second International.

"The Second International has died, vanquished by opportunism. Down with opportunism! Long live the Third International, purified from all deserters and opportunists! The Third International is the organisation of the proletariat to bring revolutionary pressure on the capitalist States; to wage civil war against the bourgeoisie of all countries for seizing political power; to bring about the victory of socialism." So wrote Lenin in his article, "The Position and Problems of the Socialist International," on the 1st November, 1914.

* * * *

The years 1905-1914 may be considered the embryonic period of the Third International. The first Russian revolution was bound to have sown the seeds for a real proletarian fighting International.

The defeat of the first Russian revolution and the victory of reaction the world over simply retarded the growth of these seeds. They were not lost, however; they shot up ten years later. 1905 in Russia; the revolutionary events, connected with the 1905 revolution, in China, Turkey and Persia; various local imperialist wars, which were a preface to the first world imperialist war; this war and its consequences; in particular, the sharpening of the national question, and the first spasmodic efforts of the colonial and semi-colonial countries to rise against their oppressors; the victory of the bourgeois revolution in Russia in March, 1917, and the victory of the great proletarian revolution in November, 1917; the fall of the monarchies in Germany and Austria-Hungary, accompanied by the first important proletarian revolutionary movements in Central Europe; the revolutionary events in Finland, Hungary, Italy, Turkey and the

Balkans; the civil war which followed the proletarian revolution in Russia; the European imperialist blockade of the proletarian revolution; and the victorious fight of the proletarian revolution against this blockade—these are the events which brought about the birth of the Communist International.

The most important of all these gigantic events were (1) the world imperialist war, and (2) the victory of the proletarian revolution in Russia. The doctrine of Marx, brilliantly continued by Lenin, lit the way for the proletarian vanguard in these bloody, but great, days. The Marxian teaching about war, in particular, became the doctrine of the Communist International.

"The masses of Europe and America are not illiterate, and they cannot look upon war in the old way. They ask: 'Why were 10 million people killed and 20 million wounded?' When the masses put this question they are bound to turn to the dictatorship of the proletariat. The Communist International is strong because it is based on the lessons of the world imperialist war. In every country the experience of millions of people shows that the Comintern has taken the right standpoint, and its attraction now is a hundred times deeper and wider than before." (Speech by Lenin on the anniversary of the Comintern, 6th March, 1920.)

Ten millions killed and 20 millions wounded—this is what it cost the proletariat to build the Comintern. The birth of the Comintern after the world war was inevitable, even if there had been no victorious Russian revolution. Without this victory the Comintern might have remained a comparatively small embryonic organisation for some years, an organisation of part of the proletarian vanguard. The victory of the Russian revolution gave the Comintern an enormous mass basis immediately, "a hundred times deeper and wider" than it would have been without the victory of the November revolution. It gave the Comintern the basis of a proletarian State; it gave it an immediate gigantic authority; it put it immediately in the centre of world politics.

At the moment when the imperialist war "turned" into a civil war, all that was best in the Second International "turned" into the Third International. Not long before the world war, the most important leaders of the Second

International openly said that the proletariat would reply to an imperialist war with a world revolution. Bebel, in a well-known speech during the Moroccan conflict said: "Behind the great world war stands the great world revolution. For the bourgeoisie the twilight of the gods is approaching. The funeral dirge for the bourgeois State and bourgeois social order can already be heard." And Otto Bauer in his "National Question" (1908) said the following: "There is no doubt that the approaching imperialist world war will bring in its train the revolution. Unquestionably, the imperialist world catastrophe will be the beginning of the socialist world revolution."

Otto Bauer was not mistaken. The world imperialist war did indeed bring about the beginning of the world socialist revolution, but when the historical hour struck Otto Bauer, and nearly all the other leaders of the Second International, joined the counter-revolutionary army, and not the revolutionary army. The leaders of the Second International were right when they predicted that behind the great world war stood the great world revolution. They promised that at the head of this world revolution would stand the Second International. But as this promise was not fulfilled, as the Second International "went bankrupt," it was obvious that history must produce another organisation which *would* fulfil this role. In the midst of the world war and the first proletarian revolution, the workers built a new International. This International took upon itself the historical mission which Otto Bauer and Co. had sworn to carry out.

The first statutes of the Comintern, which were drawn up with Lenin's collaboration, and were accepted at the Second All-World Congress of the Comintern, said, "Remember the imperialist war! This is what the Comintern says first of all to every worker, wherever he lives and whatever language he speaks. Remember that, thanks to the existence of capitalist society, a small group of capitalists were able to force the workers of many countries to murder each other during four long years. Remember that the bourgeois war brought terrible famine and poverty into Europe and the whole world. Remember that, unless capitalism is overthrown, repetitions of such mur-

derous wars are not only possible, they are inevitable."

The First, and even the Second, Internationals were also built out of wars and big emancipation movements, and their activities were carried out whilst these wars and movements were continuing. Yet how much wider was the historical background which characterised the period when the Second International appeared on the world stage. The First International compares with the Third as the Paris Commune, which lasted a few weeks, compares with the dictatorship of the proletariat of the U.S.S.R., which has lasted over eleven years already. The Second International compares with the Third International as the local wars of the seventies and nineties compare with the world war of 1914-1918, as the German social-democratic party compares with the Bolshevik Party of Lenin.

"The Communist International, founded in March, 1915, in Moscow, the capital of the Russian Socialist Federative Soviet Republic," the statutes say. "Solemnly declared before the whole world that it undertook to continue and complete the great movement begun by the first International Workingmen's Association. The imperialist war has more than ever bound together the lives of the workers in one country with the lives of the workers in all countries. The imperialist war has once again confirmed what was written in the statutes of the First International: 'The emancipation of the workers is not a local or a national problem, it is an *international* problem.'"

* * * *

Both the First and the Second Internationals considered that one of their chief tasks was the fight against Tsarist Russia. Marx and Engels, even at the very beginning of their political life, saw a sworn enemy in Russian Tsardom; an enemy who stood in the way of any progress and proved one of the most important obstacles to the proletarian revolution. This point of view explains their attitude towards the events of 1848 and their leadership in the First International. The Second International inherited this tradition from the First International, and at first was quite sincere about it. But when the world imperialist war

broke out, the leaders of the decaying Second International did with the slogan: "Against Russian Tsarism" exactly what they did with a whole series of revolutionary slogans; they used it to mask their own treachery and to camouflage their desertion over to the side of "their own" bourgeoisie. The most important party in the Second International, the German social-democratic party, gave as its reason for its betrayal of the working class during the world war that, in supporting Wilhelm II, they were fighting Russian Tsarism.

The chief party of the Third International—we are speaking of the Bolshevik Party—entered history as a real plebeian anti-Tsarist Party, a Party that *really* overthrew and uprooted the Tsarist monarchy, and then "overthrew the Russian bourgeoisie." It entered history as the first Party to pronounce and carry out the declaration that a revolutionary class in a reactionary war *must* desire the overthrow of its *own* government. The Third International was born at a happier moment than the two preceding Internationals, Tsarist absolutism, which for years had played the part of an international gendarme with regard to the world revolution, was wiped off the face of the earth. The Comintern, in its first statute, was enabled to write the following proud words: "The Communist International whole-heartedly and unconditionally supports the victories of the great proletarian revolution in Russia—the first victorious socialist revolution in the history of the world. It calls on the proletarians of all countries to imitate this example. The Communist International undertakes to support with all its strength every Soviet State, whenever it may spring up."

The hegemony in the international working-class movement belonged first to England, and then to France; during the period of the Second International it was in the hands of the German social-democrats. With the formation of the Comintern, which grew out of the world war and the Russian revolution, the hegemony of the international working-class movement passed over to Russia.

"It thus happened," wrote Lenin, "that the hegemony in the revolutionary proletarian International went over for a time—for a short time, of course—to the Russians; just as in

different periods of the nineteenth century it belonged to the English, then to the French, and then to the Germans.

Whilst the great bourgeois revolution was taking place in France, and was making great historical changes in the whole continent of Europe, England, where capitalism was much more highly developed than in France, stood at the head of the counter-revolutionary coalition. The English working-class movement at that time was in many ways a brilliant forerunner of Marxism.

When the first mass and politically organised proletarian revolutionary movement, Chartism, was taking place in England, on the Continent weak bourgeois revolutions were taking place, whilst in France the first great civil war between proletariat and bourgeoisie broke out. The bourgeoisie, in different ways and separately, smashed up each national proletarian movement.

The strength of the French proletariat seemed to be exhausted after the two heroic and historically important insurrections of the workers against the bourgeoisie in 1848 and 1871. The hegemony in the International of the working-class movement passed over to Germany in the seventies, when Germany was economically more backward than England and France. And when Germany caught up these two countries economically, *i.e.*, in the second decade of the twentieth century, then at the head of the model Marxist working-class party of Germany, appeared a group of shameless scoundrels—the dirtiest scoundrels who ever sold themselves to capitalism, from Scheidemann and Noske to David and Legien, the most despicable hangmen in the service of the monarchy and the counter-revolutionary bourgeoisie." (Lenin, "The Third International and Its Place in History," Vol. XVI, pp. 183-184.)

Those who, like Brandler and Thalheimer to-day, consider that the supremacy of the C.P.S.U. in the Comintern is a "misfortune," who only want to talk with the Russian Communists as a "power with a power," or a "State with a State," have forgotten Lenin's words. The first victorious proletarian revolution must not for a moment forget its international duties. And the international proletarian revolutionary cannot feel as a "yoke"

the lead given by the victorious proletarian revolution in the International.

* * * * *

The world imperialist war brought a load of misfortune in its train, but it also brought the beginning of the world civil war and the socialist revolution immeasurably nearer, and thus brought humanity nearer to its emancipation from the shame and yoke of capitalism.

Marx wrote: "Only at a period when there will no longer be classes and class antagonisms will social *evolutions* cease to be political *revolutions*." Until then, on the eve of every complete change in the social order the last word in social science will be *war or death, bloody struggle or annihilation—such is the inevitable question.*"

Until 1914 all the official leaders of the Second International shared, or pretended to share, these views of Marx. We have already quoted the declarations of Otto Bauer and Bebel. The chief theorist of the Second International, K. Kautsky, has written pages to explain these same truths. Even in his works, "The Social Revolution," "The Road to Power," etc., Kautsky, very convincingly and irrefutably, showed the connection between war and revolution. But when the Russian proletarian revolution did come, in direct connection with the world imperialist war, Kautsky refused to "accept" this revolution, and declared it to be "unlawful."

"Economic thought and economic understanding," Kautsky began to moan, "have gone clean out of the heads of all classes. The long war has taught the masses of the proletariat to scorn economic conditions and to believe in the all-mighty power of violence." Lenin poked fun at Kautsky for these two "little points" of our "greatly-learned" man.

"We expected," writes Kautsky, "that the revolution would come as a product of proletarian class war; and this revolution came as a result of the military downfall of the ruling systems in Russia and Germany." "In other words, this wise man expected a peaceful revolution. Mr. Kautsky has got so muddled up that he has forgotten what he wrote before, when he was a Marxist; he wrote that, in all probability, a war would be the cause of the revolution." (Lenin.)

Leninism, as the guide in the international working-class movement, is particularly concerned with problems of war. Lenin continued the work of Marx in all branches of economics, politics, and science. But in no subject, perhaps, does this role of Lenin, as the direct follower of Marx, appear so clearly as in the question of war; in his explanation of war, his attitude to it, and in the problems of the tactics of the world proletariat during a war, etc.

In one of his letters to Engels, Marx writes, "Where is our theory that the organisation of labour depends on the means of production more clearly proved than in the human-slaughter industry?" Marx gave the name of "human-slaughter industry" to that industry which deals with the murder of human beings, *i.e.*, war. The works of Marx and Engels on war alone are sufficient to show how great were the services of these founders of scientific Communism.

The problems of war play an important part in Leninism, which is Marxism. When Lenin had to consider war only from the theoretical and historical philosophical standpoint he kept entirely to the spirit and letter of the teachings of Marx and Engels; for example, against Lassalle. But in 1904-1905, when he was already the recognised leader of the Bolsheviks, he had independently to consider the question of a new concrete war in a new concrete historical situation—we are speaking of the Russo-Japanese War. And the very first important work of Lenin during this period ("The Fall of Port Arthur") is so remarkable that, looking back, we can say that nearly all that Lenin said about war and the proletarian revolution during the world imperialist war, he put into this article. Anyone who reads the article, "The Fall of Port Arthur," will agree that it is the work of a genius. Every word in this article is of the highest importance even now. Lenin wrote the following—in 1905, remember!—on the fall of Port Arthur:

"Even though it took no part in the war, the European bourgeoisie feels humiliated and depressed. This catastrophe implies a gigantic acceleration in the development of world capitalism, and the course of history; and the bourgeoisie knows, from bitter experience, that

such an acceleration implies the acceleration of the social revolution of the proletariat. The Western European bourgeoisie felt so peaceful in the stagnant atmosphere under the wing of the 'powerful empire' when all of a sudden some 'secret youthful' power dared to disturb this atmosphere and smash down the shelter.

"Yes, the bourgeoisie of Europe has something to fear, and the proletariat may rejoice. This catastrophe of our worst enemy does not only imply the approach of freedom in Russia, it is the sign of a new revolutionary wave of the European proletariat.

"Progressive Asia has struck an irreparable blow at reactionary and backward Europe." (Vol. VI, p. 35.)

This quotation is the "embryo" of practically the whole of Lenin's future attitude towards war and the world revolution.

Is this not amazing?

A large number of bourgeois governments for tactical reasons openly sympathised with the victory of Japan over Russia in the Russo-Japanese War. The part played by the "friend" of Nicholas Romanov, Wilhelm II, in this business was nothing if not equivocal. The usual noise in the newspapers went on about the fall of Port Arthur, and every bourgeois Power and group of Powers looked on this event from its own particular diplomatic point of view. And Lenin—the only man in the whole world—was able to understand what the alarm of the European bourgeoisie signified; of the bourgeoisie that felt "humiliated and crushed" as a result of the first blow struck by progressive Asia (capitalistically-progressive Asia), against reactionary Europe. Yet this was at a time when Europe and America were "model bourgeois States" and the foundation of the world bourgeoisie seemed as firm as a rock! In the fall of Port Arthur—the stronghold of the Far East—Lenin was able to see the imminent fall of Russian Tsarism and the acceleration of the course of history towards the proletarian social revolution.

In this article Lenin crossed swords for the first time with national reformism in the war question. And here again, as we shall see, we have the "embryo" of Lenin's future attitude towards social-chauvinism and social-reformism.

Such brilliant articles by Lenin as "The Fall of Port Arthur" *ideologically* prepared the future Communist International. The part played by the Bolshevik Party in 1905 and Lenin's monumental theoretical works from 1905-1917 *ideologically* prepared the Communist International.

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The First International was born during the struggle between Marxism and whole series of other doctrines in the working-class movement that stood on quite a different theoretical basis.

Marxism did not strengthen its position immediately by any means. Marxism, during the first half-century of its existence (beginning with the forties), was fighting against theories that were fundamentally hostile to it. In the first half of the forties Marx and Engels fought the radical Young Hegelians, whose standpoint was that of philosophical idealism. At the end of the forties began the struggle against Proudhonism, *i.e.*, a struggle over economic doctrines. The fifties saw the end of this struggle; the criticism of parties and doctrines that sprang up in the stormy year of 1848. In the sixties the battle was removed from the field of theory into a field that stood nearer to the direct working-class movement: the expulsion of Bakuninism from the International. At the beginning of the seventies the Proudhonist Mühlberger made his appearance in Germany, and at the end of the seventies the positivist Dühring. But neither of these had any influence on the proletariat. All other theorists of the working-class movement were henceforth vanquished by Marxism.

This is the "calendar" of events which Lenin gave in his work, "Marxism and Revisionism."

The Third International, the Lenin International, sprang up at a time of a great crisis of socialism. This crisis grew up at a time (this is the characteristic feature of this crisis) of an almost universal recognition (in words) of Marxism in the international working-class movement. By the mineties of last century the victory of Marxism in its essential points was complete; at the end of the nineties, immediately after the death of Engels, a sharp struggle *within* Marxism began; revisionism sprang up and gradually took the lead in the

Second International; by 1914 it had degenerated into social patriotism.

The very formation of the Communist International implied a fight for Marxism. At the same time the formation of the Comintern implied the universal triumph of Leninism, *i.e.*, revolutionary Marxism in the epoch of reaction and imperialism.

It was the world imperialist war that sharpened and pitilessly revealed the crisis of socialism, which had been ripening within the Second International during the peaceful organic period of 1889-1914. It was, therefore no coincidence that the revolutionary Marxist, or Leninist, which is the same thing, attitude towards the war was the decisive factor in the birth of the Comintern.

The crisis brought on by the world imperialist war was so great that it not only broke up the socialist camp: it broke up the anarchist and syndicalist camps as well. The attitude towards the imperialist war, towards patriotic defence during the war, towards the question of revolutionary struggle against the war—this was the natural dividing line that sprang up in the whole of the working class movement with the beginning of the imperialist war. That is why Lenin, when he was founding the Communist International on the basis of organised Communist Parties, invited into the ranks of the Comintern those anarchists who had spoken against "patriotism" in the imperialist war, and were ready to wage revolutionary war against it, he invited such groups as the "Industrial Workers of the World" (a syndicalist group), and the Shop Stewards' Committee in England, and so on; as long as these groups kept in touch with the mass working-class movement and were sincerely prepared to support the struggle against the war.

But the basis of the Comintern was homogeneous enough from the very beginning of its existence. Its foundation was the iron Bolshevik Party which has always been true to Marx and Lenin. From the very beginning Leninism was its ideological basis. The historical conditions at the time of the formation of the Comintern were such that Leninism always had a much more firm and unmixed influence on it than Marxism had in the First International of Marx.

The Communist International was built in the fire of the imperialist war. Zimmerwald and Kienthal were but steps in the preparation for the Comintern; they were not very important steps either. The Russian revolution and then the revolutionary events in Germany in 1918-19, were the decisive factors. The Communist International came into being when the transformation in a sixth part of the globe of the imperialist war into a civil war, and the dictatorship of the proletariat, became facts.

The Bolsheviks all the world over consider that new imperialist wars, more bloody and more reactionary than the Great War of 1914-18, are inevitable, unless the proletariat rises before, and a victorious proletarian revolution in the most important countries averts it.

"The first Bolshevik revolution," says Lenin, "saved the first hundred millions from the fire of the world imperialist war and the horrors of the imperialist butchery. The greatest "ambition" of world Bolshevism is to save humanity from further world butcheries, *i.e.*, to prevent the bourgeoisie from being able ever again to throw humanity into new imperialist wars." If the Comintern always succeeds in acting in the spirit of Marx and Lenin, and if it always has the support of the great masses of the world proletariat then, perhaps, just as imperialism will be about to set light to a new imperialist war, we shall be able to stay its hand. Who will say that this is impossible? And if Bolshevism is successful in this, how superb will the general "balance" be! One victorious revolution will avert a great imperialist war, and will straight away recover all the "expenses" of the proletarian revolution all over the world: the "expenses" in human beings and material riches. These are the dreams of the "barbarian"—Bolsheviks, the "dictator" Communists. That is why they have the right to expect all honest members of the world proletariat to give their wholehearted support to the U.S.S.R., the defender of peace, and to the Comintern, the collective organiser of the proletarian revolution, one of the chief tasks of which is to prevent further wars. The Communist International was born in the world imperialist war in order to be able, through the proletarian revolution, to prevent

new imperialist wars. This is not a paradox; it is the living dialectics of history, it is Marxism—Leninism in action.

But, of course, the Comintern must be prepared for a worse alternative. New proletarian revolutions are possible without new wars. But new imperialist wars will not be possible without new proletarian revolutions.

The bourgeoisie of the world knows that it is playing with fire. Therefore it will not risk having new wars at once: it will carefully prepare for them. The Comintern must keep a careful watch on every movement of the hands of the bourgeoisie, and be prepared for the imperialists to be successful in starting a new war.

There is no doubt that imperialism is leading humanity into a new cycle of wars. Lenin

considered it very probable that the Soviet Union might have to go through a second cycle of wars, in which, once again, the fate of the Soviet Power would be decided. The Second International as represented by its official leaders will certainly be on the side of the bourgeoisie. In the first of these stormy events the Comintern will have, once again, to prove that it is a proletarian International. The proletarian dictatorship in the U.S.S.R. and the whole Comintern must show the whole world that they will do everything to prevent a new imperialist war; and if, in spite of this, it will break out, that they will do everything to overthrow the capitalist class. The Communist International was born in the World War; and its fate will be decided once again in a new war.

Surrender of the Second International in the Emancipation of Women

Klara Zetkin

THE inaugural congress of the Communist International in March, 1919, in Moscow, proclaimed to the world proletariat the historical role of proletarian women as a revolutionary force without whose conscious participation in the class struggle capitalism cannot be overthrown, Communism cannot be realised. The congress declared: "This congress of the Communist International maintains that the success of all the tasks which it has set itself, the final victory of the world proletariat and the complete abolition of the capitalist order of society can only be assured by the united struggles of the men and women of the working class. The dictatorship of the proletariat can only be realised and maintained with the active and willing assistance of working women."

This declaration implies the recognition of complete equality between man and woman, and the duty of all national sections of the C.I. to draw all women workers into the fighting proletarian front and to train them for their great historical struggle with the bourgeoisie. It was put forward by the Russian women comrades who took part in the congress. Because of the tremendous difficulties in the way of travelling to the Soviet State at that time, the number of delegates was small, and no women delegates from the west were present. But apart from that it was no accident that it was the Russian women comrades who took the initiative in this matter.

Russian social democracy, led at first by Plekhanov and Axelrod, took up a revolutionary Marxist attitude on the question of women. It supported the efforts of the parties and organisations of the Second International to remain true to these principles, to lead the proletarian women in a united fight with men workers, to take up a clear and vigorous attitude towards those problems and tasks of women's emancipation which were of importance to the working class movement. The

Russian social democrats were not daunted by the obstacles and dangers of Tsarism, and tried as far as possible, in spite of that cruel regime, to carry out their principles. Unselfishly and not unsuccessfully—strikes prove this—they worked to carry on propaganda among and organise working women, particularly those in the factories, and to make them trained workers in the moment. This is particularly true of Lenin and his associates. It is significant that the first pamphlet in the Russian language for working women was written by Krupskaya in Siberia, when she was sharing Lenin's exile. The pamphlet "Woman and the Woman Worker," appeared anonymously in February, 1901, and was given such a wide circulation by the illegal organisations that a second edition was issued in August.

THE BOLSHEVIKS AND THE ORGANISATION OF WOMEN

After the split between the Bolsheviks and Mensheviks, the Bolshevik Party energetically continued the work of revolutionising and organising working women. Thanks to Lenin, their work was carried on with a very close observation of events and developments within the Second International, and in the capitalist countries generally, and educated the Russian women who were drawn into the movement in the spirit of international solidarity. Here is one example. In contrast to the Mensheviks, the Bolshevik Party organised International Women's Day, decided on by the International Socialist Women's Conference at Copenhagen in 1910, as a united demonstration of men and women. The Bolsheviks demanded the convening of the International Socialist Women's Conference at Berne in March, 1915, the first international action taken against the imperialist war and in favour of compelling peace by the international class struggle of the proletariat, directed always to its principal object, the overthrow of capitalism.

As in the pre-war years, so during the war the Bolshevik Party organisations worked to enrol proletarian women in their ranks. Their efforts in this direction were intensified after the February-March revolution, when Lenin had returned to Russia; and, with an increasingly strict examination of the realities of the situation, the activity of the Party was consciously and energetically directed towards the revolutionising of the masses and the seizure of State power. Lenin was profoundly and passionately convinced that the class struggle of the proletariat could only succeed if its battles were fought by men and women together. For him, the readiness of the revolutionary women workers of Petrograd was one of the signs which indicated that the armed struggle for the establishment of the proletarian dictatorship could be attempted, indeed, in the given circumstances, had to be attempted.

It is an undisputed fact that the women of Russia have brilliantly justified Lenin's appreciation of their historical importance. Their heroic activity in the storm-swept weeks of Red October, and in the period of sacrifice and privation which the young Soviet State experienced, fighting the native and foreign counter-revolutionaries, adorns a page of imperishable glory in the history of revolutions and in the history of their sex. They merited and achieved what the Soviet State, in accordance with the principles of its Bolshevik creators, brought to them: the legal recognition of their complete freedom and equality.

These well-known facts throw a bright light on the nature of the Communist International, in so far as that body is the protagonist of complete emancipation for women, in which respect it is sharply differentiated from the Second International. In this struggle for emancipation through the revolution, the C.I. is moving forwards. It is led with the clear and conscious desire to rally the Communist women's movement in all countries into one organisation, united in principles and objects. This does not mean their dissociation from the workers' struggle for victory by means of the revolution, which alone can bring freedom. It means rather the enrolment of women as equals, with equal duties, in the fighting proletarian ranks. In its attitude to the woman question, in its support for women's rights and

interests, the Second International shows a reactionary development. After the first years of hopeful development of the struggle came the retreat from social revolution to reformism, and hopes for an extension of the rights and diminution of the handicaps of women were dashed to the ground. Claims put forward for women's rights showed lack of principle, lack of unity, confusion, cowardly submission to the power of the bourgeoisie, collaboration with them to maintain and strengthen capitalist society, in which women have as little opportunity for full human development and social freedom as the proletariat.

THE DECLARATION OF THE SECOND INTERNATIONAL

The inaugural congress at Paris in 1889 of the Second International, like the Communist International at Moscow, in 1919, proclaimed the necessity of drawing proletarian women, as equals, into the emancipation struggle of their class. The resolution was put forward by one of the two women delegates from the German social-democrats; after a lively discussion by the German delegation. The initiative, therefore, came from that party in the Second International which was at that time fighting hard against bourgeois society, against the bourgeois state of the "fatherland." This fight had drilled into the German social-democrats, with pitiless logic, a Marxist recognition of the importance attaching to the convinced participation of women in the proletarian class struggle. Similarly, the declaration at the inaugural congress of the Communist International came from a party which bore the honour and burden of the revolutionary vanguard of the world proletariat, from the Bolshevik Party. But what a difference between the nature and objects of the struggle in 1889 and 1919! What a difference in their historical significance!

In 1889, the German social-democrats on the eve of their victory with regard to the anti-Socialist laws, were the champions of the international working class. The struggle raged around the freedom of action and movement of the proletariat, the Bolshevik Party in 1919 had won the first great victory of the world revolution, had overthrown and crushed capitalism in the largest European State, had

established the class dictatorship of the worker. It often seems to our passionate, impatient hearts, that historical development creeps along, lazily, sleepily, in felt slippers as it were. In the short space of the 80 years between the Paris and Moscow Congresses, it hurried forward with gigantic strides, and at last with a daring leap. The historic task of the proletariat is no longer the struggle for the political preliminaries to the fight for the overthrow of capitalism, but the overthrow of capitalism itself, the proletarian world revolution. The very places where the Congresses were held indicated a changed historical situation which had shifted the central point of the workers' fight from Western to Eastern Europe, and had placed the young Russian proletariat instead of the working classes of the most highly developed industrial countries, at the most difficult, most exposed posts.

It was obvious that this development must find expression in the work of the Second and Third Internationals for the emancipation of women. At the Paris Congress the demand for the complete equality of women with men was put forward, while at the same time the exclusive right of men to the "professions" was energetically defended, a principle which still claimed many adherents in capitalist countries. The winning over of working women to the industrial and political struggles of their class was demanded in a declaration which also contained the assurance that these women would steadily and joyfully do their part in these struggles and win their equality as fighters for socialism. The inaugural congress of the Second International greeted the declaration with stormy applause, but—it did not support the declaration with any decisions which would have obliged the political and industrial organisations to work vigorously along these lines. It was left to the socialist parties and trade unions of the separate countries to turn this undisputed principle into practice, to whatever extent they liked.

This was typical of the attitude of the Second International to the problems of the women's movement, which faced the workers in all capitalist countries. It took no initiative in the theoretical clarification of the problems or practical carrying out of the work. It did nothing towards promoting unity in principle or unity in action. In general, the

parties and organisations affiliated to the international considered that the fight to win women to the working class struggle, and for their emancipation, was purely a woman's affair.

This work in almost all countries, was accompanied by an obstinate struggle with the most trivial philistine prejudices against the emancipation of women; in many instances—as at times in Germany—this struggle was aggravated by laws and administrative measures prohibiting the political activity of women. Many socialist leaders were strongly in favour of a united fight of men and women workers in the rank and file of the organisations; for example Bebel in Germany, the great champion of women's rights and women's emancipation, Guesde in France, Turati in Italy, Keir Hardie in England and Viktor Adler in Austria. Others observed the growing struggle and its results with a gentlemanly calm, while still others tried to hinder its development on principle, or for other reasons.

"WOMEN'S RIGHTS" AND THE CLASS STRUGGLE

As things were, it can be imagined that the proletarian women's movement in the socialist parties and trade unions, was more or less permeated by bourgeois ideas of women's rights. Capitalism's great progress forced the Second International to differentiate between the proletarian and bourgeois women's movements. It urged women workers to fight for comprehensive legislation covering labour protection, and included in this the question of special legal protection for women workers. The strongly feminist women's organisations in the Scandinavian countries and Great Britain, and leading women socialists in Belgium, Holland and Germany combatted special labour protection for women as an attack on the equality of women, as a slight cast upon women's rights to economic independence and social emancipation. Their resistance, based upon a misconception of the importance of class contradictions in the world of women, placed them, against their will, in the same camp as the capitalists, and made the fight of the organised workers more difficult. At the suggestion of the German and Austrian women comrades, the 1893 Congress of the

Second International at Zurich took a decision on this disputed question. It declared in favour of comprehensive special legislation for women workers and drew a sharp distinction of principle between the proletarian and bourgeois women's movements.

The following Congress of the Second International held in London in 1896, defined this most urgent distinction between the two movements. This step, too, was taken on the initiative of women comrades. German, Austrian and English women socialists convened a conference of women delegates present at the Congress, which resulted in a proposal in favour of the principle of the common organisation of men and women of the working class. It demanded the organisation of women with their men fellow workers, in the appropriate trade unions, the winning of politically active women workers to the socialist parties, which were called upon to conduct a vigorous struggle for the abolition of these laws prohibiting women from joining political organisations and taking part in their activities. It expressly rejected the adherence of proletarian women to feminist organisations. The proposal was accepted. This followed from the position of the class struggle, for the splitting of forces, made itself felt injuriously at times in industrial disputes, and the organisational mix-up of bourgeois ladies and working women prevented a clear class consciousness and kept the exploited in moral and political dependence upon some of the exploiters. The rallying of proletarian women to their class, their training in its industrial and political struggles was having its effects in the various countries. This determined the attitude of women comrades from the different countries to the questions dealt with by the Congresses of the Second International at Paris in 1900 and at Amsterdam in 1904.

THE FIGHT FOR ENFRANCHISEMENT

A decisive step forward was taken by the Stuttgart World Congress in 1907. For most of the parties in the Second International, the struggle for a democratic franchise was extremely urgent. At various times since the Russian revolution of 1905, the workers had urged their parties to use new and sharper fighting methods, such as the mass strike. In such a situation it was natural for the women

too, to put forward their claim to full political rights. The position of the socialist parties on this question was neither clear in principle, nor unified. In Norway, Sweden, Denmark and England—apart from the S.D.F.—and partly in Holland, the Socialists flirted with the feminist franchise movement. In Catholic countries they avoided as far as possible, from fear of the powerful priesthood, the working women's demand for political rights, or, as in Belgium, rejected it because of their alliance with the liberals. The strong Austrian social-democratic party was in favour of women's enfranchisement on principle, but had entirely excluded this demand from their splendid election programme, which reflected some of the fire of the Russian revolution. This exclusion was justified on opportunist grounds, as promising an easier victory by its omission, and many leading women socialists agreed to this.

Again it was the socialist women who forced the Second International to take a decision in this matter. The German social-democratic women insisted upon the Stuttgart Congress discussing the question of women's franchise thoroughly. After detailed and often very stormy debates in the Commission which had been set up, and at the full meeting, a resolution was agreed to, which proposed the calling of the first international socialist women's conference. It also called upon the socialist parties to include the fight for the enfranchisement of women in their franchise struggles, making them the fight for universal adult suffrage without distinction of sex. Any limited form of franchise for women was to be rejected. The resolution expressly pointed out that women's enfranchisement was only one element in the struggle for the complete equality of the two sexes, which could be won, not by a struggle between the sexes, but in the proletarian class struggle against the bourgeoisie, for only through socialism could that objective be realised. The Second International, by this decision, dissociated itself utterly from bourgeois feminism, for political equality is the main basis of feminism. At the same time illusions as to the value of the vote, of formal political democracy, were discarded. The discussion on this question aroused passionate dispute between the Marxists and opportunists. On this Lenin wrote:

"In the question of women's franchise, revolutionary Marxism scored a victory over Austrian empiricism."

PRIVATE PROPERTY AND THE FAMILY

The Second International did not define its attitude towards the far-reaching, involved complex of questions dealing with the civil rights of women, particularly family rights. But the socialist parties, in parliament and publicly, fought strenuously against male privileges in the family, and for the full liberty and equality of women in family matters, as they did when the question arose of the reform of the marriage and divorce laws of the legislation of the unmarried mother and illegitimate child. There was, however, no thorough discussion of these questions—including sexual relationships—although a clear understanding of the inter-dependence of the form of the family, the system of production and private property, the interdependence of economy and morals, is essential to an understanding of the nature of bourgeois society. However much these questions may influence the lives of individual workers, however great may be the importance—both theoretical and practical—to the working woman of the legal equality of the sexes in family matters, for the proletariat as a class the main question is that of the public, the political rights of women, which will directly affect the struggle against the capitalists and against bourgeois society. But apart from this, it is certain that a large dose of philistinism helped to determine the attitude of the parties of the Second International towards these questions, which thus failed to receive a thorough and comprehensive Marxist discussion. They feared all the chatter about "free love" and "women's societies." And so the analysis of these questions was left as the private affair of individual socialists rather than as a Party matter. It was characteristic of the parties of the Second International that they also failed to discuss thoroughly the questions of birth control. Sharply opposed by the Marxists, they allowed the indisputable right of the working woman to limit her offspring, like the wealthy woman, to be used for the revisionist preaching of a sort of neo-Malthusianism, which recommended the proletariat to keep their families

small as one means of waging the class war and improving their conditions.

THE FIRST SOCIALIST WOMEN'S CONFERENCE AND THE FUTURE OF THE SECOND INTERNATIONAL

In such circumstances the women's movement grew up alongside the socialist parties and trade unions in the various countries. And, naturally enough, that movement bore the traces of its early environment. Apart from the general enthusiasm for socialism, it was, considered as an international whole, a mixture of theoretical uncertainties and organisational varieties, strongly influenced by feminist ideas. Unity in idea and action was at times lacking nationally, as well as internationally. But out of the disputes and conflicting opinions about the woman question, and the enrolment of women workers in the ranks of their class comrades, a process of clarification and unification arose, the leader in this development being the socialist women's movement of Germany with their paper, "Equality." These socialist women also took the initiative in calling the first Socialist Women's Conference at Stuttgart in 1907, which was joyfully welcomed by the socialist women of the countries represented at the Second International. Apart from the resolution on women's franchise, its most important result was the decision to set up regular contact between the socialist women's movement of the different countries through the columns of "Equality," which was to become an international organ, and to have an international secretary. International relations stimulated the growth of the movement. The Second International Socialist Women's Conference at Copenhagen in 1910 decided on unified international action—the celebration of International Women's Day. The Second International displayed benevolent tolerance towards the efforts of women socialists to establish, on an international scale, and on a unified basis, the participation of proletarian women in the class struggle. The progress achieved was essentially the work of women themselves.

Thus the Second International called into being a mass movement and mass organisation of women workers. It roused large numbers of them to class consciousness, and so to a

recognition of their importance; courageous and confident, sharing as equals in the organisation and struggles of their class. But, having accomplished this, it failed to give them a sound theoretical and organisational basis on which they could carry out united international action. Its incompetence to carry out this historical work was due to its own looseness of organisation and lack of a clear and determined will to united action, based on definite principles. In the end, in the world war, it betrayed, besides its general historical duty, its special duty to the working women of the world, by fighting for imperialism instead of for socialism. This betrayal had cast the shadow of death on the Second International at the Congresses at Stuttgart, Copenhagen and Basle. At the decisive moment it did not stand at the head of the proletarian masses, but like them, allowed itself to be carried along by economic events, instead of advancing beyond them mentally, and guiding the will of the working class in a clear, international, revolutionary fight against capitalism. The betrayal of international proletarian solidarity meant that the Second International had ceased to be the champion of women's emancipation and equality. From being a power which menaced capitalism, it became one which supported it, and only by the annihilation of the capitalist order can working women cease to be slaves. In the post-war years, particularly during the revolutionary period, the Second International continued its shameful work of treachery.

THE THIRD INTERNATIONAL AND THE EMANCIPATION OF WOMEN

From its very inception, the Third International continued the work for the emancipation of working women which the Second had begun, but which it had finally betrayed. This was carried on with a full realisation of the higher stage of historical development reached in objective social conditions and in the conscious activity of the proletariat in the Russian revolution. The stage which had been reached determined the aims put forward. It is the duty of the Communist International to hammer into the consciousness of the proletarian women of all countries that the material social conditions for their emancipa-

tion are in existence, and that it is their work to carry out, in close unity with their class comrades, the changes in society which will bring freedom. In other words, the C.I. must concentrate the knowledge, the will and the activities of the women masses on the proletarian revolution, must draw them in to the fighting ranks of the world proletarian vanguard which, sure of its road and of its goal, is pressing forward irresistibly against bourgeois society. To prepare for and ensure international unity of action on the part of men and women for the overthrow of capitalist society is the international working out of the idea, the knowledge that bourgeois society is one of slavery, that Communism will bring freedom, that there exists the historical possibility, the historical necessity of abolishing capitalism and realising Communism.

The "Directions for the International Communist Women's Movement" should help to establish unification in idea and action. They are guides on tactics and principles, for active, leading women militants and Communists, not agitation material for working women who have still to be roused and mobilised. They deal with principles and programmes. Their starting-point and central theme is the contention that the basic cause of the social and personal enslavement of the female sex is private property in the means of production, and that consequently women will only be able to attain full freedom and equality when the means of production become social property. The contradiction between the Haves and the Have-nots, arising from private property in the means of production has, under the capitalist system of production, reached its last and highest form in the class contradictions of bourgeoisie and proletariat, which also have their inexorable effect in regard to women.

In the fifteen years which have passed since the outbreak of the imperialist world war, consistent and thorough reaction has characterised the attitude of the Second International, patched up and thoroughly renovated, towards the women's movement. The great external, numerical progress in the organisation of socialist women emphasises the decline in the objectives and content of the movement, in its position with regard to the most important problems which crop up. The internal decay

is inevitable, irresistible. It is the historical complement of the treachery to the revolution and the proletariat by the parties and organisations of the Second International. This treachery began on the outbreak of war, continued throughout the early post-war years, when the objective situation was ripe for the revolution and conditions favourable to proletarian victory, and lasted through the period of coalition governments.

The Socialist Parties of the new Second International, by renouncing the Marxist theory of social development, by putting reform in the place of revolution, bourgeois democracy in the place of proletarian dictatorship, class collaboration in the place of irreconcilable class struggle, support and maintenance of the bourgeois order of society in the place of its overthrow, had put off the social and personal emancipation of women to the Greek Kalends.

It should be noted, however, that the most advanced social-democratic women in many countries resisted this development longer than the working masses. In Berlin 1915 a delegation of organised social-democratic women forced an entry into the Party committee in order to bring before its notice a resolution which sharply condemned the social-patriotic attitude of the Party Committee and Reichstag fraction as a surrender of their principles, and demanded an immediate return to the principles of the class struggle and international socialism, and a fight for peace. The present Chancellor, Hermann Müller, now so warmly extolled by the democrats, was at that time the Party secretary, and tried, by most undemocratic methods, to prevent the women comrades from gaining access to the "Party fathers." He learnt then that even working women have fists, which they didn't keep in their pockets. Intense indignation of socialist women against the betrayal of socialism was expressed internationally, and was eager to be translated into action.

The Socialist International Women's Conference at Berne was attended by women from Germany, France, Italy, Holland, Russia, Poland and Switzerland, and declarations of solidarity were sent from other countries, including Bulgaria and Serbia. The delegates from Germany and France had, by coming,

committed a breach of Party discipline, and the action of the German women delegates was not only "outlawed" by the Social-Democratic Party Committee, but reported to the Government. In all countries socialist women were in the vanguard of the struggle against the war; here and there, despite the difficulties and dangers, combatting unflinchingly the social-patriotism of the Social-Democratic Parties. In Germany the Spartakus Bund counted a large number of energetic and willing women among its adherents, many of them quite young.

Many of these women who, during the war, stood bravely by their socialist principles, are now working in the rank and file of the Communist International. Others have learnt nothing from the experience of 1914 and onward, and have forgotten what they knew of revolutionary Marxism in the pre-war years. As a whole, the women's movement in the Second International to-day shows strongly marked tendencies of becoming more and more bourgeois. In sharp contrast to its most promising and glorious advance in the pre-war years, it has now ceased to be an organ of the revolutionary proletarian class struggle for the overthrow of capitalism and capitalist society. It has given up the work of leading the working women masses, in the foremost ranks and the thick of the fight, in the political and economic struggles of the proletariat; it has given up the work of examining, eagerly and thoroughly, the problems arising from the woman question, which are problems of the working class and their emancipation as a whole. It has degenerated into an organ of the corrupted socialist parties and trade unions which, under the deceptive slogans of "Democracy in State and Economy," "Industrial Peace," "Realisation of the State Idea," are serving the class rule of the bourgeois, thus maintaining, and even intensifying, the exploitation and oppression of working women by monopoly capitalism and rationalisation. It has degenerated into being the tool of the chauvinist, social-imperialist, reformist Labour parties which, while chanting gently of peace, League of Nations and disarmament, are furthering preparations for a new world murder, a new war against the only Workers' State. This is shown in the women's news-

papers of the Second International, and reflected in the Women's International Conferences.

THE HAMBURG CONFERENCE, 1923

The character and course of the first of these conferences was symptomatic of the surrender. It took place in Hamburg at Whitsuntide, 1923, in the light shed by the Unity Congress of the Second and Second-and-a-Half Internationals, from which the old Second International emerged with the new superscription, "Labour and Socialist International." Between the last Women's Conference of the Second International at Copenhagen in 1910 and this Congress of women socialists at Hamburg, violent, historical, world-shattering events had occurred: the struggle for power among the imperialist States, then still being fought out in the Ruhr occupation, the revolution in Russia, the five years' existence and activity of the first proletarian State, among whose very first acts were the call to peace and the legal recognition of the complete liberty and quality of women. No word in review of the past, no examination of the present, no glance towards the future. Only two incidents indicated that, outside the Congress, the world was moving in stormy times, in which the old was fighting the new. Despite the abjuration to deal with "political questions," which should have been the real subject of the conference, these women, a Menshevik, a social-revolutionary and an Ukrainian, reported, with as much falsehood as sentimentality, on the "shocking situation of women in Russia."

Nor was the temperamental appeal of the German delegate Lore Agnes, that the conference should decide its attitude to urgent political questions, particularly to the Ruhr occupation, which affected the lives of working women so deeply, granted. The following questions were on the agenda: The political franchise for women, mother and child protection, the re-establishment of international women's day, education in the idea of peace. These problems were decided on resolutions brought forward without any thorough discussion, and like the reports and discussions they lacked any trace of principle, of the materialist conception of history corresponding to scientific socialism. The words and ideas of

"struggle" and "fighting" had practically disappeared from the Conference, the word "revolution" sullied no lip, "socialism" was mentioned vaguely in the resolutions, in the style of the old fairy tales, "Once upon a time . . ."

What was germinating at the Hamburg Conference, although quite obvious there, appeared more openly at the following Women's Conferences of the L.S.I. The international socialist movement had no longer as its aim the participation by the working women masses in the seizure of power by the proletariat, in the transformation of bourgeois into socialist society by means of the revolutions. It dreamt of a peaceful "development" into socialism, and tried to instal the exploited and enslaved as comfortably as possible in present-day society. By betraying the basic ideas of revolutionary Marxism, the Second International lost its correct attitude towards reforms within capitalist society, and also lost the will—after it had lost the power—even to force their modest demands for the equality of women by putting up a fight for them.

The Hamburg Conference and its successor at Marseilles in 1925 ignored the hotly contested decision of the Stuttgart Congress concerning women's franchise. They compromised the character and object of the franchise, its sharp distinction from bourgeois democracy and feminism. According to the Hamburg resolution the importance of women's franchise consisted wholly in this, that it enabled "reforms to be carried out and the class struggle to be waged successfully." With what object, their courtesy to bourgeois society and coalition policy prevented them from saying. The franchise was considered as the only means of political activity. "Women cannot do the share of the work falling to them, so long as they are denied active and passive suffrage." Before the war the German social-democratic women had declared with pride and fighting spirit, "We don't need to vote, but we know how to fight, and we are fighting, fighting for the speedy overthrow of capitalist society."

At Marseilles, political equality for women, particularly female enfranchisement, was hailed in true feminist fashion as equivalent to the complete social emancipation of women.

Frau Juchacz, that great admirer of bourgeois democracy, demanded votes for women "constitutionally, as the men have the vote." That is, limited in those countries where the bourgeois constitution limits the votes of workers according to their money-bags or social privileges, or withholds it entirely from them. The crowning contradiction and betrayal of principle occurs in the surrender of the omnipotent women's franchise when this demand exceeds the capacity, when in office, of socialist parties, or endangers their alliance with the liberals. The British delegation requested the Conference to define its attitude towards the infamous treachery of the Belgian socialists who had voted against the Bill for women's suffrage put forward by the clericals. This attack was avoided by the Conference determining to keep rigidly to the agenda.

THE QUESTION OF THE LEGAL PROTECTION OF WOMEN

The rationalisation of capitalist industry makes thorough and comprehensive legal protection for women workers a matter of the utmost urgency for the working class as a whole. The effects of rationalisation and the stabilisation of the rule of monopoly capitalism make legal protection of, and social provision for, mother and child absolutely essential. The effects of the imperialist war and the strengthening of capitalism greatly increase the workers' need of social help, the need of the war victims, the unemployed, the smallholders, the cripples, the aged. This, too, concerns women and women's rights. The women's conferences of the Second International at Hamburg, Marseilles and Brussels (August, 1928) dealt with these questions as they arose under various headings, and the main result was tearful, snivelling gossip about hunger, suffering, "humanitarian" principles and reformist rejection of the working-class struggle.

The Hamburg Conference set the tone for the social policy of the Second International. It limited its demands with regard to the protection of woman worker, mother and child, to the wretched extent of the wretched decisions of the Washington Conference, and even these have never been put into execution by capitalist governments. The Marseilles Conference did not step beyond this magic circle,

and declared with unrestrained joy that, thanks to the rule of democracy, necessary reforms, based on "humane" principles, would be carried out. The Brussels Conference obediently took up the same position, and unanimously agreed, that the question of legal protection and employment of working women must be considered from "the point of view of production and society." What was meant by that phrase is expressed somewhat less bombastically and mystically in the report of the Economic Commission of the L.S.I., which condemns the ruthlessness of rationalisation, but is of the opinion that in the future, since it will of necessity be carried out further, it will favourably affect the working class. The report does not deny that "rationalisation condemns the worker to premature incapacity for work, resulting from the extreme strain of work," nor that it leads to "terrible unemployment." The report also refers to the approaching danger of war, and finally holds out the hope of a socialist future, for which rationalisation, trusts and monopolies are creating, at an accelerated rate, the foundations. On the example of the Christian slave morality—be patient and suffer, you will be well repaid in heaven.

The Brussels women's conference declared that "detailed demands, far-reaching demands cannot be put forward to-day in view of the technical progress and other causes which limit the production and distribution of goods." The working woman must be satisfied if economic and parliamentary democracy bestows upon her the blessing of an eight-hour day or 46-hour week. They abstained, with difficulty, from expressing the sinful opinion that working women must fight together with working men for the most necessary demands, and for more than that. They were obviously convinced, as the Amsterdam International Trade Union Women's Conference at Paris in July, 1927, declared, that the dangers and evils of women's work to-day "can only be overcome by the organisation of women in trade unions," that is, without any fight against the capitalist bosses in the factories, etc.

A great abundance of words and wishes at the Brussels Conference served to hide the inactivity of the Second International on the question of mother and child protection. Even

the long list of wishes only contained the demands put forward at the Washington Conference, and did not mention the necessity for subsidising nursing mothers, or for establishing, at the employer's cost, creches attached to the factories. In the opinion of the conference, the poor employer should be guarded against expense, without reference to the fact that he is squeezing surplus value out of the labour of men and women. All the costs arising from the institutions and measures taken for the social care of mother and child are to be met by "public means." The Brussels Conference obviously had not been told of the secret that the masses, exploited as producers, are, as citizens in a democratic State, the largest taxpayers; and was equally unaware of the obstinate truth that every reform must be fought for by the proletariat, and that the parties of the Second International "professionally" drop the demands for social provision and care of mother and child in the period of "socialist" ministries. The reformist women at Brussels lived by the wisdom preached at Marseilles, that reforms in favour of the working woman will fall into her lap as the gift of humanity and parliamentary legislation.

Formerly, the characteristic phenomenon of capitalist exploitation of industrial women workers was the flight of workers' children from this best of all possible worlds, the huge infant mortality rate in the working class. In the age of rationalisation and stabilisation, with its increasing burdens for the working woman, this is accompanied by a rapidly falling birth rate, which is apparent in all capitalist countries. The question of birth control, of legal abortion and contraception, is of extreme urgency. At the meeting of the women's committee of the Second International Secretariat at Cologne in December, 1927, a strong desire was evident to have these questions discussed as a separate item on the agenda of the Brussels Conference. This was resisted by the women representatives of the British Labour Party, whose leaders are opposed "to making this matter a Party matter, for that would wound the deeply religious feelings of a large number of people."

Obedient to MacDonal's piety, the Portsmouth National Women's Conference of the

Labour Party decided not to declare its attitude to birth control.

The Brussels Conference was not so virtuous. It had to do something about it. But in order to prevent any too sharp manifestation of the contradictory opinions in the women's movement of the L.S.I. to appear, it avoided a discussion of the question, and contented itself with a resolution on birth control, signed by representatives of twelve parties and some individual delegates, including those from the I.L.P. Just as the resolution indicated the lack of unity of opinion on this question, so its content betrayed the lack of a thorough discussion of the problem from the standpoint of historical materialism. It did not state clearly the necessary connection of the problem with the order of society based on private property, it made no sharp distinction between its own ideas and neo-Malthusianism. In fact, a Czecho-Slovakian delegate prefaced the resolution with a purely neo-Malthusian statement. The Conference betrayed its cowardice and insincerity by maintaining silence, in dealing with the protection of women workers and of mother and child, about the exemplary institutions and measures in the Soviet Union.

"THE PEACE IDEA"

In its attitude to the war danger, the women's movement of the Second International—just like all its organisations—showed indubitably that it is standing solidly with the class enemy, whose rule makes full emancipation for women impossible. With the humanitarian coat of many colours—"Education in the peace idea"—the Hamburg Conference withdrew from the proletarian class struggle against imperialist war on to the less dangerous ground of squabbles with nationalist schoolmasters and protests against chauvinist textbooks. Marseilles followed with an illuminating step—backwards. One item on the agenda was "the fight against war." It was the time of French imperialism's atrocious war on the Rifis in Morocco. A deputation of working women wished to find out the attitude of the Conference towards that war. The Conference refused to see the delegations or to give it an answer. The delegation "smelt of revolution," of Communism. It had been formed on the initiative of Communist women.

But the British delegates, too, lacked the intelligence to refrain from requiring a statement of the Conference concerning the Moroccan war; regardless of the fact that the international unity of the reformist sisterhood would thereby suffer a great shock. The French Socialist Party had voted the credits for the war and dissociated itself from any mass protest. The expert tacticians of the Conference steered clear of this second, and graver cross-examination of their verbose pacifism. They manœuvred the British suggestion into the dark room of a commission, which brought forth a high-falutin' and in-offensive resolution against any war "from whatever side it may arise." Stripped of its pacifist phraseology, this means rejection of civil war and of revolution, and war against so-called "red imperialism," against the Soviet Union.

The Brussels Conference also dealt with the fight against war dangers and war. The military laws drawn up by the socialist, Paul Boncour, included the "mobilisation of women." Like a young lady in love for the first time, the delegates revelled in hopes of the League of Nations, the disarmament conferences, the pacifists' prayers for peace, and, chiefly, in the power of the "mothers' ballot box," to stop the armament-mad imperialists. With pacifist platitudes, they condemned the mobilisation of women for war purposes as prescribed in Boncour's law. The French delegate, Saumoneau—once a convinced opponent of imperialist war—upset this pacifist jubilation. She justified the mobilisation of women, national defence being the duty of all, and extolled the progress made in the establishment of equality for women, although she comes from a capitalist State which denies the franchise to women. In opposition to Saumoneau, the conference held out pacifist illusions; for along with the Second International as a whole, it believed in "defence of the fatherland." How, then, could the Conference reply: mobilisation of women—yes, indeed—but never on behalf of the capitalist State. Mobilisation against the capitalist State, and for the civil war, for the revolution. The conference uttered no word of sympathy for the national freedom movements of the colonial and semi-colonial peoples, for revolutionary China, no word of sympathy for the

awakening women of the East. It kept silent about the peace policy of the Soviet Union, expressed in Litvinov's proposals at the farcical Geneva Conference, proposals which were warmly welcomed even by bourgeois pacifists. The women's conference shared in the ignominy of the Brussels world conference of the Second International which, in an appeal to all nations, declared the readiness of the L.S.I. "to defend the Soviet republic against the hostilities of capitalist governments," but at the same time called upon the workers of the Soviet Union to protect democracy against "political despotism."

After its resurrection as the Labour and Socialist International, the Second International still remained a confused structure organisationally, and this applied too, to the women's movement, both nationally and internationally. In comparison with the pre-war period, there is better contact between it and the executive of the International, as also with the national organisations. The Hamburg inaugural congress rejected the proposal of previous conferences that a woman should sit on the executive bureau, but it agreed to establish a women's committee to maintain contact. This committee was first regularly constituted in 1927, and consists of fifteen representatives from different countries, with a presidium of five at the head. The women's committee meets at least once annually. Its work is to unite the women's movement in the different countries, to supply information to the executive secretariat, and to arrange the international women's conferences. International co-operation is, therefore, not very strong. This is true, too, of international action on the part of the national women's movements, as in the celebration of International Women's Day, which was decided upon at Hamburg. It was found to be impossible to keep that day the same for all the affiliated countries. The parties in the Second International were hostile to this. In Austria and England, in the last few years, International Women's Day has been very well kept by the reformists. But how changed is its character! It is no longer an advance of united revolutionary forces against the capitalist order, it is reformist window-dressing, in which socialist gestures are used

to hide from the exploited and enslaved women the pious bourgeois reality.

Although the Second International has betrayed, not only the claims of peasant and working women to full social emancipation, but also their most elementary immediate demands for bread, justice and liberty, it still deceives and befools large numbers of them. The International Women's Socialist movement is undoubtedly a strong and rapidly-growing power, helping to protect capitalism against revolution. At the Brussels Conference 915,000 politically organised women were represented, while the reformist trade unions have 1,6870,000 women members. In every report, the German and Austrian parties show an increasing female membership. "Armoured cruiser" Chancellor Müller's party, at the end of 1928, counted 198,771 women among its almost a million members.

These imposing figures suggest clearly advantageous external circumstances. In those countries where the socialist parties and trade unions are friendly and obedient assistants of the exploiting and ruling bourgeoisie, their leaders and active adherents sit on legislative and administrative bodies; they help to decide on the distribution of posts and on the administration of social insurance, welfare institutions, etc. Where women have political rights, their reformist leaders have their share of these privileges. The organisations in the Second International consequently have at their disposal, for work among the women masses, a large staff of active women, who are not, as at one time, persecuted by the authorities and outlawed by bourgeois opinion, but envied and socially influential. This assures to the social democratic parties

and trade unions a large access of women members and adherents, as well from proletarian as from middle class circles.

But besides these facts there exist others which must not be overlooked in the effort to overcome the paralysing, deceptive influence of the Second International on working women. These are women among the leading and active reformists who, through many years of activity, have gained wide experience, great ability and knowledge; who have an intimate acquaintance with the conditions of life, the needs and the psychology of the masses, and who enjoy personal confidence. The majority of the women members of the reformist organisations are not petty bourgeois, but proletarian, although in any case we must not forget that at the present stage of the class struggle, not only working and peasant women, but also the lower middle class women must be drawn into the struggle against capitalism, under whose exploiting and enslaving system they live.

But above all, the working women—and not only the labour aristocracy—are in their feelings and ideas, reformist and not revolutionary. That is the real reason why they are led by the Second International, which daily sacrifices their interests, which helps to protect and maintain bourgeois society, which denies and destroys their humanity. To lengthen the life of such a society, the Second International has given up its earlier struggle for the complete emancipation of women in favour of a despicable sham fight. Only under the banner of the Communist International can, and will, that emancipation be realised.

The Comintern and the Second International on Capitalist Stabilisation

A. J. Bennett

THE controversies on capitalist stabilisation and its character have been solved by the Programme unanimously adopted at the Sixth Congress of the Communist International. In the chapter devoted to the analysis of the general crisis of capitalism and the first phase of the world revolution, we read: "The experience of the entire post-war historical period has shown that the capitalist stabilisation achieved through repression of the working class and systematic depression of its standard of life *can only be transient, partial and decaying.*" (My italics.—A.J.B.)

The Sixth Congress of the Comintern declaring in the Programme that the stabilisation of capitalism is temporary and decaying, by no means concealed from itself the fact that the feverishly sporadic development of technique in several countries almost approaches a new technical revolution. But the Programme approaches the question of technical development and all the successes of capitalist rationalisation, armed with the Marxist-Leninist method, exposing the contradictions of present-day capitalist stabilisation in general and capitalist rationalisation in particular. For this reason it sees the *other* side of this technical process. The Programme emphasises the restriction of production, despite the technical development, the merciless and rapacious exploitation of labour power, the chronic unemployment, the absolute depreciation of the situation of the working class, the development of competition between the imperialist countries, and the increasing intensity of class conflicts, etc.

On the basis of a study of the entire process of partial capitalist stabilisation the Programme constitutes the existence of effective pre-conditions for a *new, still higher period in the development of the general crisis of capitalism and the world proletarian revolution.* It is unnecessary to add that the Programme

underlines the significance of the greatest historical fact, which the apologists of stabilisation spare no pains in trying to forget, namely, the existence of a socialist State, cut off from general world economy. The same chapter of the Programme, which emphasises the decaying character of modern capitalist stabilisation, shows that "the break-up of world economy into a capitalist and a socialist sector, the shrinking of markets, and the anti-imperialist movements in the colonies intensify all the contradictions of capitalism, which is developing on a new post-war basis.

The question of stabilisation has stood long on the agenda of the Communist International. The slowing down of the rate of development of the revolution was already discernible at the Third Congress of the Comintern. It was no accident that Lenin, in his speech to the Third Congress (on the tactics of the C.P.S.U.) emphasised more than once the fact that in actuality the movement had not taken a straight-line course, after the manner we had anticipated. In the resolutions of the Third Congress the possibility of the then existing crisis being followed in more or less countries by an upward development is referred to. But already then the Third Congress emphasised that this by no means represented the commencement of a new epoch. Considerably later the Sixth Plenum of the Comintern, returning to the question of stabilisation (March, 1926), declared that by stabilisation the Comintern has never under any circumstances understood that capitalism, especially European capitalism, has healed the wounds it suffered through the first world imperialist war, that capitalism has overcome the contradictions, so clearly revealed and sharpened to an extraordinary measure by that war. The resolution continues, "*The period of the decline of capitalism continues.*" (My italics.—A.J.B.)

Deviations from the correct line in the period!

between the Fifth and Sixth Congresses, and right deviations in particular, were connected to a tremendous extent with over-estimations of the role and meaning of capitalist stabilisation.

Here, as in a whole series of other questions, the colossal influence of the social-reformists appears. It would seem that controversy around the question of stabilisation was finally settled by the Sixth Congress of the Comintern, which gave in the Programme a scientific explanation of the origins and character of modern capitalist stabilisation. It is, nevertheless, necessary to note that, after the Congress, tendencies to over-estimate the role and significance of capitalist stabilisation are remarkable in a number of separate Communist sections. This tendency appeared especially clearly in the ranks of the American Communist Party. Even at the Sixth Congress itself one or two echoes of this exaggeration were audible. As, for instance, comrade Ewert said in his speech on the report of the C.C., among other things: "The British General Strike and the struggle of the miners showed, side by side with the strength and heroism of the British working class, the hard and solid stabilisation of the bourgeoisie." In reply to the interjection "Hard and solid?" Ewert repeated, "Yes, hard and solid, for the British bourgeoisie in its struggle against the working class has not revealed any weaknesses."

These exaggerations carried within themselves serious danger, and therefore deserve the deepest possible attention.

Capitalist stabilisation assumes various forms in different parts of the capitalist world. It goes *comparatively* more smoothly and swimmingly in that country to which the centre of capitalist industry was carried after the war (U.S.A.). That country is the only country which emerged victorious from the world war. From a debtor country she became a creditor of practically the entire capitalist world. Her productive output developed with amazing rapidity. Inside the country itself a rapid intensive industrialisation of new localities is proceeding (south). American imperialism also expands at a rapid rate. But even in the U.S.A. the development of the productive forces proceeds by no means along the path

of improvement of technique and the extension of methods of the organisation of production alone. *The extension of the methods of exploitation of the workers* plays a tremendous role in the increase of the wealth of the land of the almighty dollar, and leads in the last resort to the most merciless extermination of living labour power. The latest methods of exploitation impose such a colossal intensification of labour that even bourgeois economists are compelled to admit that we are face to face with an unrelenting shortening of proletarian lives.

Rationalisation in this way presents itself as the immediate daily destruction of an enormous number of working-class hands, working under the highly flourishing and strongest capitalist country in the world.

Side by side with this, however, we observe in the U.S.A. that negative phenomenon referred to in the Programme of the Communist International. The development of capitalism carries only certain branches of industry to flourishing prosperity while others decline.

Together with the mining industry, which is a weak spot of post-war capitalism, we observe a serious crisis also in the textile industry. In all branches of industry we see, together with advances, a headlong development of chronic unemployment, created by the gigantic development of the productivity of labour, pressing on a shrinkage of markets.

Simultaneously American imperialism, being part of the general world imperialist system, is feverishly preparing to submit the contradictions of imperialism to a decision by force of arms. We see therefore in America also all those features of capitalist rationalisation which constitute the pre-conditions for a new and higher period of the general crisis of capitalism.

The path of capitalist rationalisation in Europe is complicated and tortuous—above all in England. The European countries, suffering more heavily from the world war, are faced with the task of rehabilitating their capitalist strength in fierce rivalry with a mighty competitor in the person of the U.S.A. The ruling classes of the European capitalist countries endeavour to compensate their economic and technical weakness (in comparison with

the transatlantic Titan) by means of still more relentless and unmerciful exploitation of the labour of the proletarians. Exactly for this reason we see still more sharply and conclusively the shady sides of capitalist rationalisation, which endorse the general estimate and prognosis formulated by the Programme of the C.I.

These shady sides are especially apparent in Britain. The British bourgeoisie infirm after a lengthy period of control of the world's markets, trails helplessly, not merely after America, but also Germany in the task of rationalising her industry and overcoming the old forms of the organisation of production, and endeavours to shift the entire burden of competition with her more powerful opponents on to the shoulders of the working class. "Merrie old England" abounds to-day in districts in complete poverty. It is no accident that in England we were witnesses of such gigantic class events as the General Strike, and such a lengthy, exhausting battle as that presented by the seven months' heroic struggle of the miners. Those strikes were proofs, not of the equilibrium and solidity of bourgeois stabilisation, but its *decay* and lack of strength. It is correct, of course, that the British bourgeoisie succeeded with the help of the reformists, in recovering itself despite the General Strike and the miners' struggle. But if we retain the logical argument, selected by comrade Ewert, then we may easily arrive at the conclusion that the 1905 revolution in Russia was merely a proof of the solidity and stabilisation of Tsarism (for did not Tsarism recover from the 1905 revolution?).

The unhealthy process of capitalist stabilisation brings in its train radical changes in the role of the social-democracy. The new role and function of the social-democracy is annotated in a whole series of decisions of Plenums and Congresses of the C.I. The Fifth Congress already showed the fact that in Europe the social-democracy were becoming third parties of the bourgeoisie. The same Congress noted that Fascism and social-democracy in the final analysis are similar weapons of the ruling class against the revolutionary proletariat.

A more exact analysis of the new role and function of the social-democracy was given by

the Ninth Plenum (February, 1928), which issued the directions for strengthening the struggle against imperialism with the counter-attack against social reformism in all its varying appearances, and, above all against the so-called "left" social-democracy.

Connected with the analysis of the new function of social reformism, the Ninth Plenum issued a new general tactical line for the Communist Parties in the trade unions and specially formulated tactical instructions for the British and French Communist Parties.

Those who are inclined to exaggerate the role of capitalist stabilisation, do not remark the new role played by social-democracy in the present period.

"Boldly" have spoken out their views those right elements who have already broken with Communism and now stand as a bridge for the return to the bosom of the social-democracy.

"Every child knows," we read in the organ of Brandler and Thalheimer, "Against the Stream,"—"that the shameless activities of the reformists, just during the war, during the revolutionary period and after, were so great, that they could hardly be surpassed.

"Therefore it is incorrect to speak of changes now appearing (in the activities of the reformists). It seems to us, that these changes in the activities of the reformists, at least in Germany, have been thought out, in order to find some semblance of a ground for the new tactics." The new tactics of which Brandler and Thalheimer speak so contemptuously is the tactics of the sharper struggle against the reformists, including also the so-called "left" reformists (on all fronts, and in the first place in the trade unions). Against this new tactics Brandler and Thalheimer try to create an impression that the demonstration of the changing role of the social-democracy is a fabrication. Let us examine the "evolution" of the parties of the Second International a little closer.

We commence with Britain. In the course of a long period of time the Labour Party, which was headed by experienced and astute reformist-traitors, allowed its constituent parts not merely the right to criticise the reformist leadership, but to take a stand in defence of the proletarian dictatorship. Now

this honoured party has formulated a programme which even a member of the Independent Labour Party (Wheatley) recognised as a programme of capitalist rationalisation.

The Congress which accepted this programme added to it a resolution on loyalty, the leading idea of which is that all members of the Labour Party are duty bound to loyally observe and fulfil the programme, *i.e.*, support capitalist rationalisation, which in Britain for special reasons is introduced through smashing inroads into the living minimum of the British workers.

A similar example is provided by the General Council of the T.U.C. In 1925 the Trades Union Congress adopted a series of radical resolutions culminating in greetings to the Chinese revolution, at that time advancing its triumphant banner against imperialism in general and British imperialism in particular.

The Sixtieth Trades Union Congress in September, 1928, presents a completely different picture. This Congress accepted the Report of the General Council, which in its most fundamental portions is simply a "proof" of the correctness of the policy of "Industrial Peace," known as Mondism (according to the name of the head of the chemical industry, who in actuality now stands as the "ideological" leader of the British trade unions).

The General Council stated in its Report to the Congress at Swansea with striking frankness, that it rejects the idea of the General Strike, it rejects the idea of partial strikes, and finally declared for the "scientific reorganisation of industry," which means that it declared in support of capitalist rationalisation, as now conducted by the English bourgeoisie.*

The general humour of this Congress was conclusively and sharply expressed in the speech of welcome of the High Sheriff of Swansea. "Do we," asked the Sheriff, "not all do the same work, and are we not all more or less capitalists? For those of us who are British subjects are actually shareholders and have their capital in the great limited liability company, the British Empire, Ltd."† (Retranslated from the Russian.)

* See Report of Swansea Congress, p. 209.

† See Report of Swansea Congress, p. 60.

The "shareholders" in the persons of the trade union bureaucrats heartily applauded the Sheriff, who formulated their innermost thoughts with such frank simplicity.

A similar picture, for example, is observable in Germany. A few months back the German social-democrats double-crossed on the question of the cruisers. One hand (ministerial) signed the assignments for the cruiser. The other (the benchers) voted against it. Now the German social-democracy has decided to drop the mask and enter the lists with a war programme, which is to be laid before the Congress of the S.P.D. at Magdeburg in March. This programme is, in actuality, not merely a programme of armed defence of Germany, but a programme of armed counter-revolution against the U.S.S.R.

And "Vorwaerts" modestly explains that this programme is merely a minimum programme, and that the fellow-renegades of the German social-democrats in the persons of Boncour and Renaudel have gone much further and placed their signature to the most reactionary law in the world, to the law providing a complete mobilisation of the entire population and militarisation of all organs, including the trade unions.

The French reformists of course do not lag behind their foreign brothers. On the 15th November, 1927 the reformist C.G.T. issued a declaration which the Socialist Party subsequently fully sanctioned. In this declaration we read: "The C.G.T. holds that the chief problem remains always the return of the country to normal economy. She demands to-day, as yesterday, financial stabilisation, which will enable her to end the manœuvres of oppressors and speculators, who make life dearer. Stabilisation must become law in the shortest time if we want productive activity, regularity and unanimity, and to reach a definite recuperation, which will help to increase the wealth of individuals and the community."

The documents quoted deal with the *principles* declared by the social-reformists. If we turn to the *practice* of the socialist parties and reformist trade union bureaucrats then we see that in deeds they are the immediate agents of capital, assisting it to transfer the burden

of capitalist rationalisation to the shoulders of the working class. In the European countries, more sharply than in the U.S.A., the social reformists are the most important instruments in the hands of the bourgeoisie in the carrying out of capitalist rationalisation, as in the preparation of imperialist war for seizing territory and in the preparation of counter-revolutionary war against the U.S.S.R.

In the economic field, social reformism plays the role of strike-breaking organisations, differing from the usual strike-breaking organisation only in its hasty recourse to more complex and impudent methods of splitting the workers and disarming them in the face of attacking capital. In the political field the social-democracy forms the third bourgeois party, placing instead of revolutionary struggle not merely the defence, but the immediate strengthening of the capitalist forces through the organisation of the working class.

The new tactics, roughly drafted by the Ninth Plenum of the Comintern and completed by the Sixth Congress, lead to the strengthening of the independent part of the Communist Parties and the revolutionary trade union movement in the preparation and leadership of economic struggles. Throughout Europe we observe to-day a strengthening of the activity of the workers, attempts to pass over to active defence against the capitalist attacks and now and then to attack with the aim of improving their position. All these attempts encounter the resistance of the entire apparatus of the capitalists and the bourgeois government, and in the first place, the open methodical strike-breaking work of the reformist leadership of the trade unions. It is therefore natural that the work of organising the workers' struggles, the independent leadership of these struggles becomes a first-rate task of the Communist Parties. All attempts to deviate from these tasks play into the hands of the reformists, *i.e.*, help capital to operate rationalisation at the expense of a worsened situation for the working class.

In the political field the new tactic leads to a sharper struggle against social reformism. (In Britain decisive attack against the Labour Party as the third party of the bourgeoisie; in France, attack against all bourgeois parties, including the Socialist Party, etc.)

This new tactic is necessitated not merely by the new function of the social-democracy, but also those deep movements proceeding in the working class, on the one hand, and those changes which capitalist rationalisation introduces on the other.

In recent years we may see more and more a deepening cleft between the higher, more privileged strata of workers, allying to social-reformism, and the great proletarian masses, who are blazing a new trail.

To lead and unite these masses is a first and not to be postponed task of the Communist International and all its sections. The entire present period is one of more sharpened contradictions, which places on the agenda, on the one hand, mighty class happenings, and on the other the increasing danger of war.

As in the struggles between labour and capital, so in the preparation of new war in general and counter-revolutionary war against the U.S.S.R. especially, the social-democracy, and the trade union bureaucracy, which has sold itself to it, have defined their position by programme and action. For this reason the Communist Parties must prepare themselves for leadership of the workers' struggles, strengthen the struggle against war and the war danger, prepare themselves, and at the same time the working-class masses, to convert imperialist war into a civil war.

Such are the conditions which dictated the necessity for the new tactical line which was formulated by the Sixth Congress of the Communist International.

The carrying out of this line of tactics demands the most decisive and intense struggle against right deviations, against conciliation with these deviations, and especially against all attempts to over-estimate the solidarity of capitalist stabilisation and any attempts to under-estimate the treacherous role of social reformism.

It should be self-understood that the determined struggle against right tendencies and conciliation with them cannot under any circumstances, and must not, lead to any weakening of the struggle against the so-called "left" deviations which are actually obvious opportunism.

The Road to the Communist International

The Struggles of the Bulgarian C. P. against the Opportunism of the Second International

C. Kabakchiev

THE struggle against the opportunism of the Second International began long before the collapse of the latter during the imperialist war. When, at the close of the first decade of its existence—at the end of the 90's—Eduard Bernstein came into the open with his criticism and revision of Marxism, in an endeavour to provide a theoretical basis for the opportunist tactics of Vollmar and other leaders of German social-democracy, there began a bitter struggle against his theory in the majority of the parties of the Second International. This attempt to give a theoretical foundation to opportunist tactics revealed and emphasised the strong tendencies which had developed for open struggle against Marxism and revolutionary tactics.

Against Bernstein were arraigned the most famous leaders of the Second International—Kautsky and Bebel in Germany, Jules Guesde in France, George Plekhanov in Russia, and others who afterwards passed into the camp of opportunism and social chauvinism. The most conclusive and unyielding struggle against Bernstein, however, was carried on by Lenin and Rosa Luxemburg.

The struggle against opportunism flared up with great strength after the Russian revolution of 1905, which gave a strong impetus to the revolutionary struggle of the proletariat and to the left tendencies within the Second International. The party of the Bolsheviks emerged at the head of these tendencies. The struggle of the Bolsheviks and the left against the Second International—especially during the war—is well known. The struggle led by the Bulgarian Social-Democratic Party (the "Narrow" Socialists), from its foundation, against petty bourgeois socialism and opportunism and against the participation of the "Broad" Socialists in the Second International is, however, not so well known.

In Bulgaria, the social-democratic movement began in 1891, when the first Social-Democratic Party was founded. The founder, and later the leader, was D. Blagoev, who also founded the first workers' social democratic organisation in St. Petersburg, in 1883—the Party of Russian-Social Democrats, also known as Blagoev's Groups. Already at the foundation of the Party, there began internal struggles between the petty bourgeois socialists and the Marxists, who were led by Blagoev. That struggle ended with the secession of the petty bourgeois socialists and the formation by them of the Social-Democratic Union, an organisation which was opposed to political struggle and in favour of purely economic struggles. This was the period of "Economism" in the development of the Bulgarian Socialist Party.

In 1894, the Party and the Union united to form the Bulgarian Workers' Social-Democratic Party. The struggle between the two tendencies—Marxist and opportunist—continued until 1903, when the Party split and the Marxists, led by Blagoev, Kirkov and Georgiev, founded the Bulgarian Workers' Social-Democratic Party (Narrows).

At the beginning of the Bulgarian socialist movement, capitalism had scarcely penetrated the country. The working class, few and scattered, were occupied in small handicraft production. The population chiefly consisted of peasants together with the petty bourgeoisie and small producers. The prevailing ideology was petty bourgeois, and this ideology dominated the intellectuals and even the workers who joined the socialist movement. In can, therefore, easily be understood why opportunism gained such proportions at the beginning of the movement. At its foundation in 1894, the Bulgarian Workers' Social-Democratic Party was, in its composition, outlook and

tactics, actually a petty bourgeois radical party though it called itself socialist and had a socialist programme.

Nevertheless, it possessed a healthy Marxist wing, led by Blagoev, which conducted an unremitting struggle against opportunism and which finally seceded in 1903 and laid the foundation of the Bulgarian S.D. Party (Narrow Socialists).

The party of the Narrow Socialists was inseparably connected with the growing workers' movement, and continued its struggle against the party of Broad Socialists. The service of the party of Narrow Socialists to the Bulgarian and Balkan proletariat consists in the fact that it carried on an unceasing struggle for the principles of Marx and for revolutionary socialism during whole decades. It thus laid the foundation, protected the growth and ensured the future of the revolutionary movement of the proletariat in a petty bourgeois country, as Bulgaria was, and to a large extent still remains.

But the party of Narrows fought not only against Broad and petty bourgeois socialism. It also fought against opportunism in the Second International in general.

At the time of the split in 1903, it opposed the participation of the Broad Party in the Second International and demanded its exclusion. This attitude it maintained permanently. At the International Congress held at Stuttgart in 1907, where the Narrow Party supported the position taken up by Lenin and Luxemburg on the war question, it again demanded the expulsion of the Broads from the International. At the Copenhagen Congress (1910), comrade Kolarov, reading a declaration of the Balkan Social-Democratic Parties in favour of a Balkan Federated Republic, protested to the plenum of the congress against the participation of the Broad Socialists.

The Party of the Narrow Socialists belonged to the left wing of the Second International. It supported Plekhanov against the Narodniki (Populists), Guesde against Jaurès, and Kautsky against Bernstein, as far as Plekhanov, Guesde and Kautsky were Marxists; but it opposed them when they crossed to the opportunist camp. It consistently supported the revolutionary opposition led by Lenin and Luxemburg.

We print below a few documents* which illustrate the struggle which was conducted by the revolutionary groups in the International against opportunism, social-chauvinism and social-imperialism, up to and during the war.

Under the conditions in which it grew the Narrow Party could not attain the clarity of outlook or the definiteness of revolutionary tactics that distinguished the Bolshevik Party. But it was a Marxist party, and its struggles against opportunism, its experience and knowledge, were of international importance in the development and strengthening of those left revolutionary tendencies which finally led to the formation of the Communist International.

The Party of Narrows, in spite of its honesty, steadfastness and loyalty to the principles of revolutionary Marxism, made a series of mistakes, the chief of which was its attitude at the time of the coup-d'état of June 9th, 1923.

At Zimmerwald, the Party did not join the Leninist left because despite its struggles against the war and against the Second International, it was not sufficiently convinced of the necessity of turning the imperialist war into a civil war, and of splitting the Second International (although Blagoev and G. Kirkov made a declaration at the beginning of the war in this sense). At the conclusion of the war, the Party did not join the peasants who headed the rising of the troops in September, 1918, which aimed at the overthrow of the monarchy and the punishment of those who were responsible for the war. This was because during the war, despite the agitation and struggle against the war, at the front and at home, the Party did not create the necessary organisational connections and groups in the army, which would have enabled it, at the decisive moment, to lead the revolutionary soldiers (workers and peasants).

After the war, the Party was unable correctly to estimate the revolutionary part played by the peasants under proletarian leadership in the new revolutionary period. It did not fully understand the tactics of the united front

* These documents are taken from books, articles, etc., in the possession of the Marx-Engels Institute and the Lenin Institute (Moscow).

with the "Peasants' Union," nor did it entirely free itself from the social-democratic conditions. It made a fatal mistake on the 9th June, 1923.

But these mistakes cannot and must not wipe out the previous Marxist and revolutionary past of the Party of Narrow Socialists which emerged with the left-wing in the Second International and now, after the experience of past mistakes, marches in step with the Communist International. The Party of Narrows joined the Communist International immediately after its foundation at its Congress in May, 1919, when it accepted the programme, principles and tactics of the Comintern, changing its name to Communist Party of Bulgaria (Narrow Socialist).

The experiences and history of the C.P.B. (N.S.), are part of the history of the struggle against the Second International of the left revolutionary parties which later formed the Communist International.

I.

THE PROTEST AGAINST THE BALKAN WAR (PRESENTED AT THE BASLE CONGRESS OF THE SECOND INTERNATIONAL)

At the Basle Congress of the Second International, held on the 11th and 12th, November, 1912, the delegate of the Bulgarian S.D.P. (Narrow), Kabakchiev, presented a declaration on the question of the war in the Balkans, in which, among other things, appeared the following:

"We . . . energetically protest against the war, bloody and ruinous for the Balkan people, which is carried on by the ruling classes and the dynasty for territorial conquests and in the interests of capitalists and monarchists. . .

"In energetically condemning the war and demanding its immediate cessation, we declare that the class conscious Bulgarian proletariat leads the struggle for the national unification and independence of the Balkan peoples, and will continue to do so. We strive for the realisation of the 'Balkan Federated Republics.' "

In the following passage, this declaration predicted the war between the Balkan govern-

ments—Bulgaria, Serbia, Greece and Montenegro—which broke out in June, 1913, after the victory over the common enemy—Turkey:

"The alliance founded for the attainment of capitalist and dynastic aims of conquest will collapse into new national conflicts. After the defeat of the common enemy—Turkey—and the plundering of her European provinces."

The Bureau of the Congress, of which J. Zakisov was a member, representing the Bulgarian Mensheviks (Broads), succeeded in preventing the delegate of the Bulgarian Workers' S.D.P. (Narrow), from reading this declaration to the Congress, but it was distributed to the delegates in French and German. Later, "Vorwaerts" reprinted extracts from this declaration, but the journal of the German S.D.P., "Die Neue Zeit," published an article by the writer of these lines in which the views of the Narrows on the Balkan Federated Republic were presented. Kautsky refused, however, to publish a second article by the same author, in which he defended the revolution as the only method of realising the Balkan Federated Republic and exposed the bourgeois nationalism of the Bulgarian Broad Socialists.

The Narrows fought against the Balkan War, at the front and at home, and at the end of the war, greatly increased their strength and influence over the masses.

II.

THE STRUGGLE AGAINST IMPERIALIST WAR

Soon after the beginning of the conflict between Austria-Hungary and Serbia, the Bulgarian Workers' S.D. Party (Narrow), through its representative, D. Blagoev, made a declaration in Parliament (12th July, 1914), in which it said that: "Peace is essential to the Bulgarian people," and that "only through the Balkan Federated Republics could the threatening danger of foreign occupation and oppression over the Balkans, which resulted from the monarchist and nationalist policy of the ruling classes, be averted."

The Parliamentary group of the Party issued a "Manifesto to the Working Class of Bul-

garia," on the 17th of July, 1914, and organised many meetings of protest throughout the entire country. A second appeal was issued on the 28th of July, 1914, in which it was pointed out that "the evil lies in capitalist rule," and that "either the power of capital will be broken or humanity will return to barbarism." This appeal closes with the following words: "Down with the Censorship! Down with Martial Law! Down with Militarism!"

After the outbreak of the imperialist war, the Bulgarian Workers' S.D. Party (Narrows), convened a great public meeting, at which D. Blagoev, an old leader of the Party, vigorously protested against the war, which he branded as a war for territorial conquest and for the suppression of the rising proletarian revolution. He roundly condemned the parties of the Second International which cooperated with the warmakers. Even at that time, he propagated the necessity of an immediate "cleansing of the Second International from opportunism" and "the creation of a "new revolutionary International."

On the 26th October, 1914, the Party organised meetings against martial law, against the war and in favour of peace.

On the 22nd February, 1915, an all-Balkan meeting was held in Sofia, at which participated, besides the Party of Narrows, representatives of the S.D. Parties of Serbia and Roumania; meetings were also held throughout the country on this day.

The following day, the parliamentary group issued in the name of the meeting a declaration in which it protested against the approaching war and again put forward the slogan of the Alliance of the Balkan Peoples into a Balkan Federated Republic for defence against imperialism and for the unification of Balkan nationalities.

On the day of mobilisation in Bulgaria, 7th September, 1915, the Parliamentary group of the Party published an appeal in which occurred the following:

"The Bulgarian Workers' S.D. Party must energetically fight from the beginning of the war against the treacherous and murderous policy of the Bulgarian bourgeoisie and monarchists. The working class, reinforced by the great masses of the people at thousands of

meetings throughout the country, protests against the war and loudly declares the united steadfast will of the Bulgarian people to establish peace and live in brotherly amity with their neighbours. . . . We, Social-Democratic deputies, loudly protest against the preparation of this crime against the higher interests and against freedom of the nations. Government and Opposition have rejected our proposals in Parliament, in which we demand that the Balkan Parliaments should immediately begin negotiations for the achievement of a general political Balkan alliance independent of the Great Powers and directed not only towards the defence of the Balkan peoples from their common enemies, but towards the aim of laying a granite foundation of the Republic of the Balkans. . . .

"Down with war! Long live the Balkan Federated Republic! Long live revolutionary socialism!"

For the issue of this appeal, the Parliamentary group were charged with high treason and several deputies were arrested. Despite this, immediately following the beginning of the war (October, 1915), D. Blagoev read a declaration in the name of the Party and of the Parliamentary group at the first meeting of Parliament, 15th October, 1915, in which it was declared:

"Bulgarian Social-Democracy even before the outbreak of the war, took up a decisive attitude against the war and did everything within its power to prevent the Bulgarian people being involved. . . . We remain the implacable enemies of the war; we protest against the outrage against the Bulgarian people and, expressing the passionate desire of the mass of the people, urgently demand the immediate cessation of bloodshed and the conclusion of peace.

"Social-Democracy, recognising the right of all peoples to self-determination and self-government, emphatically protests against the annexation of foreign territory* and against the suppression of foreign peoples. Standing always for the rights of all oppressed peoples, Social-Democracy protests against the destruction and oppression of the Serbian people.

* At that time most of Serbia was already occupied by the Bulgarian and Austrian armies.

Social-Democracy perceives the unification of the Balkan peoples only in the Balkan Federated Republic, in which all Balkan peoples, will reciprocally guarantee national and cultural freedom.

"We declare that we do not support in any shape or form the bloodthirsty monarchists and the bourgeoisie, but stand in solidarity with the conscious proletariat of the entire world. The Bulgarian S.D. Party declares that it will do everything possible on its side for the consummation of Peace and Socialism. These are the considerations under which we vote against the 500 millions for military credits."

The Party continued the struggle against the war—both inside and outside Parliament. On the 4th August, 1916, D. Blagoev presented a new declaration to Parliament in the name of the Party and the Parliamentary group, in which it was declared:

"Emphasising once more our declaration of the 15th October, 1915, against the war credits and adhering in full to the decisions of the Zimmerwald Socialist Conference against war and for immediate peace without annexations, the Parliamentary group of the Bulgarian Bulgarian S.D. Party declares:

"It was previously well known that the object of the European war is the re-division of the world between the great capitalist States and the conquest of foreign peoples, especially the small backward peoples—to-day this is still clearer. . . .

"In the Balkans the imperialist States are striving for the splitting of the Balkan Peninsula to ensure themselves a free path to Constantinople and Asia Minor. We declare our votes against the new war credits.

"Down with the War! Long live Peace!
"Long live Peace without annexations!"

III.

THE THEORETICAL ORGAN OF THE PARTY "NOVO VREMYA" ON THE WAR AND ON THE SECOND INTERNATIONAL

D. Blagoev wrote, during the first days of the outbreak of war, in the theoretical organ of the Party, "Novo Vremya," a journal under his editorship (August, 1914):

"After a wide-scale European war follows revolution. In the flames of war, after the beginning of the general mutual slaughter, we may still more confidently expect the revolution. There can be no doubt that the sole victor of the present all-European war will be the inevitable all-European revolution."

When Blagoev wrote these lines he was still unaware of the treachery of the big parties of the Second International.

The news that these parties voted for war credits caused vacillations in all parties, with the exception of the Bolshevik Party.

In the September issue of the "Novo Vremya," we may observe a certain abstention from sharp criticism of the treacherous policy of the German social-democracy and of the socialist parties of other countries. Nevertheless, the conviction that the revolution would be the inevitable result of the war, and that the proletariat must prepare for it, was always foremost in the party of Narrow Socialists. In the leading article of the following issue of "Novo Vremya" we find: "In the situation created by the war revolution is the inevitable necessity. This is the only way out for mankind." In the following number of the theoretical organ, the party condemns the voting for war credits by the German social-democracy as a policy "full of danger to international social-democracy," which, it was explained by Blagoev, was dominated by opportunists. Simultaneously he branded German social-democracy, which refused to follow the brilliant example of Bebel and William Liebknecht during the Franco-Prussian war, and showed "the revolutionary path of the Balkan Federated Republic" to be the only path which could save the Balkan peoples from imperialist conquest and enable them to realise their national independence.

Attempts on the part of Plekhanov and Parvus to defend their treachery before the party of Narrows and to drag Bulgaria into the war—Plekhanov on the side of Russia and Parvus on the side of Germany—finally ended all reservations in criticism of the treacherous policy of the Second International in connection with the war.

On the 27th October, 1914, Plekhanov sent a Bulgarian (an ex-socialist) a letter, which

afterwards appeared in the collection of Plekhanov, *For the War*. In this letter Plekhanov informed Bulgarian socialists of his desertion to the camp of the social-chauvinists, invited them to follow his example, and called upon the Bulgarian people to enter the war on the side of Tsarist Russia.

Plekhanov enjoyed great authority among Bulgarian socialists, who had graduated on his works and articles, most of which had been translated into Bulgarian.

Nevertheless, this did not deter Blagoev from definitely opposing Plekhanov.

The differences within Russian social-democracy were known to the Bulgarian Narrows, and they defended the Bolshevik position in a resolution in 1915. But in Bulgaria, as in other European countries, until the war Plekhanov was one of the chief authorities of the Second International. In the December issue of "Novo Vremya," in 1914, Blagoev, in publishing Plekhanov's letter, made answer in the leading article, *Magister dixit*, in which the authority of Plekhanov, one of the most popular veterans of international socialism in Bulgaria, was destroyed.

Refuting the view of Plekhanov that the victory of Russia would hasten the world revolution, Blagoev wrote :

"After a defeat of Russia we may expect a revolution, which will lead to revolutions in other European countries. If we stand for international proletarian solidarity and the interests of the revolutionary proletarian movement, we see at once the fatal mistake of the nationalist point of view which social-democracy held and still holds about the present war.

"To fight for the aims of the Russian plunderers in the Balkans means to fight for the political and economic enslavement of the Balkan people. Similarly, in the opposite case, if the Balkan people fight on the side of the Germans . . .

"Neither a victory of Russia or Germany can successfully end our struggle for a Balkan Federated Republic and to ensure the Balkans for the Balkan people. That will be achieved by the revolution which will break out as a result of the present unprecedented war. Of that we are convinced, and the revolution will

help the Balkan social-democracy in its revolutionary struggle."

Shortly after the publication of Plekhanov's letter, Parvus, one of the theoreticians of German social-democracy and a defender of its policy, arrived in Bulgaria.

D. Blagoev exposed this authority of the Second International with the same decisiveness. In the magazine, "Novo Vremya," of 2nd February, 1915, in the leader, he wrote :

"Parvus invites the Balkan governments and the social-democrats of Bulgaria to join the armies of German imperialism, to enable it to emerge victorious. Bulgarian social-democracy categorically repudiates this advice. Social democracy repudiates this advice on the grounds on which it rejected the counsel of Plekhanov to assist the armies of the Entente for the victory of Russia."

At the conclusion of the article Blagoev, exposing the collapse of the Second International, writes :

"The opportunists who have betrayed socialism and the revolutionary tradition of the proletariat, preach, above all, about bread. They created big trade union organisations with large funds. But a large number of these were without socialist consciousness and entirely devoid of revolutionary traditions, so at the decisive moment they proved to be without bread, and instead were gifted in making themselves the agents of imperialist nationalism and chauvinism."

In the following number of "Novo Vremya," 15th February, 1915, Blagoev wrote :

"The vote for the war credits by the German parliamentary fraction connotes the placing of the International at the service of German monarchism and imperialism, and for the other countries means that it is the servant of Russo-French-English imperialism. The collapse of the Second International denotes merely the collapse of that "socialism" which is known as opportunist or, in Bulgaria, 'Broad Socialism.'

"Opportunism turned the Second Inter-

national into a rabble, but the war, instead of interring revolutionary socialism, was merely burying opportunism in order to resurrect a new International, cleansed and mighty, as the organisation of international revolutionary social-democracy. . . . The new International can exist solely on the basis of revolutionary socialism; the new International can only be the international organisation of revolutionary social-democracy.

"It follows that the new International must impose new conditions of affiliation on parties and organisations . . . as, e.g., the agitation of the Russian Social-Democratic Workers' Party, especially the so-called Bolsheviks in this Party. . . .

"For us it is plain that the new International can exalt and increase its authority and can become strong only on the basis of the international proletarian organisation of revolutionary socialism."

On the Zimmerwald Conference, Blagoev wrote (1916) :

"The fundamental idea of the participants of the Zimmerwald International Socialist Conference was to unite the left parties and organisations and to create a new International, cleansed of the elements who betrayed socialism and the proletariat. The Zimmerwald Conference was a conference that split, nevertheless that split was necessary."

IV.

DECLARATION OF PROTEST TO THE INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST BUREAU OF THE SECOND INTERNATIONAL

On the 18th March, 1915, George Kirkov, the secretary of the Party and, after D. Blagoev, the most gifted of its leaders, sent, in the name of the E.C. of the Party, a letter of protest to the Secretary of the International Socialist Bureau at the Hague, the more important portions of which were as follows :

"The present war, which is a war for the suppression of the whole world, must lead to the outbreak of the social revolution. If the international proletariat, as represented by its leading organisations and militants, had not

sufficient strength to prevent the imperialist slaughter, and if the proletarians are impelled during this monstrous war to exterminate each other, then this bloody experience must be fully utilised for the rapid establishment of a united International on the basis of revolutionary socialism and for the immediate concentration of all our forces on decisive action against the enemies of the proletariat.

"We, in the Balkans, having lived through one war and learned its horrors, are deeply convinced that to-day, in the trenches of Flanders, France, Poland and Galicia, is being prepared a great opportunity, which must be utilised by the International, not only to achieve its expressed desire for peace, but also to put an end to the causes of mutual destruction.

"We expected, at the outbreak of the European war, that all brother parties in the belligerent countries would make a united and uncompromising stand against the war. We were bitterly deceived. With the exception of the brother Parties of Russia and Serbia, all other Parties supported imperialism, justifying their action with arguments previously foreign to socialism. . . . But despite this, we have not hesitated for one moment to come forward against the war and against our Government. . . .

"We hold that the resolutions of the international Congress (Second International) remain in force and that they are law for us, although the official representatives of the proletariat in most of the belligerent countries take up a position against the clear meaning of these resolutions."

Further, the firm conviction is expressed that the international solidarity of the proletariat will be re-established, and that then the proletariat "will use the weapon that the war has placed in its hands against the compromised, disorganised and dying bourgeois State."

The resolutions of the International Congress emphasised that "Capitalism has already prepared the conditions for the new socialist society and that the struggle of the proletariat must be aimed at the revolutionary overthrow of the capitalist regime. . . . The most suitable condition for the achievement of this end is the general war, which it is necessary to

transform into the destruction of the bourgeoisie and monarchism.

"To the shame of the International, to-day its greatest and strongest sections . . . participate in the bloody business of the bourgeoisie, the victims of which are millions of proletarians.

"As a proletarian Party, we remain implacable enemies of war. Never can we be accused of responsibility for the declaration of war or for its continuation."*

This letter concludes, with the proposal that the International Socialist Bureau should convene a Conference which "should re-build the shattered International," on the basis of "International solidarity, the class struggle and revolutionary socialism."

V.

THE TRANSITION TO THE "LEFT ZIMMERWALDIANS"

On the 20th July, 1917, representatives of the Russian Social-Democratic Workers' Party (Bolshevik), the Social-Democratic Parties of Russia, Poland and Lithuania, the Bulgarian Social-Democratic Party (Narrows) (G. Kirkov and V. Kolarov), the Left Social-Democratic Party of Sweden, and the Socialist Union of Youth of Sweden, met in Stockholm. A Manifesto was issued to the "Socialist International" on the conference of social patriots and Centrists then in preparation, and in favour of the organisation of a Conference of "Left Zimmerwaldians." In this Manifesto, which exposed the treachery of the social patriots and Centrists, the signatories appealed to revolutionary social-democracy and to all workers in the following words:

"Unmask before the workers the lies and deceit of the Social-Democratic Conference at Stockholm. Tell the workers that not by the way of negotiations, can peace without annexations be achieved, peace corresponding to the interests of the workers, peace freed from the yoke of capitalism and national slavery of peoples. Send delegates to Stockholm! Let them discuss, together with the decisive international organisations, all measures of further

* Bulgaria entered the war on the side of the Central Powers in September, 1915.

struggle for peace and, taking into account the defaulting of the hesitant and hopeless elements among the Zimmerwaldians, let them realise the unification of the revolutionary social-democratic elements."

This Manifesto shows that the Party of Narrows joined the revolutionary "Left Zimmerwaldians," led by the Bolsheviks.

VI.

AFFILIATION OF THE PARTY TO THE C.I. AND ITS NEW DECLARATION OF PRINCIPLES

The Bulgarian Workers' S.D. Party (Narrow Socialists) participated in the foundation of the Communist International. Two months after the first Congress in 1919, the Bulgarian Workers' S.D. Party (Narrows) changed its name to Communist Party, Section of the Communist International. At the same Congress the Party adopted a declaration of Programme in which, accepting the principles and tactics of the Comintern, it declared:

"The development of Bulgaria proceeds amidst the general conditions of European imperialism. In comparison with the great capitalist States, her position is poor. Despite the tireless efforts of Bulgaria to annex foreign peoples and countries, Bulgaria is herself an object of conquest and exploitation by the great imperialist States. The working class and labouring peasant masses of our country are under a double yoke—the yoke of their own exploiters, and the yoke of foreign conquerors. Therefore, their situation becomes increasingly more difficult.

"The exploitation of the colonial and semi-colonial peoples strengthens the revolutionary movements in the colonies. These movements need but the support of the international proletariat, and they, commencing as national movements, must in the course of development, inevitably lead to social revolutions. Their final victory depends on the victory of the European social revolution. But the emancipation of the peoples oppressed by imperialism shatters the privileged position of the great imperialist States and hastens the revolution there."

Ten Years of the Comintern and the International Red Aid

Felix Kon

“NOT only in Russia, but in the most highly developed capitalist countries of Europe also, as Germany, for instance, civil war has become a fact.” In these words Lenin greeted the First Congress of the Communist International, and noting this fact, the initiator and organiser of the “International of open mass action, of the international revolutionary realisation of the task confronting the International, the International of deed,” said further :

“Let the bourgeoisie be ferocious, let them kill thousands of workers, yet the victory of the world Communist revolution is assured.”

The organiser of the staff of the world revolution, Lenin, warned us that “the struggle demands sacrificial victims. That was clear to all who participated in the Congress. “Civil war,” as the representative of Germany, comrade Albert (Eberlein) said in the same Congress, “will be carried on with a ruthlessness which world history has never yet known.”

The time interval between the First Congress and the Fourth Congress, at which was passed the resolution approving the foundation of the International Red Aid, completely confirmed this diagnosis. The first skirmishes in that civil war in the West, at the end of 1918 and the beginning of 1919, had been heralded in Germany by the shooting down of workers with machine guns and artillery, the murder of Rosa Luxemburg and Karl Liebknecht, and in other countries—Hungary, Finland, Poland—by bloody executions of workers; and these features had become everyday incidents. But later, when the first pressure of the proletarian masses had failed to give immediate results, throughout all countries there began, not only the execution of leaders and the shooting of the masses who had gone on the streets, but a systematic exploi-

tation of those methods with which the Russian autocracy, and later the Provisional Government of the February revolution, had unsuccessfully attempted to save itself. Tortures, summary courts-martial, penal servitude, became a common, normal phenomenon in the life of the toiling masses who continued under the yoke of capital. Thousands of families were deprived of their breadwinners and condemned to hungry death. In some places, as in Germany and Poland, organisations of assistance similar to the political Red Cross organisations which existed in Russia under Tsarism developed under different local names. Even if one ignores the miserable assistance they were in a position to afford the prisoners of capitalism and their families, these organisations did not and could not fulfil the chief function necessary during the period of intensified civil war. The prisoners of capitalism were proletarian fighters snatched out of the proletarian ranks, knowing what they were in for and knowing that they had been taken prisoner in the struggle for the emancipation of the working class. For them material aid played a certain role, but in order to render it acceptable they needed to know that this was no gift flung to them out of the bounty of those in whose overthrow they saw the salvation of the working class. They needed to know that this was the fraternal aid of companions in the struggle, proletarians who clearly realised that this was not philanthropy, not alms, but the demonstration of proletarian solidarity, one of the forms of participation in the struggle for proletarian victory. But no matter how important was the material support rendered to the proletarian fighters wasting away in the prisons of capitalism, it was only of secondary importance to them. The proletarians are not indulged by the capitalist system. They are experienced in poverty, in a half-starving existence, owing to the capitalists' continual ex-

traction of the last drop of blood from them. The material aspect had no terrors for the revolutionary in prison, nor had the inquisitorial methods and the penal regime which the bourgeoisie apply to their class enemy.

The "justice" meted out to the Paris Commune, to the Spartacus League, to the Finnish revolutionaries and the Hungarian proletariat have left no doubt in the revolutionaries' minds as to what awaits them from the moment that they get into prison. They have been previously prepared for all that. That holds no terrors for them. What is terrible is that the prisoners receive no news of the course of the struggle from outside. The revolutionary can find moral support only in the consciousness that the struggle is going on. Then his strength is increased by the hope that the time will come when the gates of the prison which the bourgeoisie have clanged to behind him will be opened by the victorious proletariat, and he will once again be united with his brothers by class and struggle, that he, the prisoner, will again be transformed into an active fighter.

These detailed functions were beyond the ability of the organisations of purely local character, and they were unable to play one other most important role. After the October revolution, the civil war which raged in various countries broke down, if not in fact then in thought, the barriers between the working class of the various countries. The fate of the proletarian struggles in one country was reflected incomparably more directly than formerly on the fate of the proletariat of other countries. To win the attention of the proletariat of the whole world, no matter where the proletarian struggle was being waged, to achieve a condition in which that struggle, the struggle of the entire proletariat, penetrated deeply into the consciousness of the toiling masses, to ensure that these masses, recognising the community of that struggle, should tighten the bonds of international solidarity and should demonstrate that solidarity in action, was one of the most important tasks which had to be achieved during the period of the civil war.

It was quite natural that the idea of such an organisation should have birth in that environment which for dozens of years had

carried on underground struggle, which had experienced the regime of torture and penal servitude and had again rejoined the ranks of the fighters. It was quite natural that it should have been the Society of Old Bolsheviks who came forward at the Fourth Congress of the Comintern, on September 30th, 1922, with the proposal for an "International organisation of aid to fighters in the revolution." The resolution adopted by the Congress on this question read :

"In connection with the attack of capital, the number of Communists and non-party workers who have entered the struggle with the capitalist system is increasing in all the bourgeois countries. The Fourth Congress calls on all the Communist Parties to assist in the creation of organisations having as their aim the material and moral aid of those in prison as the prisoners of capitalism, and welcomes the initiative of the Society of Old Bolsheviks who are endeavouring to create an international federation of such organisations."

The summons of the staff of the revolution found a wide response in all countries as soon as the International Red Aid was formed as an organisation.

On December 22nd of the same year the tasks of the International Red Aid were clearly formulated in the constitution which was approved by the Central Bureau. In the main these tasks amounted to the provision of "material, moral and political aid to the fighters of the revolution, the victims of the class struggle in all countries of the world, by the stimulation and development of active forms of the international solidarity of the toiling masses."

We shall not pause to review the history of the International Red Aid, or to show how one country after the other responded to the call of the Fourth Congress, or how the work went on feverishly in all sections of the globe. The progress of past six years is indicated by the fact that parallel with the development of the organisation of the International Red Aid the hatred of the bourgeoisie towards the organisation has grown and developed. In many countries boasting of their democracy, repressions have been let loose on the International Red

Aid organisations and many active workers of the organisation have swiftly found themselves behind the bars.

The bourgeois world, which hides from the masses the methods of struggle against the proletarian fighters out of fear of evoking the indignation of the masses, has endeavoured and still at all costs endeavours to render innocuous the organisation which betrays aloud its bloody measures, and does its utmost to prevent their being carried out. In courts kept closely secret, the bourgeoisie deals with its class enemy without regard even to the laws which it has itself established. In the prisons it smashes, maddens and kills those whom for various reasons it is inconvenient to lead to the scaffold. And the bourgeoisie adopts every measure possible to ensure that the news of its bloodthirsty activities should not penetrate to the masses. The activity of the International Red Aid paralyses these plans, tears the masks from the faces of the executioners who pass themselves off as the most democratic of people, as politicians devoted to the worker masses, names them and pillories them. Not rarely, the sympathetic response of the mass of the whole world, evoked by the activity of the International Red Aid, has snatched the condemned from the bloody hands of the executioners. But even when this is not achieved, when the condemned, frequently without any justification, fall victims on the scaffold, the bourgeoisie begins to feel that the victory won by them on the bloody front is a Pyrrhic victory. And this is due in no small degree to the International Red Aid. One has but to recall the campaign over the Sacco and Vanzetti case to be convinced of this fact. There is not a country in the world where the working masses did not come on to the streets with the demand to release the deliberately, falsely condemned fighters for the workers' cause. That movement embraced the whole world, and drew in even non-proletarian elements. Sacco and Vanzetti were not saved. The American capitalists, over whose head the horny fist of the proletariat has not yet been raised, displayed a craven courage, and did not surrender to the will of millions of workers. Sacco and Vanzetti were done to death. But the knots of international proletarian solidarity were drawn tighter. The masses real-

ised that this murder was the answer of the capitalist world to the struggle of the proletariat for freedom. International solidarity is forged in action and in struggle. Union in struggle is the strongest basis for that solidarity. It is forged in dozens of battles, and the bourgeoisie has no means whereby to weaken it. By comparison with this achievement, by comparison with the fact that the proletariat of all countries is systematically and actively responding to the struggle of the proletarian masses, direct aid to the victims of capital plays a secondary role.

The significance of that aid is enormous. The letters which penetrate into the prisons, the parcels which the prisoners receive from outside, no matter how small they may be, witness to the fact that their brothers in class are solid with them, are always ready to assist them, are continuing their work. That gives them courage, increases their strength, keeps up their revolutionary spirit.

This is particularly noted in the resolution of the Fifth Congress of the Comintern, 8th June, 1924.

"The growth of international proletarian solidarity finds its best expression in the swift development and the success of the work of the International Red Aid to Fighters in the Revolution.

"The International Red Aid is a non-party organisation, and has as its task the juridical, moral and material aid to the imprisoned fighters of the revolution, their families and children, and also the families of fallen comrades. The I.R.A. unites around itself vast masses of workers, peasants and petty employees, without distinction of their party associations—it unites all those who suffer from the exploitation of capital and national oppression, who strive for the victory of labour over capital.

"By so doing, in the process of developing its work, the I.R.A., is becoming one of the most important methods of realising the tactics of the united front on the basis of definite manifestations of international solidarity, organising continually fresh forces, which are able to take direct part in the revolutionary struggle of the proletariat. In addition, emphasis has to be laid on the enormous political importance of the work of the I.R.A.,

the rear organisation of the fighting army of the proletariat, which is indispensable in the continual struggle, both at times of attack and at times of retreat. By surrounding the imprisoned fighters of the revolution with an atmosphere of comradely sympathy, the I.R.A. maintains their courage and readiness for further struggles."

In this resolution, the congress summarised the results of the activity of the I.R.A. during the preceding two years.

Subsequent events confronted the I.R.A. with new and still more complex tasks. A new, serious threat, which had long been pre-
saged by Lenin, hung over the world of capital. The colonies and semi-colonies stirred and began a struggle for their emancipation—Syria, Morocco, Arabia, India, Indonesia, and finally China, where dozens of millions raised the standard of the revolution.

European capital draws its strength not only from the industrial European countries, but in still more considerable degree from its colonial possessions. "By exploiting the population of the colonies," said the Second Congress of the Comintern, "European capitalism is able to proffer quite a number of bribes in compensation to the labour aristocracy in Europe," and so extend the life of its hegemony.

It was natural that the capitalists' method of dealing with the insurgent population of the colonies should be ruthless. The events which occurred in China have no parallel in history.

The International Red Aid was thus confronted with new tasks: with the tasks of giving active assistance to the Chinese revolutionaries and their families, of calling the toiling masses of Europe to the aid of China, of binding them in the bonds of solidarity with the insurgent colonies, of overcoming the prejudices instilled by the ruling classes, as the result of which the army of labour is divided into lower and higher races, in dependence on the colour of the skin.

Together with this task, the intensifying civil struggle both in Europe and in America, which led in a number of new countries, to the development of fascist organisations with the direct object of suppressing the workers' movement irrespective of consequences, rendered the activity of the I.R.A. more com-

plicated even in the imperialist countries. The methods of dealing with the revolutionary movement resorted to by Mussolini, Primo de Rivera, Pilsudsky, Horthy, the Ku-Klux-Klan and similar organisations insistently demanded increased activity on the part of the I.R.A.

The I.R.A. tackled all these tasks as far as its strength allowed, but the continually intensifying struggle demands fresh forces, demands that the millions of I.R.A. members should be multiplied tenfold. With this in mind, the Sixth Congress of the Comintern adopted the following resolution:

"The sharpening of the class antagonisms in the capitalist countries and the struggle of the peoples of the colonial countries against their oppressors and exploiters is effecting an intensification of the white terror and fascism, an increase of repressive measures on the part of class 'justice' and increased persecution of the exploited classes and oppressed peoples. The Sixth World Congress of the Communist International therefore decides:

"1. The course of events in the last few years has fully confirmed the correctness of the decisions of the Fourth and Fifth World Congresses of the C.I. on the International Red Aid as an independent auxiliary organisation standing outside of parties, and on the necessity of the Communist parties supporting the I.R.A.

"2. As the I.R.A. is an organisation outside of parties which, on the one hand, gives support to all victims of the revolutionary struggle and, on the other hand, accepts members regardless of what party to which they may belong, the I.R.A. is one of the most important instruments for carrying out the tactics of the united front.

"The Communist Parties, therefore, are interested in the activity of the I.R.A. more than other parties and must constantly support the latter in its work, both by participating in all campaigns of the I.R.A., particularly in its campaigns for amnesty and for the right of asylum, and by providing a special place in their journals for the I.R.A.

"3. As one of the most important tasks of the I.R.A. at the present time is the fight against fascism, the Parties must support with all their energies the I.R.A. and the W.I.R. in this their activity. One of the

most important tasks of the sections of the I.R.A., and especially of its section in the United States, is the fight against the Ku-Klux-Klan (a fascist organisation in the United States) and the barbarous lynch justice exercised towards the negroes. It will be possible to conduct this fight successfully to the end only when the million masses of the white workers are mobilised to take part in it.

"A particularly important task of all sections of the I.R.A., is the fight against the white terror in China, a terror which is now being employed also by the Kuomintang.

"4. The growth of the revolutionary movement in the colonial and semi-colonial countries increases enormously the persecution of the workers in these countries. The Communist Parties of the imperialist countries must support the sections of the I.R.A. on the occasion of their formation and organisation, in order that they shall be able to fulfil the great tasks falling to them in the colonies and semi-colonies of the country in question.

"5. All the above-mentioned tasks are closely interwoven with the fight of the workers for the right of asylum, a fight to which the Communist Parties have not up to the present devoted sufficient attention and to which, in the future, the Communist Parliamentary fractions in their activity, must pay special attention. The Communist Parties of the mother countries are further confronted with the special task of fighting against the foreign concessions in China.

"6. Capitalism is making use of prison sentences as a means for physically annihilating the captured revolutionaries. It is therefore, necessary to conduct in the masses, as well as by the Communist Party fractions, a constant fight against prison regime.

"7. As the realisation of all these tasks of the I.R.A. is closely bound up with the organising of campaigns, which can be successful only if they are carried out jointly with the various mass organisations, the Communists working in these mass organisations must see to it that these mass organisations of workers (trade unions, co-operatives, Workers' International Relief, League of Freethinkers, International Ex-Servicemen's League, League Against Imperialism, workers' sport organisations, etc.), form a working unity in order to co-ordinate the campaigns.

"8. The Communists who are active in the sections of the I.R.A., must strive to win the broadest masses in the towns and in the rural districts for the I.R.A. Of special importance is the recruiting of social-democratic and trade union organised workers and the broad masses of the working women."

The road which the I.R.A. is following is being broadened. In the form of the I.R.A., the auxiliary rear army is accomplishing a great task and is strengthening the front. On the tenth anniversary of the Comintern that front is stronger and more dependable than ever before.

The Bankers' Conference at Paris

THE work of the bankers' conference at Paris is shrouded in mystery. The bourgeois press is exercising all its ingenuity in its guesses, passing on to the world rumours of the first checks to the consideration of the reparations problem. But one doubts whether any of the European politicians seriously expects fresh discoveries about the reparations problem from the "independent experts." In particular the German bourgeois press has adopted a highly sceptical attitude.

The importance of the reparations conference consists in the general role which it has to play in the developing struggle among the foremost imperialist governments. Undoubtedly the Paris conference is an essential landmark in the development of imperialist rivalry, and from this aspect it unquestionably deserves the greatest attention. It is worth while remembering that the negotiations over reparations are by no means an isolated affair, but are closely connected with the relationships between the participants in the negotiations and with other debated questions of international policy and economy.

As we know, the final decision to enter upon reparations negotiations was taken during the last session of the League of Nations at Lugano. At that session Germany insisted on the reparations problem being isolated and considered independently of the Rhine problem, and at the first possible moment. The Entente made a formal concession and agreed to the establishment of a separate commission of independent experts for regulation of the reparations issues. But in reality the reparations discussions are closely connected with, and will have immediate influence on, the decision of a number of other problems.

In the first place, the question of the evacuation of the Rhine and further control over the German demilitarised zone is bound up with the reparations problem. Also, despite the formal inflexibility of the United States, there is no doubt whatever that the nature of the decision come to on the reparations questions will have influence on the further regulation of the problem of inter-Allied debts, or to be more

exact, on the cancellation of the European indebtedness to the United States.

EVACUATION AND DEBTS

The Rhine problem and the nature of the decision come to on that problem provides a measure of the correlation of forces among the foremost European States. The question of inter-Allied debts in its turn indicates the correlation of forces as between the United States and the Franco-British bloc. The circumstance that the work of the reparations conference and its probable decisions will have special importance for the negotiations over the Rhine problem and the inter-Allied debts was, by the way, emphasised strongly by the leader of French social-democracy, Leon Blum. In a series of articles published in the European press Leon Blum underlined the opinion that the summoning and the success of the conference are of equal importance to France and to Germany; to France, because without the regulation of the reparations problem it is impossible to settle the problem of indebtedness to the United States; to Germany, because only after a final fixation of the extent of the reparations payments and the nature of their settlement is it possible for the issue of the evacuation of the Rhine to be raised seriously. The economic organ of the French bourgeoisie, "L'Information," completely agrees with Leon Blum's view, and praises his sagacity and sound understanding of the essence of the matter.

The "socialist" Leon Blum undoubtedly correctly interpreted the attitude both of his own national bourgeoisie and of the leading circles of the German bourgeoisie. None the less, one other factor enters into the settlement of the reparations problem, and that factor is, of course, the decisive one. We refer to American finance capital. The bankers of the United States approach the question of reparations payments from quite a different angle to that of European politicians. It has to be recognised that of all the participants in the reparations conference, the Americans, as the true

masters of the situation have obviously the most definite and most "businesslike intentions." But before we touch upon this side of the matter we have to add a few words concerning the tasks of the reparations conference.

DAWES PLAN PROBLEMS

We do not intend to survey the arrangements made by the Dawes Plan or the essential nature of the reparations problem. We need only mention the problems bound up with the functioning of the Dawes Plan, which, to a more or less extent, have to be considered by the commission of experts. Among these are: the total sum of reparations payments; the final fixation of the extent of the annual payments; the period within which Germany's reparations indebtedness has to be liquidated; the transfer question, *i.e.*, that of the guarantees involved in the transfer of reparations payments into foreign currency; the prosperity index, *i.e.*, the action of the mechanism set up by the Dawes Plan and directed to the enlargement of the German payments in the event of a special improvement in the general condition of German national economy. Finally, the reparations conference has to consider the notorious question of the commercialisation of the reparations debt, *i.e.*, the translation of the German State debt into private legal obligations and the distribution of part of these obligations over the international money market.

Both before the conference and during its sessions Germany has maintained the view that all the above specified problems have to be settled exclusively on the basis of an analysis of Germany's ability to pay and with due regard to the interests of the normal development of German economy. The first few days of the work of the commission would give the impression that the commission had in fact decided to take the line desired by Germany. Apparently the German representatives presented detailed reports on Germany's financial position, the state of her national economy and foreign trade. However, as soon as this stage of the conference's work was passed, certain serious difficulties arose which evoked great disquiet in Germany. It transpires that the analysis of German economy did not set up an

objective basis for the working out of decisions on the reparations problem. This was only to be expected, for, as we know, Germany's creditors have quite definite demands, and by no means accept the view that the condition of Germany's national economy demands serious reconsideration of the Dawes Plan and the payments fixed by that Plan. Consequently the reparations conference immediately found itself at a deadlock.

THE DEMANDS ON GERMANY

What are the desires of Germany's creditors? The European press has contained very definite statements concerning the demands which each country has placed before the conference. It is only natural that the "independent experts" should be the mouthpieces for the opinions held by the real arbiters of the destinies of the respective countries; they are the stewards of finance capital to the same extent as are the governments ruling the various countries.

France demands of Germany the payment of a sum which will cover her indebtedness to the United States and her expenditures on compensation for losses caused by war activities. Britain, in accordance with the Balfour Note, desires that the payments of her debtors should cover her own indebtedness to the United States. Italy takes up approximately the same position. Belgium demands the payment of the sums previously assigned to her, and also payments to cover the losses due to currency put into circulation by Germany during the occupation of Belgium. In addition, all these States insist on the maintenance of their present proportion of receipts from the German payments, whilst Italy further demands an increase in her proportion. As we know, of the total sum of reparations France receives 52 per cent., Britain 22 per cent., Italy 10 per cent., Belgium 8 per cent. Judging by press statements and Mussolini's declaration published on February 4th, Italy would like to see her share doubled, for it is now certain that Italy cannot hope to receive anything from Austria and Hungary.

NO PROSPECT OF SETTLEMENT

We have specially stopped to consider the claims of the various creditors, for their con-

sideration shows clearly that their attitude opens up no prospects of a real amelioration of the reparations burdens lying first and foremost on the German working class. "A final and complete settlement of the reparations problem," as the instruction to the commission of experts formulates it, is impossible of realisation in the present circumstances. It is impossible of realisation because there is no proposal whatever for a serious reduction in reparations payments, whilst the proposal for Germany's systematic payment of these sums is in the last resort altogether unreal. As is well known, Germany has hitherto met its obligations on the Dawes Plan out of sums received in the form of foreign loans. On the other hand, there are various estimates in existence, including one by comrade E. Varga, which show clearly that the payment of reparations out of Germany's active balance is impossible. To enable this to be done such an increase in Germany's export would be necessitated, such an intensive elimination of Germany's competition from the world market, that it would come into conflict with objective obstacles, and with the merciless opposition of Germany's creditors, Britain and France, in the first place.

Thus it can be dogmatically stated that the reparations conference will open out no real prospects of a genuine solution of one of the contradictions gnawing at post-war capitalism. At the same time the conference cannot, of course, hold out any prospect of an amelioration of the heavy burdens which the German bourgeoisie have transferred to the backs of their working class. According to the Dawes Plan the basic sources of reparations payments predetermine a heavy burden of taxation on the working class and petty-bourgeoisie. Of the $2\frac{1}{2}$ milliard marks fixed for annual payment, 1,250 millions have to be paid out of the budget, *i.e.*, are covered by excise and indirect taxation, 660 million marks are derived from railway bonds, *i.e.*, in particular from increased fares, 290 million marks have to come out of taxation on turnover. If to this be added the supplementary burdens which fall on the working class as the result of Hilferding's new budget, owing to his seeking ways and means of covering the State deficit, one obtains a clear picture of the monstrous ex-

ploitation of the German workers which is going on; an exploitation which can only be intensified as the result of the work of the present reparations commission. For the cunning financial combinations which undoubtedly will form the essence of the negotiations between the bankers at Paris will have as their prerequisite the further extraction of profit from the German working class.

MORGAN'S PLANS

The plans for these financial speculations are locked up in the portfolios of John Pierpont Morgan. His participation in the commission of experts was hailed by the world press as the transference of the settlement of the reparations problems to the competence of the banking house of "Morgan and Co." Morgan had already interested himself in these problems in 1922, when he turned down the idea of an international loan to Germany previously to the regulation of the reparations problem.

It is possible that this time Morgan may prove more amiable. In any case, the French bourgeois press is doing everything possible in order to win Morgan over. The French scribblers are interesting themselves not only in the "generous personality" of the American usurer who subsidised the imperialist slaughter, but even in his no less estimable wife. Thus, for instance, "L'Intransigeant" recalls that Mme. Anna Morgan established a fund for assistance to the French war victims, and altogether is distinguished by the "fine activity which is her family's virtue." In a word, the "holy family" of Morgan is to save Europe.

A certain amount of information exists as to the plans of the American bankers. Articles published in the middle of January in the journal of the American great bourgeoisie, the "New York Times," are worthy of attention. From these articles it is clear that the American bankers regard the reparations conference purely as an opportunity for effecting large-scale financial speculation. Not for nothing did Morgan's, the oldest established banker's house in America, hasten to get their hand in on the affair, lest the younger American banking houses, Dillon, Reed and others, which

have invested their capital in Europe since the war, should seize the opportunity. The basis for this proposed American speculation has to be the proposal to commercialise Germany's reparations obligations. According to the "New York Times," the question of commercialisation has already been considered by the chief banks of the world. Morgan is disposed to take 300 million dollars as his share. According to another proposal bonds to the value of one milliard dollars are to be placed on the world market; of this sum 40 per cent. is proposed to be placed in the United States, 40 per cent. in France, and the remainder in the rest of Europe. From these figures one can see that the notorious proposal for the commercialisation of the reparations payments is in essence by no means bound up with the regulation of the reparations problem. It is a financial speculation which corresponds to the interests of several countries. France would appear to receive an advance on account of her forthcoming immediate payments to the United States, Germany will bargain for compensation in exchange for her agreement to commercialisation, and the New York, Berlin, London and Paris bankers will have done a good day's work for themselves.

BANKERS AND BONDS

None the less, it has to be remarked that the commercialisation proposal has also an essential principle inherent in it. That principle was noted very precisely by the head of Barclay's Bank, Goodenough, who declared himself in favour of some reduction of the reparations payments and of their commercialisation, as the accumulation of State debt obligations was interfering with international circulation. This idea was warmly supported by the "New York Times." There can be no talk of a real commercialisation of all reparations payments. In the first place, this is impossible of realisation because it is impossible to place such a large sum on the international, and in particular on the American, money market. Secondly, it is doubtful whether Germany would agree to such an operation, for it would lead to such a saturation of the international market with German reparation bonds that cardinal difficulties in the way of placing

any other form of German loans would arise. None the less, the idea of commercialisation has this essential advantage, as the London banker noted. The commercialisation of reparations obligations would clear the road for further competition between the finance capital of the United States, Britain and other countries. Consequently, among the other proposals is put forward the suggestion of separating the reparations debt into two parts: a political part, not to be commercialised and to remain a German State debt, and a "non-political" part, to be transformed into private legal obligations. The putting into effect of such a proposal would, *inter alia*, render more easy a decision on the disputed issue of the total sum to be constituted the extent of reparations German payments. The position at present is that the Dawes Plan would appear to have left in force the legendary figure of 132 milliard marks fixed in London in May, 1921. Meantime from the formal aspect the method of amortisation of the railway bonds permits of the conclusion that the Dawes Plan presupposes a considerable smaller total sum of reparations payments, and payments to be completed in 37 years instead of the 62 years desired by the Entente in correspondence with the periods assigned for payment of the inter-Allied debts.

THE POSITION OF THE GERMAN WORKERS

Whether this be the case or not, the realisation of these or any other proposals considered at Paris will not change, and in any event will not reduce the rate of exploitation of the German proletariat. Moreover, the German bourgeoisie is already preparing to ensure that in the event of the establishment of any relief in the reparations sphere it should in no way result in an amelioration of the burden imposed on the working class. The German press has published a number of articles pointing out the forthcoming crisis in Germany. These articles have as their object not only the strengthening of the German demands for a reduction in reparations payments, but also undoubtedly that of simultaneously establishing a favourable situation for a further attack on the working class. The corresponding proposals and attitude of the German bourgeoisie, and of industrial capital in particular, are excellently

illustrated by a programme article published long before the opening of the reparations conference in the organ of German heavy industry, "Bergwerk-Zeitung." In the number for December 11th last there was published a leading article in which the programme of German demands on the commission of experts was expounded, whilst at the same time the menace of an economic crisis in Germany was emphasised. The article closed with the following very remarkable declaration: "Germany cannot in any event of its own initiative carry through any measures which might place in jeopardy the fulfilment of reparations obligations on the basis of a presumed revised Dawes Plan." Further, through their newspaper the industrial magnates of Germany point out that there can be no talk of a maintenance of the intensified taxation of industry, together with a reduction in the extent of reparations payments. At the same time, the newspaper emphasises that it "is necessary to render it impossible that there should be any raising of the cost price of German industry by any method whatever on the basis of references to the reductions of Dawes payments." In other words, the German industrialists are demanding that in the event of a reduction in reparations payments, and in general of the establishment of any relief in this sphere, there should first be a reduction in the taxation burdens lying on the *entrepreneurs*, and that in no event should there be an increase in wages or a shortening of the working day.

The picture is clear and complete. The conference of bankers and certain representatives of the heavy industry of the United States, France, Britain, Italy, Japan, Germany and Belgium now taking place in Paris has as its economic significance the introduction of definite financial combinations, as the result of which the severity of the economic antagonisms will be by no means ameliorated, whilst the economic exploitation of the working class will be intensified.

A BASIS FOR POLITICAL BARGAINING

When analysing the results of the decisions adopted in Lugano, we pointed out that the isolation of the Rhineland problem had its own specific significance. It is

easier to confront Germany with the necessity of once more seriously considering the question of her active participation in the imperialists' anti-Soviet bloc during an independent consideration of this question. The result of the conference of experts will be of no small importance to the direction of the further political negotiations between Germany and the Entente. It was not for nothing that the same organ of German heavy industry, "Bergwerk Zeitung," put forward an open proposal for Germany to break with the U.S.S.R. and to attach herself to the Franco-British bloc even after the beginning of the work of the commission. By making such promises, which might be realised, of course, after the close of the reparations conference and during the course of the negotiations over the Rhineland, the German industrial capitalists hope to obtain important concessions on the reparations problems. Germany offers participation in the anti-Soviet bloc, and at the same time, by adhering to the Entente, she offers also co-operation in the struggle between the Franco-British bloc and the United States.

Judging by the course of the reparations negotiations the transaction proposed by German heavy industry is hardly likely to be realised. The American financiers will not agree to pay Germany in order to enable her to take part in the struggle against the expansion of American capital. But, provided they are not temporarily interrupted, the actual consummation of the reparations negotiations will serve as a starting-point for a further political bargaining between Germany and the Entente. In this sense the reparations conference is an essential stage to the further preparation of fresh war cataclysms.

The present conference of the staff of world finance capital cannot effect any essential alterations in the antagonisms of post-war capitalism. On the contrary, it may have as a consequence only the further development of conflicts among the imperialists, a deepening of the antagonism between the working class and the bourgeoisie, an intensification of the class struggle, and an extension of those processes which are shaking the edifice of capitalism to its very foundations.

Ten Years' Fighting Experiences of the Communist Party of Germany

W. Ulbricht

LIKE the Comintern, the C.P. of Germany, one of its strongest sections, is now reviewing ten years' experience. Ten years of struggle under the leadership of the International, ten years employment of the principles and tactics of Leninism have made our Party a revolutionary mass Party.

The foundation of the C.P.G. on 30th December, 1918, was the most important result of the previous history of the German working-class movement. The break with social-democracy was completed. That laid the foundation stone of a revolutionary mass Party which, by its principles and revolutionary tactics, developed the capacity of leading the masses in the struggle for the proletarian dictatorship.

The foundation of the Communist Party occurred comparatively late; although, even in the pre-war period social-democracy, because of its unequal social composition and strong petty-bourgeois influence and its incapacity of leading the working masses in the struggle for the overthrow of capitalism, contained an opposition which at times appeared definitely as a fraction. When the petty-bourgeois elements got the upper hand, as in the triumph of revisionism and the policy of 4th August, 1914, the weakness of the left-wing became particularly apparent in its inability to realise at the correct time the necessity for organising an independent fraction and for a split in the S.D.P. When, at the end of 1914, Lenin received the first report on the situation in Germany, his first question was whether the organisational break with Menshevism and the split in the Party would now take place. But it was only years later, after the treachery of the S.D.P. and United Socialist Party, that the Spartakus group constituted itself an independent party.

THE STRUGGLE AGAINST DEFEATISM

Reflecting development in the Communist International as a whole, our Party, too, had

to combat two deviations, firstly, against the policy of capitulation to the social-democracy, and, secondly, against the isolation of the Communist Party from the masses, against a sectarian policy. The fight against these deviations, against both dangers, had greater or less importance according to the objective conditions and the experience of the Party. The deviations were due to the changing social conditions and the varying experiences of the workers. The development of a labour aristocracy, the differentiation in the working class following differentiation in labour conditions, the enrolment of petty-bourgeois sections in the class struggle, the flight from the land, and the constant pressure of a bourgeois ideology on the reformists, necessarily affected the Communist Party. At turning points in the class struggle these causes have their effect in practical groupings, which try to direct the policy of the Party along petty-bourgeois lines. All these tendencies were characterised by a policy of defeatism. In 1921 Levi and Co. condemned the heroic struggle of the Central German workers. They wanted the Communist Party and the workers to go down on their knees to Hörsing and Co. and the S.D.P. In 1923 the Party centre, under Brandler and Radek, decided to give up the struggle because the social-democrats had shown themselves hostile to it. In 1925-26 the Ruth Fischer centre carried out a policy leading to isolation from the masses, because they had lost all faith in the workers' will to fight, and were permeated with the most profound pessimism, overcome by the difficulties of rallying the masses. In 1928-29 the right-wingers drew practical conclusions from their opportunist ideas by supporting reformism in the Ruhr struggle, by fighting on the other side of the barricades. The common feature of all these right deviations is the effort to build an alliance with reformism, thus surrendering Communist principles. While these right deviations are due principally to the

influence of the labour aristocracy and petty-bourgeois social-democrats, the ultra-left sectarian deviations is traceable to the "detarian deviation is traceable to the "depauperised middle classes, the uprooted intellectuals, etc. The ultra-left deviation, which in 1924 and 1925 gained a strong influence in the Party, resulted from the grave opportunist mistakes of 1923, and was objectively favoured by the temporary decline in the working-class movement, by the weakening of the workers' activity in the worst period of capitalist rationalisation. This deviation was clearly manifested in the rejection of the united front tactic, and in neglect of work in mass organisations, particularly the trade unions.

OUR PAST HISTORY

What are the chief experiences of the C.P.G.? In 1919 and 1920 the Party by widespread propaganda rallied the workers to the fight for proletarian dictatorship. This created the basis for the splitting of the United Socialist Party and the formation of the United Communist Party in 1920. The Communist Party became a mass Party, but its experiences and organisation did not yet enable it to lead the workers in struggle. Early in 1921 the Party used the methods suggested in the "Open Letter," and put forward definite fighting demands to the Trade Union Federation (A.D.G.B.) and the S.D.P. These methods were used to expose the reformist leaders and to lead the masses, even against the wishes of those leaders, on to struggle. These tactics were interrupted by the March action. By the military occupation of the Mansfeld district the bourgeoisie and their social-democratic assistants provoked the Central German workers. The Party answered with an appeal for an armed fight against the Hösing guards. Nearly 200,000 workers were in the fight. The Party immediately placed itself at the head of this action against the military suppression of the Mansfeld workers, but it was false to attempt to carry on this revolutionary defensive struggle as an offensive struggle, and to develop a "theory of the offensive" which contradicted the real facts. The Third World Congress of the Comintern helped our Party

to overcome these errors. Levi and Co., who wished to discredit the heroic struggle of the workers as a "putsch," were excluded. On this question Lenin said at the World Congress: "Anyone who opposes that fight must be excluded. The Congress gave the Party the slogan, 'To the masses!'"

The defeat of the Central German workers was followed by sectional struggles in other areas to maintain revolutionary gains. With the changing conditions, with the increasing strength of the capitalists and the temporary weakening of the workers' militant forces, the Party believed that it was possible to rally the workers with demands suited to the tactics of social-democracy. Many slogans from the acutely revolutionary period were used mechanically (*e.g.*, control of production), and put forward in an opportunist manner. They forgot that the slogan of "Control of production" had been put forward, in connection with the struggle of the political workers' councils, as a slogan of action. The later use of this slogan gave rise to the illusion that, with the help of other "councils" like the factory committees, and without the revolutionary overthrow of the bourgeoisie, control of production could be carried out. The same criticism applies to the use at that time of the slogan of price control. The opportunist nature of all these "transition slogans" is most clearly apparent in the demand that 51 per cent. of the value of commodities should be appropriated. The demand that 51 per cent. of commodity values should be the property of the State is really a denial of the Leninist theory of the State, and is essentially in agreement with the social-democratic demand for "economic control" and State economic undertakings. This policy led naturally enough to the defeatist policy of 1923.

In October, 1923, two different policies were visible, Saxon defeatism and Hamburg insurrection. Although the Hamburg workers may have fought without sufficient preparation and without sufficient contact with the masses, still they did try to carry out the revolutionary work of the Party and to execute its decisions as far as possible. In Saxony, on the other hand, where the workers were much more widely rallied, the Brandler leadership, in

deference to the attitude of their social-democratic "brothers," gave up the struggle. Actually, our Party's policy was determined, not by the Central Committee, but by the social-democratic leaders. The chief mistakes were that the Party made an incorrect estimation of the social-democrats, and particularly of the "left" social-democrats. The Party believed in the fighting capacity of the left leaders and made the carrying on of the struggle dependent upon an alliance with them. This alliance policy was connected with the attempt to "improve councils" in Western Europe. It had suddenly been discovered that in Germany factory councils could play the part of workers' political councils. In practice this means making the revolutionary class struggle a purely economic struggle, for factory councils are only able to conduct the workers' struggles in the factories, their economic struggles. In such conditions the Communists entered the Saxon government. This ministerial socialism is a classic example of the attempt to carry out working-class demands within the framework of bourgeois democracy. This "labour government" was nothing but a coalition government, existing through an alliance between leaders of the C.P. and the S.D.P.. It was therefore not difficult for the bourgeoisie to send the ministry to the devil and set up a regime of terror in Saxony. But even after such a lesson, Brandler, Radek and their friends failed to recognise their mistakes. They spoke of "Fascism's victory over the S.D.P.," and did not realise that both the S.D.P. and Fascism are the assistants of the bourgeoisie. After October, 1923, the S.D.P. was openly and obviously the third capitalist party. Whoever believes that the S.D.P. was defeated by Fascism is suffering from the illusion that social-democracy fought against Fascism. In reality the S.D.P. allied itself to Fascism to defeat the militant workers.

The Party leaders' great mistakes, which came to a head in October, 1923, resulted in a serious party crisis, during which the mass of members condemned the opportunist errors of the leaders. At the same time, partly in reaction from those opportunist mistakes, the ultra-lefts found a favourable opportunity. Work in the trade unions was neglected, many

Party members left the trade unions, the united front tactic was practically rejected by the Ruth Fischer centre, and reorganisation on the basis of factory groups sabotaged. This was accompanied by the absence of discussion among, and joint responsibility of, the Party membership. The profound pessimism of the leaders, their disbelief in the fighting capacity of the workers prevented any efforts being made to develop the initiative of the Party members and workers. It was only after the E.C.C.I.'s Open Letter in August, 1925, that the Party began, step by step, to regain its hold in factories, trade unions, and other mass organisations.

THE ESSEN CONGRESS

The Essen Party Congress of 1927 was devoted to consolidating the Party. The Trotskyist danger had been practically overcome, and, following the Congress decisions, the Party rallied firmly together all its revolutionary forces. The Essen Congress took place at a time when the activity of the workers was on the up-grade. The principal Congress discussions were devoted to the role of the Party in the struggle against reformism, and particularly against the "left" social-democrats. At the Congress the right-wing, under Böttcher's leadership, were opposed to this description of the "left" as the more serious danger in the working-class movement, and demanded that the Party put forward the slogan of control of production as a rallying cry. The right attack was continued throughout 1927 and 1928, gradually increasing the opportunist danger, the causes of which are an under-estimation of the changed situation expressed in increasing working-class activity and a growing strike movement. Moreover, the Party's judgment of the reformist policy as "inadequate" was false. Because the capitalists, at a time of prosperity, made some wage concessions, the rights believed that the reformists were really able to conduct the workers' struggles. This over-estimation of capitalist stabilisation and incorrect estimation of reformist policy was accompanied by an under-estimation of the workers' will to fight. The right completely ignored all changes in the S.D.P. and the trade unions, and failed to recognise the qualitative change in the role

of social-democracy. Since the war social-democracy and trade unions have gradually become a part of the capitalist State power. In their fight against social-democracy, and particularly in the employment of the united front tactic, the workers have gained great experience. It was necessary therefore to develop the use of that tactic in accordance with the workers' development. The workers should have been led by the Communist Party to fight the opposition of the reformist leaders and trade union bureaucrats. The changed position of reformism made it almost impossible to do anything with the workers, within the trade union organisation, against the leaders' wishes. In most cases where the workers had decided upon a militant policy, the bureaucracy set the union machine going to put obstacles in the way of its execution. This abolition of democracy within the unions on all important occasions required the employment of the united front tactic as a means of rallying and organising the workers, under the leadership of the C.P. and the revolutionary trade union opposition, to oppose the resistance of the social-democratic leaders. Any other policy would awaken illusions as to the militancy of the reformist leaders and the dependence of the C.I. on their manoeuvres. Following the decision of the Essen Congress the Party carried out the correct policy, although opposed by the right-wing and the conciliators. The Ruhr struggle showed that it was correct to do so. When this policy was decided upon the real extent of the right danger became apparent. With the intensification of the class struggle the fractional struggle of the right against the policy of the Party and the Comintern also intensified, while the leaders of the conciliation group drew closer to the right. In connection with the Ruhr struggle, in which the Party for the first time employed the policy decided upon by the Sixth World Congress of the C.I. and the Fourth R.I.L.U. Congress in a correct fashion, the leaders of the right fraction were excluded from the Party, for they had shown by their conduct during that struggle that they were allies of reformism. The platform of the conciliators, brought out at the same time, was based on opposition to the Sixth World Congress decision.

"CLASS AGAINST CLASS"

The present position and tasks of the Party are summed up in the slogan "Class against class." If we compare the present situation with that of ten years ago, we can observe the following. At that time, the different capitalist groups were out to save whatever could be saved. To-day there is concentration of capitalist forces under the leadership of finance capital. In spite of their differences, trust capital, bank capital, manufacturing industry and large scale agriculture present a united front to the workers. In organisation, too, this development is apparent in the centralisation of employers' bodies under the leadership of the National Union of Industry.

In the working-class movement ten years ago three parties were fighting for the leadership of the masses—S.D.P., U.S.P., and C.P.G. At that time the C.P. was relatively weak, the mass of workers being organised in the other two parties. In the ten years since then, the process of clarification has gone so far in the working class movement that the C.P. is now a revolutionary mass Party, while the S.D.P. has become an "indispensable part of the capitalist State."

This is expressed by the composition of the hostile forces in present class struggles in Germany. On the one side trust capital, reformism and State power, on the other side, the class conscious workers led by the Communist Party. Many workers, members of or sympathetic to the S.D.P. are nowadays hostile to the social-democratic policy on defence, arbitration and unemployment, but they have not made the break and come over into the proletarian class front. The Party's task is not only to expose by general agitation the bourgeois, reactionary character of social-democracy, but to lead the workers in the struggle. In the struggle for immediate demands, the Party will succeed in bringing about that organisational break, and the proletarian class front will be extended and reinforced. The importance of such bodies as councils of action, strike committees, factory committees lies in their power to mobilise and organise all workers, organised and unorganised, Communists, non-Party, social-democrats, etc.

The main political questions are: (1) the fight against imperialist war and for the revolutionary defence of the Soviet Union. (2) The fight for the 8 or 7-hour day and wage increases, and against the arbitration system. (3) The fight for the unemployed demands, against the bourgeois social-democratic fiscal system and the political suppression of the working class. (4) The fight against trust capital, the coalition policy, and for the proletarian dictatorship.

REFORMIST DEMOCRACY

The organisation of the masses for these demands requires better Communist work in the workers' mass organisations and among the unorganised. Wherever the Party succeeds in rallying the organised and unorganised workers to oppose together the trade union bureaucracy, the terrorism of the reformist leaders will be intensified. In times of acute class struggle, the bourgeoisie and reformists use both democratic and fascist methods to suppress the workers, and the same is true in the trade unions, sports organisations, etc. The methods of Zörgiebel, Grzesnisky and company are being used to an increasing extent in the workers' organisations. The reformist leaders of the metal workers' union are threatening to exclude hundreds and thousands of revolutionary workers. This threat indicates the great fear and anger of the coalition politicians who are no longer able, by any other than police methods, to ensure trade union support for the coalition policy of the S.D.P. The Communist Party will answer these attacks by intensifying the struggle to form a united proletarian class front. It is no longer sufficient for the Communists alone to fight reformism in the trade unions and factories, it is necessary to organise and train the opposition in the trade unions.

In all the rank and file trade union organisations, the members of the opposition must be summoned regularly to meetings and lectures, by comrades in the Communist fraction. It is particularly necessary to call a meeting at least once a month, of all workers in a factory, whether organised or unorganised, who favour the trade union opposition. By drawing them into work on the factory paper, to take up "workers' correspondence," and to

help in the distribution of literature, the strength of the Party in the factory will be increased. By these methods it will be possible to make many workers members of the I.C.W.P.A., the Red Front League, etc., and even members of the Communist Party. Systematic work among sympathetic workers and the organisation of a trade union opposition are among the most essential preliminaries to independent fights, to the abolition of trade union "legalism," and to active resistance to the reformists' splitting policy. To the extent that the Party succeeds in making the factory group the real fighter for the Party's political policy, and in influencing and obtaining the help of sympathisers, it will also be able to use the united front tactic with success in the work of rallying and organising the masses.

The Ruhr struggle and the preparation for the factory committee elections in Germany show that many Party members do not understand these tasks and are offering a passive resistance to them. Objective self-criticism will expose and do away with this. The new elections must bring new blood into the leading Party bodies, from the groups to the Central Committee. Party members who have distinguished themselves in the most recent struggles should be elected to Party committees. Perhaps many of them will make mistakes at first, get into the run of things slowly, or lack technical experience. That is not of great importance. The important thing to be considered is the political tendency, the revolutionary activity of comrades. The great political tasks which the Party must fulfil require a fundamental examination of the fighting capacity of the Party machine and a thorough examination of the experiences of the Party.

All the many-sided practical work should and must be unified by one idea: the necessity of preparing for the decisive revolutionary struggle which is drawing nearer and nearer. With this object in view the Party is keeping in close and sensitive contact with the workers, the Party is trying to lead every mass movement, is filling the proletariat with the consciousness of the great tasks confronting them, is ruthlessly fighting all petty bourgeois irresolution in its ranks, is steeling its members with iron discipline.

In the fire of struggle the C.P.G. became a revolutionary mass party. Our Party's leadership in the most recent industrial disputes, in the fight for the demands of the unemployed and against the imperialist war policy of the capitalist social-democratic bloc shows that the Party, guided by the Communist International, has drawn the correct lessons from international and German experi-

ence, and that it is developing a powerful section of the revolutionary army capable of leading the German working class in the fight for proletarian dictatorship. Under the leadership of the Comintern, the Communist Party of Germany is carrying on the struggle for revolutionary support of the Soviet Union, for the world dictatorship of the proletariat.

The Third International and the French Working Class Movement in the Last Ten Years

Pierre Semard

WHEN the Third International was founded in March, 1919, eighteen months after the seizure of power by the workers of Russia led by the Bolshevik Party, there existed in France neither a Communist Party nor any organised body holding Bolshevik principles.

After the first constituent Congress of the C.I., the United Socialist Party, at its Paris Congress in April, passed a resolution declaring its "conditional" adherence to the Second International. But since 1914 there had existed within the French working class movement, both in the Socialist Party and the trade unions, a current of opinion, very weak at first, but stronger and more conscious as the war continued, in favour of the formation of a new international, really proletarian and revolutionary.

Lenin's words in 1914, proclaiming the bankruptcy of the Second International and the necessity of creating a Third International, faithful to the principles of the first founded by Marx, had been heard. From the beginning of the war, a certain number of militant socialists and revolutionary trade unionists, isolated or in small groups (such as the "Vie Ouvrière") had courageously taken a stand against social-patriotism and had tried, in a more or less confused fashion to find a way towards a new International.

This movement must not be mixed up with the minority socialist opposition of Mayeras and Longuet, which began to appear in the national conferences and congresses of the Socialist Party from May, 1915, and which never went further than a demand for a more "democratic" management of the war and for the opening of negotiations for a "just" peace, without "conquerors or conquered." In France

opposition to the imperialist war was always more pacifist and sentimental than proletarian and revolutionary.

In September, 1915, the Metal Workers' Federation and the minority of the General Confederation of Trade Unions sent two militant delegates to the Zimmerwald conference, Merheim and Bouderon, the latter a member of the 12th Section of the Socialist Party. They opposed Lenin's proposals which demanded energetic action among the working masses and in the army, and the organisation of the workers and soldiers in preparation for any events which might allow the imperialist war to be changed into a civil war. Merheim, who was later to submit absolutely to Clemenceau, spoke against the proposals, declaring in favour of agitation against the war, and for an immediate and unconditional peace.

In April, 1916, the Kienthal Conference, arranged at Zimmerwald, took place. The deputies Brizon, Blanc and Raffin-Dugens attended on their own account, against the will of the Socialist Party, which was at that time practising the "sacred union" with the bourgeoisie for war to the end. Their attitude was that of good pacifists, determined to fight against the war by all legal means and, like the militant trade unionists Bouderon and Merheim, they proposed to carry on parliamentary opposition to the war and agitation for an immediate peace, without conquerors or conquered.

Brizon, who opposed Lenin's resolutions, said that it was easy enough for Lenin, who lived in Switzerland, to preach the revolution as the only way of stopping the war, but that he would very much like to see what Lenin would say if he were in Russia. Less than two years afterwards, events themselves

were to give Brizon and his friends their answer.

These two international conferences, despite the revolutionary weakness of the French participants, found strong support among the masses. In the trade union movement, the opposition grouped around Merheim contributed greatly to an increase in the strength of the minority movement within the old trade union federation (the C.G.T.). Parliamentary opposition, the refusal to vote for war credits by the "three pilgrims from Kienthal," also helped to create within the Socialist Party an opposition which was to develop into the "Committee for the re-establishment of international relations," later the "Committee of the Third International."

The moral and political repercussion of these events was consequently very great, and in the trenches the soldiers heard of this opposition, and approved of it.

Little by little, a more definite tendency towards truly revolutionary aims became apparent in the trade union and socialist movement. The committee for the re-establishment of international relations was formed (Loriot, Merheim, Monatte), and rallied the left-wing socialists and revolutionary trade unionists who were determined to sweep away the old political and trade union bureaucracy which was working hand-in-hand with the bourgeois State. But this committee limited its work to propaganda within the organisations, in order to clear out, one by one, the old leaders who had betrayed the movement. It played no part in the mutinies and strike movements of 1917, it never appealed directly to the masses of soldiers and workers. It secretly published some pamphlets (the letters to the subscribers of the "Vie Ouvrière") but these only reached the actual adherents and sympathisers. Nevertheless, the situation was such that this propaganda went beyond these narrow limits and spread among a fairly large number of soldiers and workers.

The revolutionary minority within the C.G.T. grew, particularly among the metal workers and railwaymen. A minority congress was held at St. Etienne in spite of the C.G.T.'s prohibition, and put forward the slogan of a general strike against the war. Dumoulin, who was later to return to the fold

of Jouhaux, wrote his famous pamphlet "The French Trade Unions and the War," in which he mercilessly flayed the traitors of 1914, giving the history of their treachery and compromises with the bosses.

At the meeting of the National Council for the Socialist Party, held on the 29th and 30th of July, 1918, the centrist minority carried their resolution by 1,544 votes (Longuet-Cachin) to 1,172 (Renaudel) while 152 votes were registered for Loriot's resolution. Frossard became the secretary of the Party, and Cachin replaced Renaudel in the editorship of "L'Humanité." The party "officially" ceased its collaboration in the government, and turned towards legal and timid parliamentary opposition to such of Clemenceau's politics as was considered too brutal.

THE SOCIALIST SCHISM : THE TOURS CONGRESS

While the working masses were entering upon a period of more and more direct struggle against the French bourgeoisie and the war (the general strike in the Loire district in 1918), while, on the example of the November, 1917 Russian revolution, the organised revolutionary militants became more and more conscious of their real tasks, a certain number of them being "pushed" towards Moscow, the old clique of social patriot leaders approached nearer and nearer to the bourgeoisie and prepared to make the Socialist Party purely reformist, determined to collaborate even more closely with capitalism, that collaboration having been so useful to the corrupted leaders of the labour movement. It was this situation that gave rise, after the war, to the internal struggles within the Socialist Party between avowed reformists, vacillating centrists and partisans of the International. (The great majority of the centrists rejoined the reformists after the first revolutionary wave of 1919-20 had subsided. The period of the temporary stabilisation of capitalism was later to send a great many of the third group into the ranks of the socialists or Trotskyists.)

After the creation of the Third International in March, 1919, these struggles become more definite and more bitter. The creation of the Third International greatly influenced the

working class. The "Committee for the re-establishment of international relations" became the "Committee of the Third International" (Loriot, Souvarine) which became the nucleus of the French Communist Party. It was composed of the most diverse elements: anarcho-syndicalists, left-wing socialists, anarchists, and the "war youth," lacking experience in the working class movement, lacking contact with the masses and guiltless of any clearly defined principle. The Committee acted as a rallying point for the various forces definitely hostile to war socialism. Through those of its adherents who were members of the C.G.T. it took part in the great strike movements which followed the war. The revolutionary mass movement was at that time manifested in widespread strikes, particularly in the metal industries. At the same time, the revolt of the Black Sea marines broke out, and the French troops fraternised with the Red soldiers.

On April 23rd, 1919, the disquieted government made some concession by passing the eight-hour law.

The first of May, 1919, witnessed demonstrations which, in number and violence, greatly surpassed those before the war. In June and July, strikes among the metal workers, transport workers and miners terrified the bourgeoisie into making further concessions. The influence of the Russian revolution grew greater and the conscious section of the working class was obviously in favour of the Third International. The minorities in the trade unions voted in favour of adherence to it. Revolutionary trade union committees (C.S.R.), were formed to organise the struggle against reformism within the C.G.T. and in favour of trade union affiliation to Moscow.

Demobilisation, which Clemenceau was trying his utmost to delay and drag out, aroused the anger of the millions of workers still under arms.

Under its new centrist management, the Socialist Party dodged here and there, opening the columns of "L'Humanité" to the strikers, supporting the parliamentary opposition to Clemenceau and to the Versailles Treaty and heaping praise on President Wil-

son; while the leaders of the C.G.T. continued to collaborate with the government and to restrain the strikers.

The victory of the national bloc in the November, 1919, elections had a double effect on the Labour movement and the Socialist Party. It drew a fairly large number of reformist and centrist leaders, who had been made responsible for the "Bolshevik" character assumed by the party, closer to the bourgeoisie, and at the same time it turned some centrist elements towards the Third International, thus strengthening the left wing.

From February 25th to March 1st, 1920, the first general railway strike took place. The railway companies, extremely nervous, negotiated a compromise with the reformist leaders of the Federation of Railway Workers, and scattered promises broadcast. The dispute, betrayed by the reformist leaders, came to an end after five days. But as the promises were not kept, the revolutionary railway workers, who had meanwhile acquired control of the Federation, declared a second general strike for the first of May. This strike, which lasted a month, was again betrayed by the C.G.T., and by the reformists within the Federation, who sabotaged the strike in the northern and eastern areas.

This was a serious blow, followed by a great deal of victimisation which reacted very seriously on the trade union movement. The revolutionary workers, in great anger, carried on a merciless struggle within the trade unions against the reformist traitors, a struggle which was to end, eighteen months later, in a split in the trade union movement, brought about by the C.G.T. leaders in order to get rid of the revolutionary elements and to continue their policy of collaboration with capitalism and the bosses.

All these events pushed forward the work of the Committee of the Third International within the Socialist Party. At the Strasbourg Congress (February, 1920) the Committee obtained 1,600 votes for immediate affiliation to the Third International, against 3,000 votes, and forced the centrists and a number of the reformists to vote in favour of withdrawal of the party from the Second International, (4,330 votes against 337). At that congress

it was decided to send a delegation with a watching brief (Cachin and Frossard) to the Congress of the Third International. It is well known that the supporters of the Third International would have carried the day at the Strasbourg Congress had not their adversaries resorted to a regular swindle about the mandates.

The struggle centred on the following questions:

For or against national defence?

For the Third International, or for the "reconstruction of the Socialist International (hence the name of "reconstructors" given to the centrists), or for the maintenance of the Second International?

For revolution or for reformists?

Naturally, the discussions were carried on amid a great deal of confusion. The best elements within the Committee were themselves thinking more of clearing out the war socialists and of morally supporting the Russian revolution, than of directing the mass workers' movement towards the seizure of power. Their ignorance of the trade union movement and the lack of contact with really militant trade unionists were an indication of this.

After their return from Moscow, Cachin and Frossard began an active campaign within the socialist movement in favour of adherence to the Third International, which they explained in the following simplified but extremely confusing way: "It is the only way of effectively defending the Russian revolution, which is being attacked." The working class, which was seriously interested in the Russian revolution and the Third International, turned up en masse to the meetings organised by Cachin and Frossard, which were very enthusiastic and significant.

The "reconstructors" were at that time divided into two groups, one supporting the Committee of the Third International, the other (Longuet-Paul Faure) nearer to the reformists.

The object of the conscious French Communists and of the Communist International was to accept in the new Communist Party only sincere revolutionaries and those centrists who were willing to recognise their mistakes and to make a complete break with the past.

Frossard, a sharp politician, tried to keep the "old party all together," only excluding those right wing socialists who had compromised themselves too far during the war. The National Congress at Tours (December, 1920), discussed the question of adherence to the Third International. The publication of the Twenty-one Conditions and Zinoviev's famous telegram (a bombshell!) forced the reformists, and the most dangerous centrists like Longuet, to use them as an excuse to split the party during the Congress. Although the majority of militants in the Committee, being in prison for conspiracy against the safety of the State, could not take an active part in the campaign for adherence to the C.I., three-fourths of the party (3,208 votes against 1,022) voted in favour of that proposal and the French section of the C.I. was formed. For some months following, it still retained the name of "Socialist Party, Section of the Third International."

THE COMMUNIST PARTY, FIRST PHASE

The great split left within the French section of the C.I. a great many opportunists and hidden reformists who carried on a double game with Frossard. The Tours Congress was rather the end of the struggle against the war socialists, than the theoretical and political struggle to create a real Communist Party. The party formed after the Tours Congress was really only a left-wing socialist party, turning towards parliamentary rather than working class action, refraining from taking part in industrial struggles on the pretext of the autonomy of the trade union movement, and having only the vaguest of contacts with the revolutionary minority in the C.G.T. Thus, during the severe unemployment in the spring of 1921, it took part in the working class struggle only through the columns of "L'Humanité." Its executive, under the influence of Frossard, paid no attention whatever to the proposals of the C.I., and played a prolonged game of hide and seek with the E.C.C.I. It did no more than agitate publicly for the general principles of Communism (usually presented in a most fantastic manner), oppose the government in a strictly parliamentary fashion and defend, oratoric-

ally and journalistically, the Russian revolution. When the trade union movement was split (at Lille, December, 1921), it did nothing at all except record the fact.

At the first congress of the party (Marseilles, December, 1921), the confusion within the Communist ranks was so great that the most elementary principles concerned with the dictatorship of the proletariat, such as, for example, the creation of the Red Army, were put forward for discussion by members of the executive without arousing any general response. Souvarine, the Party's delegate to the Executive, and at that time defender of the C.I.'s policy, was excluded from the Central Committee by the centrist and right-wing elements who at that time filled all the important positions and were excluding, one by one, all left-wing elements.

At that time the International, through its Congress and Committee, made great efforts to put the policy of the French C.P. to rights. It helped the left wing section to cleanse the party of all its anti-Communist elements. It laid down as an essential object of the party the entry of the most class conscious revolutionaries in the trade union movement into the party and into its leadership.

This was a long job, for the left leaders (Souvarine, Treint, etc.), and the members who were determined to fight the opportunism of Frossard and his friends, were not capable of joining in and guiding the French working class movement. Moreover, the anarcho-sindicalist prejudice against the party, which existed among the masses, and the revolutionary trade unionists, was also an obstacle in the way of a rapprochement with the "sindicalist Communists" and of their inclusion in the party.

The inauguration of the tactics of the united front distorted by the enemies of the International and by not a few of the leaders of the party who did not understand it, or affected not to understand it, prevented a large number of sound, proletarian members of the party from accurately understanding its value and from following a correct political line.

However, faced by the anarchist tendencies within the Unitary Confederation of Trade Unions (C.G.T.U.), formed at the end of

1921, and by its anti-Communist bias, and after a general strike had been prematurely declared in unfortunate circumstances, following the assassination of four workers at Havre (August, 1922), all clear-headed Communists realised the necessity of immediate action in the direction indicated by the C.I. That is, they realised the necessity of ridding the revolutionary trade union movement of its anarchist leadership and of working to create a revolutionary proletarian party effectively directing, in close contact with the C.G.T.U., the struggles of the working class against capitalism.

The double game played by Frossard and Co. had, however, most deplorable effects. At the Paris Congress (October, 1922), Frossard scored a triumph over the left-wing while excluding, as a matter of tactics, those elements most deeply compromised in the struggle against the C.I.

The question of the French Party was brought up at the Fourth World Congress (December, 1922), which decided on the formation of a Central Committee composed of representatives of the various currents of opinions but working effectively along the lines agreed upon by the C.I.

It was then that Frossard and the most opportunist elements in the Party decided to leave it and to form a "Socialist-Communist Union" whose members, in the years following, one by one rejoined the social-democrats. At about the same time the militants in the party and trade unions who had gone to the Ruhr to protest against the occupation decided upon by Poincaré were imprisoned for conspiracy against the safety of the State. Frossard and his friends left the Party and the C.I., but these bodies had found new strength in the revolutionary trade unionists who drew nearer to the party in proportion as the latter turned more to the left and followed the policy of the C.I.

Thanks to the collaboration of the old centrists who had sincerely come over to the policy of the International (Sellier and Cachin), the left-wing controlled the Party committee, and were able to keep within the ranks of the Party the majority of its members.

At the National Council at Boulogne (January, 1923) it might have been thought that with the direction of the Party dominated by the left it would have become a good Communist Party. But one year sufficed to show that that stage had not yet been reached.

THE FORMATION OF THE FRENCH COMMUNIST PARTY

At the Third Congress of the C.I. a comrade, speaking on behalf of the E.C.C.I., said: "In France the real Communists are not yet inside the Party." He was alluding to the fact that the revolutionaries working in the trade union movement remained outside, and even hostile to the C.P. "The most important work for the Party," he contended, "is to win over these men and to bring the most active of them into the direction of the Party and of its various bodies."

The way to this was cleared by the affiliation of the C.G.T.U. to the R.I.L.U. (December, 1922). Moreover, the fight against the Ruhr occupation (January, 1923), which was carried on in common by the C.P. and the C.G.T.U., also helped to bring about the necessary collaboration between the two organisations. The repression exercised against the militants (it was the first great struggle of the C.P.F. against French imperialism) prepared the nucleus of the future direction of the C.P.F.

It was, again, on the occasion of this struggle that the young militants, who were to play a decisive part in the future of the Party, developed their revolutionary capacity in the anti-militarist work done during that struggle.

During the discussions on the Trotskyist deviation these diverse elements (the old left socialists, revolutionary trade unionists and Young Communists), united by their common struggles after the war, and getting closer and closer to a correct Communist policy, reorganised the ranks of the Party membership from top to bottom. It was during this struggle, which they conducted together, against this new and most dangerous form of anti-Leninist opportunism that they trained themselves to play later on a very active role in the Party.

During the 1923 discussion in the Russian C.P. Souvarine used incorrect information with a view to getting the C.P.F. to support the Trotskyist platform. Monatte and Rosmer sided with Souvarine, whose repeated acts of indiscipline merited exclusion from the Party. Monatte had also retained from his anarcho-syndicalist past ideas which led him to combat the work of the Party in the trade unions. Moreover, Souvarine, Monatte and Rosmer had expressed clearly opportunist views with regard to the "democratic-pacifist period" and the tactics which should be adopted by the C.P. in relation to it.

At the Fifth Congress of the C.I. and the Clichy Congress of the C.P.F. (December, 1924), after the exclusion of the Souvarine right, a new committee, including Semard, Treint and Suzanne Girault, set itself to organise the Party and to direct it along true Leninist lines—uncompromising struggle against capitalism and social-democracy, political activity concerned primarily with industry (formation of factory groups), trade union work, work in the army, colonial work.

In the effort to do this the Party again committed many mistakes—both "left" and "right"—because of its theoretical and political weakness. It had to exclude a certain number of members who had disagreed with the C.I. on the occasion of the Morocco war. Many of the faults were due to the actual composition of the Party (too many skilled workers and middle peasants in proportion to unskilled workers) and particularly to its lack of revolutionary experience.

However, our Party carried out another great struggle (after that of the Ruhr); the struggle against the war in Morocco. The Party organised working-class demonstrations and encouraged fraternisation. Another big fight taken up by the Party was against Poincaré and the National Union; that is, against industrial rationalisation, the military laws supported by the bourgeoisie and the socialists, and the preparation for an imperialist war. These activities were naturally followed by persecution of the Party and many of the most active militants were imprisoned.

Our Party, with the assistance of the International, overcame in December, 1926, a

serious left danger, apparent in mechanical discipline and bad trade union work which led to isolation from the masses. It also excluded from its ranks the little group, led by Trient and Girault, which supported Trotskyism and carried on fractional activities.

Since the meeting of its Central Committee in November, 1927, which ratified the tactics of "class against class," the great majority of the Party has been carrying on a struggle against a serious right danger, consisting in an under-estimation of the war danger, opportunism among Party members of the C.G.T.U. in the industrial struggles of the workers, and dissatisfaction with factory groups.

The Party is now hard at work correcting these opportunist faults and fighting the right-wing, and the next Congress, which will be held at the end of March, will mark an important stage in the progress of the Party along the lines laid down by the Sixth World Congress of the C.I.

During these struggles within and without the Party there have grown up within its ranks real leaders of the working-class movement, fighters who have learnt from experience in the factories active in the Party and the trade unions, skilful in carrying on both legal and illegal work, steeled by governmental and employers' persecution.

It is this younger generation which is urging the Party forward along a Bolshevik path, which is to a greater and greater extent, taking the lead in its ranks. In the future war against the U.S.S.R. our Party, invigorated by this new revolutionary blood, will receive its baptism of fire for the seizure of power.

Ten years after its foundation the Communist International possesses a French section which still has a great many weaknesses, particularly in its rank-and-file organisation, which makes political mistakes, but which is sincerely and resolutely treading the path marked out by Lenin.

The Communist Party of Great Britain Under the Banner of the Comintern

Tom Bell

THE socialist movement in England prior to the world war always bore the stamp of insularity. The followers of Hardie, Blatchford, Snowden and MacDonald, the opportunists and reformists of the Labour movement, were for ever declaring the virtues of British socialism (*i.e.*, their reformism) over continental socialism, which was conceived in general as Marxism. This was the period when Kautsky, Lafargue, Guesde and Plekhanov played the role of theoretic exponents of Marxism. As yet Lenin was unknown to the English workers, knowledge of his existence and work being confined to a very small circle of foreign workers resident in London and to those intellectuals of the movement whose privilege it had become to attend the Congresses of the Second International. This general characterisation of British and continental socialism persisted till the outbreak of the war.

The war and the experiences of those active workers who refused to be stampeded by the chauvinist appeals of the reformist leaders, now appearing as recruiting sergeants for national defence (*i.e.*, the defence of their own imperialists) were to find their crystallisation in an entirely new orientation of the socialist movement. The reformists of the "British socialistic" type divided into social patriots and pacifists. The "continentals" were divided into vicious militarists and anti-warites. The reformist pacifists made up the conscientious objectors, the "continental" anti-warites threw themselves into the economic struggles of the workers under the shop stewards and unofficial workers' committee movement. The experiences of the latter were ultimately brought to the formation of a new type of workers' party, the Communist Party.

The Russian movement for emancipation from Tsardom always found a sympathetic

ear in England. The stories of tortures, imprisonment, exile and hangings were common stock in the literature of the Labour movement. When the revolution did take place it was welcomed with rejoicing, especially amongst the militant workers who refused to bear arms and fight for the imperialists. Its ideological influence was immediate and far-reaching. Enthusiasts glibly spoke of soldiers' and workers' councils for England, and a conference for the setting up of such bodies was actually called—the Leeds Conference. But perhaps the greatest gain was the rescuing of Marxism from the barren academic role it had hitherto played in England, and its revival as a living force in the proletarian class struggle.

Marxism, supplemented by the bold and courageous application of its principles by the Bolshevik Party, gave a new conception and outlook to the militants of the working-class movement. The parliamentarism and bourgeois ministerialism of Henderson, Barnes, Clynes and Thomas became an obvious badge of corruption before the living revolutionary fervour of the Bolsheviks, who swept the Russian parliament (the Duma) into the rubbish heap. Trade unionism and the economic struggles of the working class ceased to be mere instruments for the winning of half-pennies, but realistic forms of the revolutionary struggle for power. "All power to the Soviets" meant, in England, power only to the working class. The question of the struggle for political power by the working class was brought to the front of the workers' programme of action.

The common fight of the militant workers against the imperialists' exploitation within the war industries, against conscription and the militarisation of the industrial life of the working class paved the way for the new type of party now being freely discussed; 1918-19

was spent exploring the possibilities of unity between the scattered groups of socialist workers in the British Socialist Party, the Socialist Labour Party, the Workers' Socialist Federation, etc. By 1920 fusion became possible and the Communist Party was formed in August of that year. Certain anti-parliamentary elements remained apart, but with the helpful advice of Lenin, which he gave in his pamphlet, "Left-Wing' Communism," by the end of the year all the best militants were in one united Party, the C.P.G.B.

Mention must be made here of the divergences on some tactical questions which were expressed at the formation of the Party, such as the question of parliamentary action and affiliation to the Labour Party. The question of affiliation to the Labour Party was the more complex of the two, since it involved an appearance of support to the Labour Party, a party of rank opportunism and reformism. But, apart from the relation of tactics to the revolutionary outlook of the period, there was the traditional sectarian role of the Marxist groups in the pre-war period. It was important to rescue the young Communist Party from such traditional influences, and to make it a mass movement and not a new sect. "Go to the masses." "Without the masses revolution is impossible." Such was the experience and advice of Lenin. Under this impulse the tactics of demanding affiliation to the Labour Party served a useful purpose in saving the party from rank sectarianism.

But there was another side to this question. Lenin was influenced by the belief that it was possible for a Communist Party to be affiliated to the Labour Party, and to retain its complete identity and freedom to criticise. We were soon to be disillusioned on that score. Not only after the formation of our Party a meeting took place in Eccleston Square, the Labour Party headquarters, between representatives of the C.P.G.B. and the Labour Party Executive. At this meeting Henderson quoted from several Comintern theses to prove there was nothing in common between us, on Parliament and Soviets, on democracy and dictatorship, on the ballot and violence. Henceforward there could be no prospects of affiliation. Nevertheless, the C.P.G.B. correctly persisted in its demand, using this as a means of exposing the reformist

role of the Labour bureaucracy. The pursuit of these tactics helped in no small way to make clear to thousands of workers what kind of a Party the Labour Party was.

In the spring of 1922, following the Third Congress of the C.I. and the publication in England of the Theses, the Government made a raid on the Party Headquarters, arrested the General Secretary, as publisher of these documents and the "Communist International," declared these illegal literature and imprisoned the Secretary of the Party. Undaunted, the Party began the application of the theses which were especially directed against the old style socialist branch methods of working in the Party, and which provided for group activity in place of individual efforts and platonic membership. This change, like all deep changes, was not carried out without much difficulty and reluctance to throw off old methods which had been useful under different conditions. The establishment of group direction, of centralised leadership, the transformation of the Party organ into a mass paper, its distribution by means of groups, fraction work inside the factories, trade unions, trades councils and the Labour Party, etc.—these new methods of activity were the contributions of the Third Congress of the Comintern to the British workers' movement, no mean contribution in the class struggle in "democratic" England. I should also mention here as of equally outstanding importance the innovation of Party political training of members. This training has gone a long way to expose the purely academic character of the Labour college movement.

The tactics of helping the Labour Party to power—Lenin's tactics in 1920—continued till the advent of the first Labour Government in England (1924). As foreseen by Lenin, MacDonald, Snowden, Henderson and Co. completely exposed themselves as being even more bourgeois than the bourgeoisie themselves. His Majesty's Opposition, become His Majesty's Government, proved this in home and foreign affairs. Their handling of the housing question, unemployment, the transport workers' strike, the secret instructions for recruiting of railway workers under the military, the operation of the Emergency Powers Act, arrest of the Communist editor,

as well as the building of cruisers and increase of armaments, their attitude to India, Irak, Egypt and the Russian Government went to show quite clearly that there was no distinction between Henderson and Joynson Hicks, between MacDonald and Baldwin or Chamberlain.

It is a tradition in the history of the workers' movement in England that when they get a set-back in the trade union struggle they turn to parliamentary action and *vice versa*. There is nothing absolute in the practice, but the tradition is there. It was not surprising therefore that the masses should swing to industrial action and go to the left. It was not a big step from the fall of the Labour Government to the Anglo-Russian Committee and the General Strike. The General Strike, of course, is not to be explained by the purely subjective side of the working-class struggle. A whole series of objective factors; the decline in British capitalism, the loss of its dominant and monopolist place in world economy, inability to give concessions to the Labour aristocracy as before, the growth of a poverty-stricken mass movement of workers and sharpening class relations.

All these factors combined marked the General Strike as the high water mark in the class struggle in England, opening a new period with new perspectives. It is clear to us to-day, though not generally understood at the time, that the General Strike, the consolidation of the reformist bureaucrats, pseudo-lefts and rights; the Mond response to Hicks' appeal for industrial peace, sealed once and for all the old tactical line of the C.P.G.B. as a thing of the past. The situation, indeed, was clearly very much different from the time when Lenin gave his advice in 1920.

Once more the Comintern came to the assistance of the British workers. The Communist Party did not appreciate these deep and very far-reaching changes in the whole situation in

England. It continued to pursue its old line under conditions no longer favourable for it. It still spoke of a Labour Government, qualifying it only with the phrases "real" and "under control of the Executive Committee." No better illustration can be formed of the advantages of an international party, as a corrective to national-onesidedness, than the story of the Ninth Plenum of the E.C.C.I. Here we find the case of an International Executive showing a national executive the correct road it should travel, and making a complete change in political tactics. Yet again after nearly one year's operation of the new line, the E.C.C.I. comes to the assistance of the Party at its Tenth Congress, draws attention to a series of mistakes made and advises on the tactical line of the Party. These illustrations prove conclusively that under the banner of the Comintern the British working class will surely find the right road to its ultimate goal of emancipation.

The Communist Party in England is passing through one of its most difficult periods. The situation in England is bristling with complexities, rationalisation in capitalism, tremendous unemployment, and fierce attacks from the side of the Labour bureaucracy. The bourgeois backed up by the reformists, who are in its pocket, are arrogant, brutal and ruthless in their attitude to the working class in general and the Communists and militant workers in particular. In these circumstances the active workers, led by the Communists, must find new ways and methods of fighting. They must discard old traditions to free themselves for the gigantic struggles ahead. The Comintern has pointed the way. It calls for independent revolutionary action on all fronts by the class conscious workers, against Mondism, class collaboration, parliamentary cretinism, formalism and constitutionalism in economic action, for revolutionary struggle and a revolutionary Workers' Government in alliance with the Bolshevik sections of the Comintern, marching under the banner of Communism.

The Communist International and the Foundation of the Communist Party of China

Yu-Ang-Li

THE Communist Party of China welcomes the tenth year of the existence of the Communist International as the anniversary of its own inception. The year 1919 is rightly considered by us to be the starting-point of the great wave of revolution in China, which ended in December, 1927, in the heroic rising of the Canton proletariat.

During the very days on which the First Congress of the Comintern was holding its sessions violent waves of anti-imperialist, anti-Japanese agitation were sweeping the country, arousing and summoning it to an active political life, to a struggle for the national emancipation of the millions of human beings in China. The famous Hong-Kong strike of April, 1919, and a number of strikes in Central China brought the working class to the forefront of the revolutionary struggle, and from this moment that class began to make its influence felt on all political events, and to win new positions every year in the struggle for the leadership of the exploited masses of the Chinese people.

The year 1919 was marked by a "Back to the people" movement among the finest, most revolutionary-minded elements of the students, which was met halfway by a movement of the leading ranks of the still disunited, but politically active working class, ready for struggle, but needing a Communist advance-guard.

Out of the groups of workers' organisations created by this movement the Communist Party of China was born in the following year, and it grew vigorously and became the one militant mass Party of the Chinese proletariat.

I. THE HISTORIC CONDITIONS OF THE CREATION OF THE C.P. OF CHINA

From the first day of its birth the cradle of the young C.P. was tended by the Comintern

and the revolutionary influence of the first proletarian dictatorship.

Across the ring of the capitalist blockade, through the falsehood and slander of the ideological agents of the exploiting classes, news of the great historical revolution that had been accomplished in Russia began to penetrate in a continually growing stream into China.

No Communist Party was yet in being, not a single Communist existed in China at that time, and yet the basic line of political demarcation even then became the slogan "for Soviet Russia," against "Wilsonism," against the cunning pacifist deceptions of imperialism.

The birth of the Communist Party was welcomed by a chorus of hostile voices, hiding their fear of the workers' movement behind phrases about the "unpreparedness of the social conditions of China for a Communist movement," and the "foreign influence" of the Communist International.

The C.P. of China acknowledged the enormous influence of the Soviet Union and the Comintern both on its creation and on all its further development.

The C.P. of China is one of the many divisions of the international working class, and it naturally sees its origin in the process of decline and disintegration of imperialism and the growth of a world socialist revolution. It affirms its internationalism in its international associations.

Yet the C.P. of China is in no less measure the product of national development, the development of the struggle of classes in China itself.

Possibly there is no other country in the world, with the exception of Russia, which in the course of fifty years has passed through so many revolutionary disturbances as stagnant, backward China. That was indispensable in

order that China might take the road of capitalist development.

From the peasant war of the period of late and disintegrating feudalism (known as the Taiping War), which lasted several decades, and was suppressed with the aid of foreign intervention, through the first bourgeois-democratic revolution of 1911, down to the contemporary gigantic clash of classes—all this distance has been traversed in less than a lifetime.

A development which it took the far west hundreds of years of slow movement to accomplish, China, which set out late on the road of industrial development, had to complete in a few decades.

Into an exceptionally small historical space of time history condensed events of enormous importance: the disintegration of the feudal method of production; the industrial revolution, which began with the direct establishment of great factories and works, the mammoths of modern capitalist technique, on the backward economic ground of China, where artisan and handicraft production had previously reigned supreme; finally, the supremacy of imperialism with all its consequences for the semi-colonial countries; the formation of enormous reserve armies of labour, which can find no application either in agriculture or in industry, the subordinate position of the national industrial bourgeoisie, and so on.

The oppression of triple exploitation; that of a decaying, yet still powerful feudalism, of developing national capitalism and of imperialism, has transformed China into one of the weakest links in the modern system of capitalist States.

Consequently the Communist Party has deep roots and is untroubled by talk of its inadequate social basis. Almost a decade before its birth, in the stormy years of the counter-revolution of 1912, the spectre of Communism was already frightening all the factions of the Chinese bourgeoisie and landed proprietors.

And just as in the summer of 1927, when all the parties of the bourgeois regime concentrated against the "insufferable demands of the working class," against its "illegal Communist strikes," which destroyed the unity of the nation and shook bourgeois legality, so during the years of the first Chinese bour-

geois-democratic revolution, Yuan-Shi-Kai and Li-Yuan-Lung, Tang-Shao-Yi and Wu-Wang-Ming (the last two being the representatives of the "left-wing" of the Kuomintang of those days) all unitedly broke up the workers' unions, bloodily suppressed the strikes of the Shanghai, Hankow and Chang-Sha workers, and proclaimed the unity of the Chinese nation, in contradistinction to the class struggle, which was proceeding and penetrating deeper into the nation's existence.

During the years of the first revolution the Chinese proletariat did not create a party of its own. The left-wing of the Kuomintang sought to speak in its name, organising workers' unions and exploiting the activity of the proletariat in the interests of the bourgeois parties.

All kinds of groups of anarchists and petty-bourgeois politicians (like the leader of the "Chinese Social-Democratic Labour Party," Chang-Kang-Wu), who had no contact with the masses of the proletariat, with its rank-and-file organisations, none the less spoke in its name. And at the moment when the workers entered on the struggle for essential economic demands (the general strike of the printers in Hong-Kong, strikes in the Shanghai, Hankow and Chang-Sha arsenals, and on the northern railroads), all these "friends of the working class" turned their backs on the working-class and cleared the field for the military and police commanders of conflicting political groups and parties.

Absolutely all historians, both Chinese and foreign, of 1911 pass over in silence working-class struggle which developed during those months.

The direct agents of the ruling classes and the simpletons of the petty-bourgeois groups found it convenient to maintain the illusion of the existence of class peace, the absence of any antagonism of classes.

But that struggle of the still young working class, the majority of whom had only just abandoned their last piece of land or sold their last tools, did not take place in vain.

When in 1919 a widespread movement began for the organisation of workers' unions and socialist labour groups, the radical students went to the industrial areas, and there met the

leading groups of workers, who had acted as leaders even during the strikes of 1912.

For instance, the workers of the Chang-Sha arsenal, whose strike had been bloodily suppressed by Yuan-Shi-Kai in 1912, proved in 1920 to be at the head of the trade union organisations of Northern China.

Through these revolutionary proletarians, through their experience of revolutionary struggle, the Communist Party affirms its descent from the past revolutionary movements of the Chinese working class.

The creation of the Communist Party is thus only the consummation of a long process of development of the Chinese proletariat, its emancipation from childish illusions, its emergence as a separate class in modern society.

But conscious Marxist Communism had to be brought into the workers' movement of China from without.

Just as in Russia, the "theoretical teaching" of Communism "had arisen quite independently of the elemental growth of the workers' movement, arisen as a national and inevitable result of the thought of the revolutionary intelligentsia." (Lenin, "What is to be Done?"). Collected works, Vol. V, p. 141.)

About the time of the rise of the national revolutionary and workers' movement in 1919, many of the most radical elements of the Chinese intelligentsia had recognised the complete impotence of all the bourgeois and petty-bourgeois attempts to achieve the national emancipation of the country and its real revolutionary union by the old methods, whether parliamentary, or insurrectionary, or militant.

The national revolutionary movement had got into a hopeless *cul-de-sac*. All its past attempts had proved unsuccessful.

The very first attempt to reconstruct the political and economic system on the basis of constitutional-monarchical liberalism had been bankrupt in all eyes in 1898. And the left bourgeois wing of the Kuomintang, who by their continual compromise with the forces of feudal reaction and their obstruction of the revolutionary activity of the masses during the revolution of 1911-13 had ensured the restoration of the tottering forces of feudalism, had suffered no less a fiasco.

The later attempts were only worse forms of these antiquated methods of struggle. In the antics of the politicians around the lifeless corpses of the constitution and parliament (although the Kuomintang also participated in that game) no one believed. The military adventures in the south of Sun-Yat-Sen, who with his combinations of militarists sought to achieve the unity of China and ignored all the manifestations of a mass movement (Sun was, for instance, opposed to the anti-Japanese campaign of 1919) inspired as little hope of success. The most radical elements of the Chinese intelligentsia turned sharply round towards socialism, to the task of organising the masses, and the working class first and foremost. These first organisers of workers' groups, unions, schools, socialist leagues of youth, and finally of the Communist Party itself, were the product of the disintegration of Chinese nationalism.

They were first and foremost the group that gathered around comrade Cheng-Du-Shu and his periodical, "New Youth," which gradually traversed the road from democracy to Communism. In 1920, at about the time of the arrival of a representative from the Far-Eastern Secretariat of the Comintern, in Shanghai, this group began to call itself a Communist group and thus formed the nucleus of the Communist Party of China.

Very soon, towards the end of the same year, Communist groups began to be formed in a number of the largest centres of China. At the head of the organisation in Peking were comrades Li-Da-Chao (hanged by Chang-Tso-Lin in 1927) and Chang-Ho-Tao; in Canton were Tang-Ping-Shan (a renegade from Communism and now the leader of a third party), and Cheng-Hung-Po (expelled from the Party and now a member of the Kuomintang). In Hunan was comrade Mao-Che-Dun, and in France were Chai-Ke-Shang and the young Cheng (shot by Chiang-Kai-Shek in the summer of 1927). One of the organisers of the socialist League of Youth, which afterwards developed into the Chinese Young Communist League, was comrade Chang-Ta-Lai, who died the death of the brave during the days of the Canton Commune.

In Peking, Canton and Shanghai Communist

journals and newspapers began to be published for the workers, and a number of Marxist and Leninist works were also issued. (The Communist Manifesto, "Wage Labour and Capital," "State and Revolution," "Communist Saturdayings" and so on.) At the same time more or less successful attempts were made everywhere to set up revolutionary trade unions and to lead the strike movement of the proletariat.

The first Congress, which took place in June, 1921, in Shanghai, laid the foundation of a central organisation, which afterwards at the second congress in 1922) became the Chinese section of the Communist International.

2. FROM PROPAGANDIST GROUPS TO A MASS PARTY

From the very moment of its birth the Communist Party had to repel a frantic pressure from petty-bourgeois and Liberal influences on the revolutionary, Marxist-Leninist understanding of the struggle of the proletariat and the tactics and organisational forms of the Party.

Anarchism and guild socialism, Bakuninism, Tolstoyism, and Gandhi-ism, "legal Marxism" and San-Ming-Shui (Sun-Yat-Sen's doctrine of "nationalism, democracy and the people's welfare")—all these products of the ideological activity of the bourgeoisie, the petty bourgeoisie and the lumpen-proletariat saturated the political atmosphere of 1919 and 1920, rendering incredibly difficult the formation of a proletarian party under a Marxist-Leninist banner.

History had granted the Chinese Communist Party the briefest of periods in which to outlive the vacillations in its own ranks, and to effect the intellectual break-up of hostile theories. The obstacles which the parties of the West, with considerably more preparation, had overcome through a stubborn and systematic struggle spread over a number of years, had to be met and broken up by the C.P. of China in a period literally of months—the months that separated its inception from the revolution of 1925-27, when it was called upon to act as the sole political representative of the working class.

Only just organised, the Communist groups were already living through a serious internal

crisis—they had to pass through the experience of a split with the anarchist-Communists. Of the original Communist group in Peking only two persons were left; the first organisation in Canton proved to be entirely in the hands of the anarchists, and only after its dissolution was a Communist nucleus created. The split occurred on basic questions of principle, such as the dictatorship of the proletariat and the necessity for a centralised and disciplined party.

The young but already implacable Chinese-Communists had no ground in common with those who vacillated on these questions, with those who sought to dissolve the Communist Party into unorganised and impotent circles and clubs, with those who declared themselves "for Soviet Russia but against the dictatorship of the proletariat."

But even at the first congress of the Party, after the anarchists in its ranks had been definitely dealt with, the struggle was concentrated on the resistance to bourgeois influence over the proletariat. Communism threw off the ideologists of the national bourgeoisie who had temporarily attached themselves to the Communist movement, such as Dai-Chi-Tao, Li-Hang-Ching and, soon after, Cheng-Hung-Po.

This group suffered from a fundamental fear of the workers' movement, and were no less cautious of the idea of the dictatorship of the proletariat than were the anarchists. Instead of dictatorship they proposed democracy, instead of work to create trade unions and to extend the Party among the active workers, they spread the idea of work among the students and the peaceable study of the theory of Marxism.

By their endeavours to occupy official positions in the provincial governments, they thrust the Party directly along the road of legal existence and reconciliation with the militarist groups. Their task inside the Communist movement amounted objectively to the dissolution of the Party as a militant and revolutionary organisation of the proletariat.

A small handful, a dozen or so of Communists, firmly raised the standard of struggle for Communism, for the dictatorship of the proletariat, for a disciplined, Bolshevik Party, for a revolutionary trade union movement.

At that time the Party was not yet faced with the task of participating with other classes and parties in Chinese society in the national struggle for emancipation from imperialist oppression.

In exactly the same way the Party had not yet set itself the task of struggle for the leadership of the peasantry.

It was passing through the period of recognising itself as the political representative of the working class; it was working out its own basic programme.

The enormous number of the petty-bourgeoisie, vacillating between sporadic revolt and anarchism on the one hand, and support of the bourgeois system on the other; the lumpen-proletarian environment (and, to a large extent, origin) of the Chinese proletariat; the burden of backward craft prejudices—all these factors forced the Chinese Communists, no less than the Russian Bolsheviks, “to cut themselves off at first from all others, to single out solely and exclusively the proletariat, and afterwards to declare that the proletariat will emancipate the rest. . . .” (Lenin, “Supplementary Notes on the Draft Programme”; selections from Lenin’s writings, Vol. II, p. 132.)

The Party had followed this road down to 1921. But in front of it was the task of transforming itself from small propagandist groups into a mass political Party of the proletariat.

Programmes alone were now inadequate. It was necessary to work out tactics. The proletarian advance-guard was bound to extend its horizon by the inclusion of an analysis of the relations of classes, and to determine its role and its tactical tasks within those relations.

The great importance of the second congress, which met in 1922, consisted in the realisation of the enormous importance of the anti-imperialist struggle, the struggle for national emancipation, for the bourgeois democratic revolution in a semi-colonial country.

This involved a reconsideration of the Party’s attitude to the national revolutionary organisations, already existing and struggling in China, and first and foremost to the Kuomintang. By its decisions on the formation of a single national front of all forces waging a revolutionary struggle with imperialism

and militarism, the C.P. had pre-determined its later entry into the Kuomintang.

The second congress had been preceded by a “First Congress of the Revolutionary Organisations of the Far East” in Soviet Russia, at which both the Communist Party of China and the revolutionary trade union organisations, and also the Kuomintang, had been represented.

This congress had enormous significance for the whole further development of the C.P. by laying down a permanent and systematic connection between the Communist International and the revolutionary movement of China.

It made that essential change in policy, which was afterwards confirmed by the Second Congress of the Chinese C.P., consisting in the transference from propaganda work and the organisation of trade unions, to active participation in the political struggle, to the struggle of the proletariat for hegemony in the national bourgeois-democratic revolution.

The Party handled this highly important change in its tactical line with comparative ease. Under the leadership of the Comintern it overcame the tendencies towards complete subjection to the Kuomintang which appeared in certain places.

During this period the basic policy of the C.P. in regard to the Kuomintang was the instruction given by the Comintern in January, 1923 :

“Whilst supporting the Kuomintang in all national revolutionary campaigns, in so far as that party carries on an objectively correct policy, the C.P. of China must none the less not become merged with that Party during these campaigns and must not lower its own standard.”

Foreseeing the danger of the tactics of a united national front before the Third Congress of the Communist Party, held in 1923, the Comintern returned to this question, setting forth the basic task of the bourgeois revolution in China in all its magnitude (the resolution on the agrarian problem) and emphasising the directing role of the working class.

Whilst absolutely confirming the position that “the central task for China is the national revolution against the imperialists and their feudal agents,” and thus confirming the neces-

sity of winning the "union of the wide strata of Chinese democracy in this anti-imperialist movement," the Comintern instruction to the Third Congress of the Chinese C.P. raised the problem of the peasants in the revolution to the front rank, long before the Seventh and Eighth Plenums of the E.C.C.I.

In that instruction we read :

"1. The national revolution in China and the creation of an anti-imperialist front will inevitably be accompanied by an agrarian revolution of the peasantry against the survivals of feudalism. That revolution can be victorious only if the basic mass of the Chinese population, the small peasantry, is drawn into the movement.

"2. Thus the central problem of the whole policy is the peasant problem. To blur that basic fact by any other conception whatever means a failure to understand the importance of the social-democratic section on which alone a victorious struggle against foreign imperialism, and for the complete annihilation of the feudal regime in China, can be achieved.

"3. Consequently, as the Party of the working class the C.P. must strive to ally the workers and peasants. That can be achieved only by an incessant propaganda for the realisation in practice of the slogans of the agrarian revolution, such as: the confiscation of rich landowners' estates, the confiscation of monastery and church lands, and its free transfer to the peasantry; the elimination of rack-renting and of the present taxation system; the annulment of leases and of taxation regulations between provinces; the abolition of tax-farmers, and of the mandarine system; the establishment of organs of peasant self-government to whom confiscated land is to be transferred; and so on.

"4. Starting from these basic demands, it is necessary to lead the whole mass of poor

peasants to see the necessity of struggle with foreign imperialism, exploiting to this end the fact that taxes, the salt-Gabelle, etc., are in the hands of foreign capital. Only by introducing an agrarian programme under the slogan of the anti-imperialist front can we hope for its further success.

"5. It goes without saying that the leadership must belong to the Party of the working class. The latest events in the Labour movement (the large-scale strikes) have clearly revealed the importance of the workers' movement in China. To consolidate the C.P. by transforming it into a mass Party of the proletariat, to gather the forces of the working class into the trade unions, are the first obligations of the Communists.

"6. The Communist Party must steadily thrust the Kuomintang in the direction of an agrarian revolution. In the places occupied by Sun's armies it is necessary to introduce confiscation of the land in favour of the poorer peasantry, and a number of similar measures. Only thus can the success of Sun's revolutionary army, support by the peasantry, and the extension of the basis of the anti-imperialist revolution be assured."

Thus, under the guidance of the Comintern, was the Communist Party of China prepared to meet the great wave of the revolutionary movement. That Party had given birth to great organisations of the working class, had equipped itself with revolutionary theory and had assimilated the experience of the international workers' movement while waging unceasing war on petty bourgeois deviations in its own ranks. And thus within a few years it had been transformed from small, unorganised propagandist groups into the mass Party of the Chinese proletariat, one of the foremost and boldest sections of the Communist International.

On the Road to the First Congress

Boris Reinstein

IN these reminiscences of the First Congress of the Communist International I have not set myself the task of giving an analysis of the work, the discussions and the resolutions of that historic congress. I am confining myself only to an outline of the struggle that went on in that congress over the question whether to raise the standard of the Comintern immediately, or to regard this first congress not as a congress, but only as a preliminary conference, which had first to consider whether to found the Communist International, and if so, would have to take steps to call the first congress at some time in the future. But before talking of the congress, I must sketch the course of development which I, like certain others, had to pass through in order to rally to the standard of the Comintern.

I. BEFORE THE CONGRESS

For revolutionary Marxists who had worked in the socialist movement of European countries the situation in the International in 1917 was clear enough. They knew that from 1914, from the moment of the betrayal of the international socialist movement by the leaders of the Second International; from the moment of the transfer of those leaders and the masses led by them to the side of "their own" bourgeoisie and "their own" governments, and the replacement of the class struggle by "civil peace" and the slogan of defence of "the fatherland," the Second International, in whose ranks we had all struggled hitherto, no longer existed. Of it only the ruins were left. Its standard was flung to the ground, trampled into the mud, and into the blood of the international proletariat betrayed by its leaders. The revolutionary Marxists of Europe not only knew that Karl Liebknecht, Rosa Luxemburg and the Spartacists in Germany had begun and were carrying on a struggle against the war and against social-patriotism, but they also knew that on Lenin's initiative and that of the Russian Bolsheviks, protests against the Second International

were growing louder and louder, and with them calls to a revolutionary civil war, to a return to international proletarian solidarity, to the creation of a new International, not social-democratic but Communist. They were fully aware of what had occurred and how questions had been raised at Zimmerwald and Kienthal by the various groups of international socialists of different countries and various shades of opinion. They knew that there could be no question of any resurrection of the Second International, nor of re-assembling the forces of the international proletariat under the social-democratic standard of that International, and they knew that the question of establishing a new, third, Communist International was the order of the day.

But we who had been working in the American socialist movement, even in the then left-wing Socialist Labour Party, were almost entirely cut off, and from the beginning of the war in 1914 we lost touch with the movement in Europe and had only the most distant, and vague idea of what was happening in the International, of whether it should and could be cleansed of social-patriotism and compromise. Nor was it clear to us what had taken place at Zimmerwald and Kienthal or what was the position in regard to the revival of the International. One thing was quite obvious to us, that was that the new international socialist movement, whether it was revived under the Second International purified in the fires of war, or under a new, Third International, that international must stand for revolutionary Marxist principles and tactics in order to deserve the support of the International proletariat. In particular, it was clear to us that in the first place it was necessary to struggle against the idea of the proletariat's defence of "the fatherland," (in which capitalism still ruled), even in the event of a so-called "defensive" war; and that secondly it was necessary to struggle much more insistently for the emancipation of the trade union movement from reformist ideas,

tactics, slogans and leadership, both nationally and internationally—that it was necessary to transfer it to revolutionary lines.

Later on, in 1919, I emphasised and insisted on these basic ideas in my speeches and proposals for the first congress of the Comintern, although at that time these principles which are now generally accepted among Communists, were not so readily accepted by everyone. (See for instance the reservations made in the speeches of Albert (Eberlein) and others—especially on the question of whether it was worth while for Communists to spend so much attention and energy on such difficult, protracted and thankless tasks as the struggle for the conquest of the trade union movement, and whether it would not be better instead to rely on the creation and consolidation of Soviets of workers, soldiers' and peasants' deputies, and the preparation for armed insurrection, the civil war and power to the Soviets.)

The inadequacy of our information on the situation created in the International, as the result of almost three years of war, is the explanation of the fact that in the spring of 1917, when (after the February revolution), I decided to return from the United States to Russia, the C.C. of the American Socialist Labour Party gave me, as its official representative in the International, a mandate to the International Socialist Conference called in Stockholm, by the leaders of the Second International, on the question of bringing the war to an end, and of determining "just and democratic" conditions of peace in the name of the international socialist movement. I was also instructed to study the general position in the International. The American Government, which only just previously had decided to take part in the war on the side of the Entente, learnt of my tasks and endeavoured to prevent me from going to Europe, taking from me the American passport they had previously issued. I had to leave the country illegally.

In June, 1917, comrade D. Pietrovsky, with a mandate from the American Socialist Party, delegate D. from the Jewish party of the social-territorialists and I, arrived in Stockholm. There the "Scandinavian-Dutch Committee" of the Second International was settled. It was headed by the general secretary of the Executive Committee, Camille

Huysmans. It also included Branting, from Sweden, Nina Bang from Denmark, Van Kol and Troelstra from Holland, and others. The head of the Second International, Vandervelde, was absent, being occupied with carrying out the instructions of his Belgian king. The Scandinavian Dutch Committee had held a number of preliminary conferences with the socialist delegates who had arrived from various countries. About the time of our arrival a conference with the leaders of German social-democracy had just come to an end. In the hotel in which we stayed we used to come across Scheidemann, now the head of the coalition cabinet of Müller, and others in the corridors. There also were the heads of the then German "Independents," Kautsky, Haase, Luisa Sitz, Ledebour, Eduard Bernstein and others. They were at daggers drawn with the Scheidemann-Müller group at that time, and they would not even talk to one another. I had once, some thirty years previously, studied Marxism from lectures by Bernstein, when he was still one of the most authoritative Marxists, and was editing the organ of the German Party, the "Social-Democrat" (in Zurich, owing to its being prohibited in Germany by Bismarck). He afterwards became the ideological leader of German revisionism. During the war he was a "left winger" to the same extent as Kautsky. Now, from conversations with him, Kautsky, Haase, and others of this group of German "left wingers," "Internationalists" and Zimmerwald leaders, it became clearer and clearer to me that all their Marxism had long since dried out of all of them, that they were typical German social-democrats, that although they, too, were to take part in the forthcoming Stockholm conference of Zimmerwaldists, there would be no means of finding a common language with them, that they would be of no use in building a single, truly revolutionary International. But they were at least "internationalists" in inverted commas, they were at least fair-weather internationalists. But the utter impossibility of reviving a renewed and more revolutionary Second International, and the necessity of creating a new Third International, was made clear to me from conversations with the representative in Stockholm of the Bulgarian social-democrats, the late comrade Kirkov, and comrade Ganet-

sky, who, with Radek and Vorovsky, was working in the foreign bureau of the C.C. of the Russian Bolsheviks, especially after the conferences held between us delegates from America and the Scandinavian Dutch Committee of the Second International.

The cynical compromises and opportunism of these leaders were to be seen in all their conduct, to be heard in all their arguments and proposals of this committee. I need give only one instance of this.

We were discussing what conditions of peace the international socialist movement ought to recognise as "just and democratic." In particular the question of the restoration of Belgium was raised. When the Committee proposed to include this demand among the others, I said:

"In that case we must fight to ensure that the restored factories, works, etc., of Belgium should be handed over as national property to the Belgian people."

I noticed that Branting, Van Kol, Troelstra and Huysmans looked at each other in amazement. The Belgian Huysmans took it upon himself to overbear me, and the others supported him.

"Do you really want in the name of the international socialist movement to demand the restoration of the ruined factories, etc., of Belgium, and then to have them handed back to their former owners, Belgian and foreign capitalists, so that they can continue to squeeze millions in dividends out of the Belgian proletariat, with the aid of these enterprises?" I said.

"Of course you're quite right in principle," Huysmans answered, "but this demand is too radical. We cannot put forward such demands. The restored factories, etc. must be returned to their former owners. . . ."

I realised that I was wasting time talking to this committee. Our roads lay in different directions. We could find no common language. We could not be in the same International with them.

In the search for a way to the restoration of the International, I turned to the Zimmerwaldists. At that time the situation in regard to Zimmerwald was as follows:

In this camp, there were, besides really revolutionary Marxists, Russian Bolsheviks

and the future Communists of various countries, no few social-democrat centrists and Mensheviks. Among them, as I have already said, were also the German independents, Kautsky, Haase, Ledebour and others. It was obvious that Zimmerwald had played its part and that it was unable to enlist all the vital and militant elements in the international proletarian movement for any creative work, especially for the initiation and creation of a new, revolutionary International. In addition to everything else, this possibility was ruled out by the heterogeneity of its composition and consequently the absence of a single ideology, of uniform tactical principles.

Until the spring of 1917, the secretary of Zimmerwald was the notorious Swiss social-democrat "Internationalist" Robert Grimm, a prominent member of the Swiss Parliament. After the February revolution, when the Social-Revolutionaries and Mensheviks, Kerensky, Tcheidze, Tseretelli and others were the real government, with "war to a victorious conclusion," as their slogan, Grimm came to Petrograd and there, behind the backs of these lackeys of the Entente, exploiting his connections with the Swiss powers, he endeavoured to assist the German Government in their efforts to achieve a separate peace with Russia. Tseretelli and others got to hear of Grimm's part in these manoeuvres and Grimm was "drummed out" of Russia. In June of the same year he arrived in Stockholm completely discredited, and had to hand over his post as secretary of Zimmerwald to one who came with him, and turned out to be not quite so angelic as everybody at that time thought, Angelica Balabanova. Almost at the same time there arrived from Petrograd personages who were eagerly and impatiently awaited, especially by Kautsky, Haase, and the other German independents; to wit, the representatives of the "revolutionary democracy" of Russia, members of the C.C. of the Mensheviks, V. Rozanov (who afterwards, in 1919, was arrested at the quarters of the Yudenitch spy Steinberg in Petrograd for counter-revolution and espionage), also the Social-Revolutionary Smirnov and the late comrade Goldenberg, then a Menshevik, but afterwards a member of the Bolshevik Communist Party.

It was interesting to observe the manoeuvre-

ing resorted to by Kautsky and other independents between this trinity of the "revolutionary democracy" and the Zimmerwaldists, among whom the dominating figures were Radek, Vorovsky and Ganetsky, during the Zimmerwaldist conference that was then held. At first, before the independents had finally blended their voices with Rozanov and the others, with whom they sought to curry favour, and with whom they had an affinity of soul, they participated in the Zimmerwald conference, although not displaying any interest in its proceedings. At times they were forced right on to their hind legs, when Radek and Vorovsky lashed them without mercy in the discussions.

One episode of this Zimmerwaldist conference is worth recalling now.

The most temperamental and most passionately argumentative member of the group of independents was Luisa Sitz, who was then already an ageing woman. It was difficult to say whom she hated most, the Scheidemannites or the Bolsheviks. In any case she could not speak calmly of either the one or the other group, and when Radek's criticism and satire stung the independents like a sharp rapier point, whilst Kautsky impotently stuttered and choked, and Ledebour tried to parry the thrusts, poor Sitz almost burst with rage. Finally, in his speech Radek exclaimed: "Why, why do you independents shout about your fight with Scheidemann and Co? It won't be long before you will be in one party again with Scheidemann and the rest." At that poor Sitz could not restrain herself any longer. Flushed and foaming at the mouth, she was ready to fling herself at Radek with her raised fists; and choking with rage, she brokenly exclaimed: "Why, how do—you dare to—unheard-of impudence! How can you declare that we—we—we—independents, will ever be in one party—with those scoundrels—traitors—the Scheidemannites?" Poor Sitz did not suspect then that hardly five years would pass before Radek's prophecy was realised. It is worth while recalling this anecdote for the benefit of those of our comrades who at present are roused to passionate indignation when anyone declares that for such renegades of the Comintern, just as for Levy, there re-

mains only one road: back to the camp of Scheidemann, Müller and Co.

Soon after this the independents entered into relations with Rozanov and the others, and their contact with the conference was broken. At the close of the conference I went to Petrograd, fully realising that from Zimmerwald, or rather from what remained of it, it was impossible to expect any initiative in the creation of a new International.

At that time (the end of June, 1917) the Social-Revolutionaries and Mensheviks were in power in Russia. Even a large number of citizens had decked themselves out in S.R. or Menshevik colours. Only in the factories, workshops and to some extent in the barracks of Petrograd, Moscow and other centres, did the Bolsheviks' influence predominate and increase, and only among them could any talk be heard of the necessity for creating a new Communist International, and even then it was not looked upon as an actual task of the moment. All thoughts were turned in another direction: the October revolution and the Soviet Government arrived. But after October the atmosphere became more and more saturated with the idea of the Third International, the idea of the Comintern. Long before the Comintern was born the mention of this coming international aroused enthusiasm everywhere. Clubs and similar organisations were named after it.

In December, 1917, I was invited to organise a "Department of International Revolutionary Propaganda" (a kind of rudiment of the Agitation and Propaganda Department of the still unborn Comintern). After the peace of Brest-Litovsk the work of my department, which was chiefly concerned with activities among military prisoners from Germany, Austria and so on, was reorganised, and was occupied mainly with work among the masses of prisoners from the Entente armies who had collected in Russia. At the same time, and specially in order to carry on propaganda among the Anglo-American soldiers who had broken into the R.S.F.S.R. without any declaration of war, special machinery was set up which published British newspapers, fly-sheets and so on, and in this one of the first workers in the E.C.C.I., comrade Fineberg, did great work.

The work of agitation and propaganda for

the coming International was carried on in various ways among the soldiers of the Entente governments then at war with the R.S.F.S.R. At the front, newspapers, fly-sheets, etc., were distributed by means of aeroplanes. At the rear, especially in Moscow, to which town many war prisoners were sent, they were not kept in prison or in concentration camps. They were left at liberty, they were given a fraternal reception in every sense, and for some of them their period of "imprisonment" among the Reds was undoubtedly their first training in Communism and the class struggle. They returned home much more developed, and much stronger than they had come into the R.S.F.S.R. The Bolsheviks returned the Entente soldiers good for evil.

The shadow of the coming International was to be seen also in the setting up of a number of organisations of Eastern and other peoples, who were living, some of them only temporarily, in the R.S.F.S.R. The enthusiasm which the very idea of the coming International aroused, was revealed particularly in connection with the international meeting organised at the end of 1918 in Moscow, at which, for the first time in the Soviet regime, Americans, British, French, as well as Chinese, Koreans, Hindus and others spoke. Soon after an equally successful meeting was held in Petrograd under the chairmanship of Maxim Gorky, and at this war-prisoners and other foreigners spoke.

2. AT THE FIRST CONGRESS

At last the time for the realisation of that which all desired, the time for the foundation of the Communist International, arrived.

About the beginning of the new year a small conference of representatives from the C.C. of the Russian Communist Party, and certain other comrades who were working along this line, was held. An appeal to the revolutionary proletarian organisations of all countries was drawn up, inviting them to send representatives by secret methods to Moscow by March 1st, 1919, to discuss the question of founding a Communist International. I was, of course, glad to sign this appeal in the name of the American Socialist Labour Party, since it was realising something which I had sought

and desired for almost two years. Cut off by the blockade from contact with the American Party, I had no reason to doubt whether I had expressed their desire by participating in the foundation of the Comintern.

In consequence of the blockade, the intervention and the need for secrecy, only a few persons from Germany, Sweden, Norway, Austria, Switzerland, Latvia and other countries could come from abroad for this congress. The majority of the 51 comrades who participated in that congress with voting or advisory powers consisted partly of representatives of the Russian Communist Party, and partly of Communist emigrants from the Baltic and other countries, who were living in the R.S.F.S.R.

Next to the Russian C.P. the greatest prestige and respect were enjoyed by the members of the German Communist Party, which had been reorganised from the Spartacus League not long before the congress. Only some six weeks before the congress Karl Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg had been killed, with the participation of the Scheidemannites. In the person of its advance-guard, led by the Spartacists, the German proletariat had struggled at the barricades of Berlin and other centres of Germany, for a Socialist Soviet Republic, for the replacement of the bourgeois democracy by the dictatorship of the proletariat. The social-democratic executioner, Noske had shot the flower of the German working class in tens of thousands on the streets and squares, in the prisons and the barracks. It is difficult to describe the affection and respect with which the hundreds of devoted comrades who gathered at five o'clock in the evening of March 2nd, 1919, in the small historical Mitrofaniov hall in the Kremlin, regarded the heroic, self-sacrificing German Communist Party. That feeling was passed on to its representative at the congress, comrade Albert (Eberlein). Apart from the opener of the congress, comrade Lenin, there was hardly another comrade whose opinion and wishes were so much respected, owing to the party which he represented, as was comrade Albert. Everybody was in the mood to do anything to meet the demands of his party half-way.

But almost from the moment of the opening

of the first session it became clear that this feeling would be subjected to the heaviest of tests. It transpired that the Spartacus League were against that which all the others present beginning with Lenin, so passionately desired, They were against the immediate proclamation here in Moscow, before the delegates departed, that the Third International had been founded, that its standard had been raised and that this was the first congress of the Comintern in Moscow. In the name and by the instruction of his party, comrade Albert insisted on regarding the sessions not as sessions of the first congress of the Third International, but as sessions of a preliminary conference, which had to consider whether it was necessary, whether it was expedient, whether the conditions were ripe for the founding of the Comintern, and if so, to take measures to call the first congress for the foundation of the Communist International in the future; but only after the basis and the guiding lines of such an International had been drawn up, and it had become clear that the revolutionary ranks of the proletariat in various countries would react with sufficient approbation and in sufficiently large masses to the international. If we remember the blockade of the R.S.F.S.R., the military fronts still existing around the republic, the conditions of the first months after the close of the war, the police and military repression and persecution of everything that was vital among the proletariat, especially when it was a question of relations with Moscow (several comrades were in fact arrested without getting to the congress), it must be admitted that to adopt comrade Albert's proposal meant putting off the foundation of the Comintern for an indefinite period.

Everybody was astounded by the proposal. Everybody had come with the first intention of laying the foundation of the Comintern, and could in no wise agree with comrade Albert's arguments that the revolutionary ranks of the proletariat in the various countries might prove too timid and sceptical, might not respond to a sufficient extent, that a fiasco might prove very injurious and so on. During the interval the astonished and disillusioned comrades discussed the situation thus created with great animation. There

were comrades who saw in comrade Albert's arguments the expression of the timidity and scepticism of the Spartacus comrades themselves on the question of the expediency of establishing a new International. Certain of them said that Rosa Luxemburg had also been against the immediate foundation of a special Communist International. Others went further and considered that the position of comrade Albert indicated that the Spartacists and Luxemburgites had not yet ceased to regard the social-democrats as their deluded party comrades, had not given up hope that they would some time or other be united again, and so were endeavouring to postpone the foundation of the Comintern, since the latter would interfere with their hopes.

Whatever was the case, the spell of the German Communist Party was so strong that at the first session no one plucked up courage to definitely oppose comrade Albert's proposal. Even comrade Lenin and the Russian Communist Party delegation were ready to restrain their desires and give way. In the name of that delegation comrade Zinoviev declared: "Our party holds the view that the moment for the formal foundation of the Third International has arrived, and we should propose to found it at this its first congress. But as our friends from Germany, the German Communist Party, insist on the recognition of this congress as only a conference, we consider it necessary for the present to adhere to this proposal of the German Communists. At the same time we declare that we shall continue to agitate for the foundation of the Third International as an official organisation as soon as possible." This statement was made in the name of the delegation, which was composed of Lenin, Trotsky, Zinoviev, Stalin, Bukharin and others, and Vorovsky and Osinsky with advisory powers.

Comrade Kuusinen also, in the name of the Finnish delegation, (Sirola, Manner, Kuusinen, I Rakhia and E. Rakhia) declared: "We, the Finnish delegates, also adhere to the view that the Third International ought to be founded now. Taking into consideration the circumstance just mentioned by comrade Zinoviev, for the present we do not put forward this proposal. But in our view it would be a highly gratifying result of this conference if

it were to end with a decision that it should, as a congress, set about the foundation of the new International."

The assembly decided to hold its sessions as an International Communist Conference.

Thus it appeared that the question was settled: the standard of the Comintern would not be raised immediately, but at some time in the future. Comrade Albert had won a temporary victory, but it was merely temporary, lasting only a few hours.

None of those who had voted for the decision were satisfied with it. They all felt that a great error had been committed under pressure, and were eager for a suitable moment to put it right. That moment came the following day, at the evening session. A change occurred in the mood of almost all the delegates, in the direction of a resolute struggle for the revocation of the concession made the evening before to comrade Albert.

Considerable assistance was given by the speech at the evening session of the second day made by the delegate from Vienna, comrade Gruber (Steingart), who had only just arrived. He was a very temperamental and able agitator. Intensely stirred even before his departure from Vienna by the passionate struggle of the handful of Austrian Communists with the treacherous social-democrats, the bourgeoisie, clericalism and militarism, Gruber and his colleague laid themselves open to continual risk and danger, struggling for seventeen days to get to Moscow for the congress. They rode on locomotives and tenders, on the buffers and in cattle-trucks, they got safely across the front of the Petlura and Polish bands, and at last they were in Red Moscow; and hardly allowing themselves time to wash, they sped to the Kremlin in order to be the sooner at the congress, among comrades, in order to aid in raising the standard of the new revolutionary Communist International. Here they were at last among comrades, delegates, and talking to them, describing the struggle, the enthusiasm, the self-sacrifice of the Austrian Communists in words of fire. But how Steingart spoke! It is difficult to convey the impression. He seemed to electrify his audience, infecting them with his boundless enthusiasm, audacity and faith in the strength of our movement. I have heard

Steingart many times since in Moscow, but I have never again heard him make a speech like that first speech in Moscow.

That speech, coinciding with the formal proposal of a number of comrades to set to work to found the Third International immediately, turned the course of the congress on this question. It was clear to all that the error committed the evening before must be corrected, that the foundation of the Comintern must be proclaimed at once.

The proposal read:

"The representatives of the Communist Party of German Austria, the left wing Social-Democratic Party of Sweden, the Balkan Social-Democratic Revolutionary Labour Federation, and the Communist Party of Hungary, propose the foundation of the Communist International.

"1. The necessity of the struggle for the dictatorship of the proletariat demands the existence of a consolidated, international organisation of all Communist elements.

"2. The foundation of the Third International is all the more urgent since at the present moment in Berne, and afterwards perhaps in other places, attempts are being made to restore the old, opportunist International and to gather together all the irresolute, indeterminate elements of the proletariat. Consequently it is necessary to draw a sharp line of demarcation between the revolutionary and the treacherous elements.

"3. If the Third International is not founded by the present conference the impression may be given that there is not unity among the Communist parties; that, of course, would weaken our position and would increase the confusion among the vacillating elements of the proletariat in all countries.

"4. The foundation of the Third International is consequently an unconditional necessity, and it must be accomplished by the international Communist congress in Moscow."

Again the discussions began, but now everybody, not excepting comrade Albert himself, saw clearly that the proclamation of the Communist International at this its first formal congress was predetermined. Comrade Albert conscientiously carried out his instructions.

He brought into play all the force of his eloquence and conviction, but he convinced no one. He was no poor advocate of a bad client. But everybody realised that he was wasting his powder or was talking only for the sake of the shorthand typists. Some listened with a benevolent smile of commiseration. Others yawned in their boredom. He was answered by Zinoviev, Balabanova, Grimlund, Rakhia (he also read a declaration made by the C.P. of Finland), Sadoul, Gruber, Fineberg and others.

Finally the vote was taken. Voting was by name, the delegates with advisory votes also being asked their opinion. The C.P. of Germany did not vote (five votes). All the rest voted unanimously for the resolution.

The Communist International was born amid jubilant shouts and the sound of the "Internationale," with unprecedented enthusiasm, on March 5th, 1919, at nine o'clock in the evening.

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The Foundation of the Comintern and the Spartakusbund

Hugo Eberlein (Max Albert)

WHEN, ten years ago, the representatives of the world proletariat met in Moscow to found the Communist International, the Spartakusbund had fought its first heroic battle against Noske's November republic. It had not succeeded in changing the imperialist into the civil war, in crowning the revolution with victory. The young Party, founded on 30th December, 1918, evidenced all the symptoms of the "infantile disorder." The Spartakusbund, which had broken completely with reformism during the war, was wholeheartedly and vigorously in favour of the Russian revolution. It was prepared to take the road of Bolshevism, in which, however, it saw only action, armed insurrection, a life and death struggle against reformism, against its governmental power and its white guard mercenaries. The real kernel of Bolshevism, the Leninist theory of the role of a revolutionary party and its relation to the masses, the strategy and tactics which lead to armed insurrection, was, it is true, understood by many members of the Bund, but the great mass of workers belonging to it, ready to face death for the revolution, were bound in no strict organisation governed by the Leninist theory of the revolution and the Party. Early in 1919, the Communist Party was not a party in the Bolshevik sense, in the sense of the revolutionary idea of the Party which has since become the common property of Communists. History had not yet given it time to study the experiences of the Russian revolutions. A few days after its foundation, the threat of counter-revolution forced it to take up the struggle. Without the blood shed by the Spartakists for the German proletariat in 1919, a German Communist Party would have been impossible. Without the lessons of the Spartakist struggles, the revolutionary masses of Germany would never have realised the necessity for a Bolshevik Party. Lenin's remark that the

workers learn chiefly by their own experience was justified in the foundation of the C.P.G.

At the beginning there was no centre keeping all the sections of the Spartakusbund together and directing their actions. Connections with provincial organisations were very weak. The great increase of revolutionary workers in the Spartakus organisations meant that, in the fire of the struggle, organisational unity could not be maintained and strengthened. Every member bore a tremendous burden of work and responsibility, which was increased because of the lack of any concrete political plan for carrying on the fight.

So it happened that when, early in January, the invitation arrived from Moscow to send delegates to a preparatory conference to discuss the situation in the international, the provincial organisations could not be consulted as to the delegates, nor give them the support required by the importance of the conference. As far as I know, there are no documents relating to that period, and I have to rely on my memory for the events which led up to my being sent as a delegate.

* * * * *

The invitation to the C.P.G. to take part in a preliminary conference on the question of the foundation of a new international arrived in Berlin early in January, 1919. As far as I remember, the invitation was addressed to the Central Committee, to Rosa and Karl. One night, as I was accompanying Rosa from the editorial offices of "Rote Fahne" to her house in the southern district, she told me that the invitation had come, and discussed the question of who should be sent. She and Karl Liebknecht were not to be considered, for it was impossible for them to leave Berlin. Apart from that, Rosa thought that the C.P.G. should be represented at this Conference by a German comrade whose poli-

tical judgment would not be influenced by previous disagreements with Russian comrades. She referred now and again to the differences of opinion between herself and Leo Jogisches, and the Bolsheviks. Rosa suggested that I should go.

WHEN SHOULD THE COMINTERN BE FOUNDED?

During our conversation, she referred to the importance of the conference in the following terms: the Bolsheviks will probably propose that a new international should be founded immediately, even if only a few delegates turn up. The foundation of the Communist International is obviously and unconditionally necessary, but it should not be premature. The Communist International should only be definitely founded when, in the revolutionary mass movements sweeping over almost all the countries of Europe, Communist Parties have arisen. It is also particularly necessary to choose the exact time of its foundation so as to accelerate the separation of the revolutionary masses from the United Social-Democratic Party. Rosa therefore suggested that at the Conference I should propose the establishment of a commission consisting of representatives of the different countries, and that the inaugural Congress should take place some time between Easter and Whitsun. . . .

Three days later Rosa and Karl were dead. We all felt the pain of the irreparable loss of our leaders—there were no discussions among us in those days. Then there was a meeting in the Kochstrasse, in which Jogisches, Karski, Pieck, Levi and Eberlein took part (Meyer was under arrest). I reported to the comrades my last conversation with Rosa, and Leo Jogisches, who shared her opinion, confirmed it. It was agreed that I should be delegate, on the unconditional mandate that I put forward the opinion of Rosa and Leo. A few days later there was another meeting which I did not attend, but Ernst Meyer was present. Shortly after I began the journey to Moscow. I travelled from the Charlottenburg station with Leviné, who was arrested at Eydtkuhnen. Machine-gun fire sounded at the Alexanderplatz . . . Spartakus was sending revolutionary greetings to the Communist International. . . .

LENIN'S VIEWS ON THE NECESSITY OF THE C.I.

On my arrival in Moscow I had a personal interview with Lenin. I gave a detailed report on the situation in Western Europe, and carefully and patiently Lenin tried, from my description, to build up a picture of the position. He asked me a number of questions about the ideas and organisation of the Spartakusbund, its strength in the factories, its influence in the trade unions, the organisation of the armed insurrection in Berlin, etc. He seemed very pessimistic about the anti-parliamentary and anti-trade union decisions of the inaugural party congress, which he considered absolutely incorrect. When I told him the opinion of Rosa Luxemburg and the Spartakus centre on the question of founding the Comintern, he was not greatly surprised, and said that he had expected such an attitude. He discussed it as follows: from the tactical point of view, these arguments have something in them, but nevertheless the International must be founded immediately. The advancing revolutionary movement, the effect of the Russian revolution on the most advanced sections of the proletariat, the recognition by large numbers of workers of the bankruptcy of the Second International, and above all, the historical necessity of leading and co-ordinating the revolutionary action of the proletariat, made such a step essential. He added: "But I think it extraordinarily difficult to found the International without the agreement of the C.P.G." He proposed that the question of foundation should be brought up towards the end of the conference. In the days before the opening of the conference, which only constituted itself a congress on the third day, there were a number of meetings with the Russian delegates to the Conference, in which comrade Bukharin particularly took active part, and which gave opportunity for a lively exchange of opinion. Positive results could only with difficulty be attained, for it was not my personal opinion, but my mandate and the possibility of Berlin agreeing, that counted. But during the whole time, Lenin did not doubt for a minute that the Spartakusbund would become a part of the new international, and that after its foundation differences of opinion would be only of an incidental character. Lenin and the whole

Russian delegation considered the Spartakusbund as the most important and advanced revolutionary party in western Europe. This was expressed in the resolution on the "attitude to the various socialist tendencies and to the Berne Conference," which contained the following passage:

"3. Communists. In the Second International, where they defended the Communist-Marxist attitude to the war and to the tasks of the proletariat (Stuttgart, 1907; Lenin-Luxemburg resolution), they remained a minority. The left-radicals, (later the Spartakus group) in Germany, the Bolsheviks in Russia, the "tribunists" in Holland, the youth group in Sweden, the left wing of the youth international in a number of countries, formed the first basis of the new International. True to working class interests, they put forward, from the beginning of the war, the slogan of changing the imperialist war into a civil war. They have now constituted themselves as the Third International."

THE IMPORTANCE OF THE SPARTAKUS BUND

In accordance with Lenin's appreciation of the importance of the Spartakusbund, I was elected to all the Commissions and to the Conference Presidium. At Lenin's suggestion, the question of the foundation of the International was not raised during the first days of the full sessions. On all questions, whether of the role of the Third International, its construction, or the tactics to be employed in western countries, such unanimity was displayed (in which I shared) that the "Spartakus debate" which was very short, had rather a formal than a political significance. I was, of course, obliged to give the position of our Central Committee. In the only printed report of the Conference ("The Foundation of the Third International," First Conference of the Communist International held in Moscow from March 2-6th, 1919, Vienna, 1919), my speech is reported as follows:

"When the question as to whether the present assembly should be proclaimed as the conference of the International arose, only a few voices were heard against it, and the representative of the Spartakusbund expressed a doubt whether the time had arrived for the

formation of the Third International. He referred to the warning example of Zimmerwald and Kienthal, which gave a picture, not of unity, but of decay, and the organisation fell to pieces. The opinion of the German comrade was that the position of the yellow Berne International was not in itself sufficient reason for the foundation of the Communist International, which could only live on the support of the workers of all lands. As however, there was a unanimous vote (with one abstention) it was decided to constitute the conference as the Conference of the Communist International, and the German comrade could not but welcome it, and join it in the name of the German revolutionary proletariat."

This report cannot lay claim to full correctness. [Comrade Eberlein's contention needs historical examination. He himself is responsible for the correctness of the report.—Ed.] Unfortunately there are no typewritten reports.. But the printed report fails to give my personal statement that I was fully agreed with the conference, and that, had I a free hand, I should have voted for the immediate establishment of the Communist International. Lenin's arguments had convinced me. The difference between my opinion and my mandate was expressed by the fact that I did not vote against the resolution, but withheld my vote. Besides which I emphasised that the Spartakusbund recognised the necessity of founding the Communist International, but considered that the time then was, tactically, unfavourable. I certainly did not draw the parallel with Zimmerwald and Kienthal in that way, for it was contrary to my opinion. Nor did I use the words "can only live." This incorrect report was no doubt due to technical conditions, and to the fact that the speeches were not taken in shorthand, but, as it were, reconstructed. When I ended my speech with the statement that I was firmly convinced that the Spartakusbund would fully agree to the decision of the Congress, Lenin said to me, "We, too, were firmly convinced of that, otherwise we would not have determined on the immediate foundation of the International."

* * * * *

Since Rosa Luxemburg had taken the real intellectual lead in the Spartakusbund, it is not surprising that its early relations with the C.I. corresponded in essentials to her political ideas.

Rosa Luxemburg, and our small circle had from the very beginning of the war realised that a break with the Second International was historically inevitable. That this declaration was not made earlier is in my opinion due to the fact that before the war there was no definite left fraction, and Karl Liebknecht the standard-bearer of the fight against opportunism, was irresolute in the first war weeks. Liebknecht's attitude on the outbreak of war is well known. Although while hotly opposing the ratification of war credits within the Party and the Reichstag social-democratic fraction, he felt himself obliged to maintain discipline outside. Immediately after the outbreak of war, Rosa was considering the publication of a manifesto to the German workers which should include the question of the International. Why this was not done is told by comrade Markhlevsky (Karski) :

KARL LIEBKNECHT AND THE WAR

"The war broke out and from the first day comrade Luxemburg started propaganda against the war. She thought that she would succeed in uniting a circle of German comrades to work in common. It seemed to her that it was first of all necessary to have a manifesto, signed by a number of comrades popular among the workers Jogisches immediately declared that it would be of no use, but still we made the attempt. But only seven answered Rosa's invitation to meet at her house and discuss the question, and of these only two were prominent party members, Mehring and Lensch. The latter at first promised to sign, but later withdrew his support. The manifesto could have been signed only by Luxemburg, Zetkin and Mehring, which was, of course, unthinkable and the plan had to be given up. A reader, not very well versed in German affairs, might ask: "And Liebknecht?" Unfortunately Liebknecht was still hesitating and only decided some months later to take up the fight against the war. This fight had to be carried on by conspiratorial methods, and only a few were ready for

this. The group which did take up the fight consisted of comrades Luxemburg, Jogisches, Mehring, the two Dunckers, Ernst Meyer, Wilhelm Pieck, Eberlein, Lange and myself—we were, I think, all."—"Communist International," No. 3, Markhlevsky: "Rosa Luxemburg and Jogisches.)

Without Liebknecht's signature the manifesto could not be published. We had to wait. Rosa seized the first opportunity of raising the question of the International in our group, and of putting it before the German workers. The opportunity came at the calling of the first Zimmerwald Conference. Rosa Luxemburg, in prison, wrote, "The Crisis of Social-Democracy," with an appendix containing "Directions for the tasks of international social-democracy." Known as the Junius pamphlet, these theses were for the enlightenment of the Spartakus group, and were also intended to differentiate them from the centrists Haase, Ledebour, etc. The demand for the foundation of a new, Third International formed the main point of the theses. The decisive paragraphs run as follows:

"11. The Second International has been blown up by the war. The inadequacy of its organisation has been demonstrated by its incapacity to carry on an effective moral struggle against national hostilities in the war, and to maintain the united action of the workers in all countries.

"12. In face of the treachery of the official representatives of the socialist parties in the principal countries to the aims and interests of the working class, in face of their flight from the proletarian international to bourgeois imperialist policy, it is a vital question for socialism that a new international be founded which must take over the leadership and organisation of the revolutionary class struggle against imperialism.

"It should be constructed on the following principles:

(3) The weight of the workers' class organisation is in the International. The International decides the tactics of the national sections in time of war, to questions of militarism, colonial policy, trade, labour celebrations and the whole tactic to be employed in the war.

(4) Obedience to the decisions of the International overrides all other obligations. National sections who oppose the International's decisions in war, thereby place themselves outside the international proletariat and release their members from all obligations to them."

It is not the place here to enter into all the weaknesses of her pamphlet. Lenin's criticism has become common knowledge in the International. But these quotations show clearly how Rosa Luxemburg had revised her attitude towards the questions of international organisation, and of the role of the Party, in a Leninist way.*

Of course, these theses have their weaknesses, due to Luxemburg's ideas on imperialism. The causes given of the breakdown of the Second International are, from the Marxist standpoint, far behind those in the "Manifesto of the Central Committee of the Russian Social-Democratic Workers' Party on the Imperialist War," which appeared in September, 1914.

THE SPARTAKISTS AND THE C.I.

But if those extracts dealing with the organisational structure of the new International are compared with section 13 of the "Organisation question and the name of the Party," in the Introduction to the first congress of the Communist International, the rapid revolutionary development of the Spartakusbund at the beginning of the war can be fairly well measured. The section runs as follows:

"13. The basis of the Third International is assured by the fact that there already exist in Europe groups and organisations of comrades holding the same principles and employ-

* There is an inconsistency in Rosa's attitude to the organisation of the International and to the split in the S.D.P. Lenin points this out in his criticism of the pamphlet, which reproaches the author with not having stated the inevitability of the split and the connection between opportunism and socialist-jingoism. He writes: "It is an astonishing inconsistency, for in the 12 Thesis of the 'International' mention is directly made of the necessity for a 'new International'..." ("Against the Stream," p. 417.)

ing, on the whole, the same tactical methods. Such are particularly the Spartakists in Germany and the Communist Parties in many other countries.

"14. The Congress must set up a common fighting organ for the purpose of establishing permanent contact and for planned leadership, that is, a centre of the Communist International must be set up, for the interests of the movement in every country are subordinate to the common interests of the revolution internationally."

The history of this suggestion is told by Ernst Meyer:

"The proposal, as comparison with the final text shows, suffered but slight alteration. . . . But as against the final text it had the merit of speaking of the "foundation" and not the "creation" of the new International. This alteration was not accidental, but was suggested by Liebknecht to whom Rosa Luxemburg sent her theses from prison. . . .

Karl Liebknecht was also against the foundation of a new International. He only wanted directions for the "in spite of everything, one and indivisible International."

Unfortunately we have not Rosa Luxemburg's answer to this letter; but from the final form of the theses it appears that Rosa did not consider Liebknecht's criticism to be valid; in particular, the section on international discipline was kept.

In the first national Conference of the international group, which took place in Karl Liebknecht's office on New Year's Day, 1916, the theses were put before the delegates and accepted in principle. . . . The formal agreement to the final text occurred at the March Conference of the Spartakusbund."

("Under the Banner of Marxism," vol. II., E. Mayer: "The Origin of the Junius pamphlet.")

ZIMMERWALD AND KIENTHAL

The Junius theses determined the attitude taken up by the Spartakus delegates, Ernst Meyer and Bertha Thalheimer, at Zimmerwald. This led to a sharp break between the Ledebour crowd and the Spartakists. On most questions the Spartakus delegates supported the left under Lenin's leadership; but

not on one important question, that of an immediate split and the foundation of the Third International, on which account they did not entirely support Lenin's platform. It was mainly due to the effect of the Junius theses that at Kienthal the differences with the left had grown weaker. On the question of the Centralism of the International, the break with the Ledebour opposition was most marked, a sign of the revolutionary progress that Spartakus had made towards Lenin in the first years of the war. (vide E. Meyer: Introduction to the Spartakus letters, 1.)

But we believe that the irresolution of the Spartakists at Zimmerwald and Kienthal had nothing to do with Rosa Luxemburg's attitude to the foundation of the Third International, and that her position early in 1919 was caused by other motives than those which affected her at Zimmerwald and Kienthal.

While in 1915 Rosa still envisaged the possibility of winning the majority of social-democratic organisations for the new International during the war, and, therefore, rejected the immediate foundation of the Third International (which is apparent in the Junius theses), at the beginning of 1919 its foundation was an obvious necessity.

From all this it can be seen that the attitude of the Spartakusbund and Rosa Luxemburg to the International must not be identified with that of the left radicals—incorrect in principle—before the war to the question of an organisational break with reformism, of splitting the party. This is further proved by Rosa Luxemburg's attitude to the political platform of the inaugural congress of the Communist Party of Poland, which took place on 16th December, 1918, that is, two weeks before that of the C.P.G. Dealing with the International, the programme declared:

"It is only in a few countries that the majority of the Party are definitely and uncompromisingly hostile to the war ideology; in other countries groups are gradually being formed to fight the social patriotic majority. The Zimmerwald and Kienthal Conferences were the first attempts to organise this opposition. But while the opposition of most did not start from the struggle for peace within capitalist society, among the revolutionary elements the consciousness began to grow. . . , etc.

In this way there arises the Communist International, already active in every country, the International of the social revolution."

In their pamphlet "Communism in Poland," comrades Brand and Valetsky write: "The proposed political programme of the Party which was to be founded, was sent to comrades Rosa Luxemburg and Leo Jogisches before the inaugural congress met in Warsaw, and met with their unreserved approval."

The criticism of Zimmerwald, which was for Rosa self-criticism, proves that the revolutionary leader of the German proletariat was at the end of the war completely in agreement with the Bolsheviks on the principles of the International.

* * * * *

Thus the differences of opinion between the Spartakusbund and Rosa Luxemburg, and the Bolsheviks at the foundation congress of the Comintern were not concerned with principles. Not only the course and results of the world war, but the ten years development of the Communist World Party have shown that, in everything which separated Rosa from Bolshevism, Bolshevism was right. Nevertheless "Luxemburgism," the ideas of the Spartakists are indissolubly connected with the origin and development of the International.

"LUXEMBURGISM"

By "Luxemburgism" we understand, not only its differences from Leninism, but also its determined and irreconcilable struggle against reformism. When over-zealous critics make short work of "Luxemburgism" by calling it "left Menshevism," it indicates an attitude to the Party's part which is suited to anything else rather than to making the development of the Comintern clear to party members, and to explaining, with Leninist criticism, the revolutionary tradition of the C.P.G.

What was Lenin's method? During the war he sharply criticised the Junius theses, and demanded the greatest exertion of efforts towards Marxist development of the young C.P.G., but he thought it quite unnecessary to make a mechanical comparison of the develop-

ment of the party in Russia and Germany, for the simple reason that it would have helped the young party neither to examine its past critically, nor to take that path which was necessary to transplant Leninism into the life of the revolutionary fight in Germany. The fact that Leninism has the uncontested and incontestable leadership in the revolutionary world movement is due not only to the triumph of Bolshevik principles in the Russian revolution, but also to the special conditions under which Bolshevik ideology and organisation grew up in Russia.

"On the other hand, having come into existence on this granite theoretical foundation, Bolshevism went through fifteen years (1903-1917) of practical history which, in fertility of experience, had no equal anywhere else in the world. In no other country during those fifteen years was there anything approximating to such wide revolutionary experience, such a variety and rapidity of shifting forms in the movement—legal and illegal, peaceful and stormy, open and underground, embracing small circles and large masses, parliamentary and terrorist. In no other country, during so short a period of time, has there been concentrated such a multiplicity of forms, shades and methods of struggle, embracing all classes of modern society. To this it must be added that the struggle, maturing with particular rapidity because of the backwardness of the country and the heavy yoke of Tsarism, assimilated eagerly and successfully the latest developments of American and European political

experience." ("Left Wing Communism," p. 12.)

Between 1903 and 1917 Bolshevism developed that all-embracing theory, strategy and tactics of the seizure of power as we understand it to-day. And that it had to become the international ideology of the revolutionary proletariat is due to those same causes adduced by Lenin why the Russian workers were the first to seize power. Just as that was no "accident," but a necessary result of diverse and unequal capitalist development, so too, it was no accident that the formation in Germany of a revolutionary Party, in Lenin's sense, took longer than in Russia, and had to tread, and is still treading, a more painful and laborious road.

So, when reviewing the ten years' history of the Communist World Party, one must understand and consider it in its totality. There are defeats as well as victories, in the history of the Comintern. In the critical, and often agonising process of the birth and development of the Comintern, there is reflected the transformation of the oppressed and enslaved proletariat into the ruling class of modern history. Every stage in that history is dear to us, and must be studied carefully by us and particularly by our younger Party comrades, so that, in the next stage, we shall know how to carry out a correct revolutionary policy. At the foundation of the Comintern Bolshevism, Lenin, formed the General Staff of the new army of the proletariat, determined on victory—Spartakus, Rosa Luxemburg, the first revolutionary battalion of Western Europe.

The Formation of the Communist International

J. Fineberg

THE historian of the Communist International, with all the material and documents before him, will be able to record with precision the minor as well as the outstanding events connected with its inception and birth. In these few lines I can only recall from memory the impression I had on the occasion of these historical events.

Looking back on the past ten years, in the endeavour to re-establish in my mind the occurrences of that time, I find that, so crowded with events has the period been, both in and around the Communist International, that its actual inception seems to have receded into the distant past.

I had the good fortune to attend the meeting at which the decision was made to take measures for the creation of the Third Communist International. The picture of that gathering that rises before my mind's eye is one shrouded in gloom. One day in January, 1919, I was informed that the meeting would take place that evening, and was invited to attend. At the hour appointed I went to the Kremlin, and was shown into a vast chamber almost in darkness. In one corner, lit by a single electric lamp, was a table and some chairs screened off from the rest of the room by a rich screen. Out of curiosity I looked behind the screen, and to my astonishment I saw a richly emblazoned canopied bed. It so happened that the consultation before the birth of the Communist International took place in the royal bedchamber of Nicholas the Last.

As far as I can recall, there were only four comrades present at that meeting: Comrades Lenin, Chicherin, Sirola of Finland and myself. We drew up to the table in the corner of the room, and the light from the single lamp seemed only to deepen the shadows around us. On the wall over the table hung the well-known painting of a young girl re-

clining at the mouth of a cave, reading a book resting on a skull. The whole surroundings seemed to clothe the proceedings in an atmosphere of mystery and portent. Actually, there was no particular secrecy about the matter. A day or two afterwards the decision was broadcast to the world. The gloom is to be explained simply by the fact that Moscow was obliged to economise in electricity in those days. But having arrived in Russia only a few months previously, I was still full of impressions of the revolution and somewhat inclined to take a romantic view of things.

Besides, the matter to be discussed was of outstanding historical significance. The Russian proletariat was struggling to consolidate its power in the midst of the close ring of the counter-revolution. Outside of the ring, in other countries, the proletariat was in revolt against the bourgeoisie, whose power had been shaken. The parties of the Second International, having betrayed the proletariat in the world war, had now openly come out as the saviours of capitalist society and with their own hands were massacring the workers in order to stem the tide of revolution with a rampart of workers' bodies. In Germany the Spartakus-Bund was battling manfully against the forces of the Butcher Scheidemann; in Austria the proletariat was in revolt, and even in England soldiers were in open mutiny. The Social-Democratic Parties and those sections of them which had remained loyal to the principles of international proletarian solidarity were floundering in this maelstrom, unable to control it.

In these conditions comrade Lenin had come to the conclusion that the time had arrived when the work commenced at Zimmerwald and Kienthal must be completed. The Second International was completely exposed. The international proletariat could now have no doubts that it had joined forces with the in-

ternational bourgeoisie to crush the proletarian revolution. They must be called upon once and for all to break with this treacherous organisation and to unite their forces under the banner of a new, revolutionary, international organisation, that would lead them in the struggle successfully commenced by the Russian proletariat for the overthrow of the bourgeoisie.

It was in this sense that comrade Lenin explained the reasons for convening the meeting. He submitted a draft of the manifesto to be broadcast to the workers of the world, and suggested that it be signed by the representatives of the Russian Party and of the sympathetic foreign parties, who were then in Moscow. After some discussion comrade Lenin's proposal was agreed to. At the same time a draft was accepted of an invitation to be sent to the parties that were in opposition to the Second International to attend the inaugural Congress of the Third International, which it was decided at this meeting to convene in Moscow in March.

Although I had no mandate from my party, the British Socialist Party, to pledge it to the formation of a new International, nevertheless, I signed the manifesto in the name of the party in the conviction that it would approve my action. After expelling the jingo Hyndman and his followers, the British Socialist Party had fought to counteract the war fever among the working class that was fanned by the bourgeoisie aided by their social-democratic lackeys. It had responded to the call of the revolutionary wing of the Zimmerwald and Kienthal Conferences, and only the physical impossibility of sending delegates prevented it from being represented at these conferences and supporting the revolutionary wing. On my departure for Russia it had instructed me to express its complete solidarity with the Russian Bolshevik Party. I was convinced that logically it must endorse my action in joining its name to this act of initiating the Third International.

The manifesto and the invitation were broadcast by radio, and in Moscow preparations were proceeded with for the holding of the Inaugural Congress in March.

Unlike subsequent Congresses, the Inaugural Congress, as far as I can remember,

took place on, or very near, the appointed date. But also unlike other Congresses, we did not expect, nor did we receive, many delegates from abroad. In fact, the only delegates that I can recall who came directly from abroad were comrade Eberlein, representing the Spartakus-Bund, comrade Rutgers, representing the American Propaganda League and a section of the Social-Democratic Party of Holland, and several Finnish comrades. The other foreign parties represented at the Congress were represented by members of those parties then in Moscow.

On the same grounds that prompted me to sign the invitation to the Congress, I took it upon myself to represent the British Socialist Party at the Congress, and subsequent events proved that I was right in doing so. After the First Congress the B.S.P. took the initiative in convening a conference of the revolutionary parties and groups in Great Britain for the purpose of forming a Communist Party. As the outcome of that conference, the Communist Party of Great Britain, which affiliated to the Communist International, was formed.

The main point of discussion at the March Congress was the question as to whether that Congress should indeed be the Inaugural Congress of the Communist International, *i.e.*, whether the International should be declared formed at that Congress, which should be counted as the First Congress, or whether it should be regarded merely as a preliminary conference to discuss the advisability of forming the Communist International. The Russian Communist Party, led by Lenin, and the overwhelming majority of the delegates present were in favour of the immediate inauguration of the International. To the disappointment of all, the representative of the Spartakus-Bund hesitated to cast his vote in favour of this proposal without direct instructions from his organisation, and urged the postponement of a decision until a future conference. This was a serious obstacle, for the Spartakus-Bund was, next to the Russian Communist Party, the largest proletarian organisation actually engaged in the revolutionary struggle. The newly formed Communist International would be far less influential without the affiliation of the fighting

German organisation than if it had it in its ranks.

Long and earnest were the appeals of the other delegates to comrade Eberlein to alter his attitude, but his sense of duty to his organisation would not permit him to budge from his position. Lenin's logic, however, proved to be more sound and far-sighted than that of comrade Eberlein's. He argued that the Spartakus-Bund could not fail to join the Communist International if it were formed. He proposed, therefore, that, notwithstanding comrade Eberlein's reservations, the Third International be formally declared established, firm in the conviction that the Spartakus-Bund and all other revolutionary proletarian organisations would rally to its banner.

This proposal was carried with acclamation by the Congress; the Third International was declared formed, and that gathering was declared to be its First Congress.

Lenin's forecast of the attitude of the revolutionary proletarian organisation in other countries towards the Communist International

soon proved to be correct. A little more than a year later the Second Congress was held, and was attended by delegates from all countries, who, in order to reach Moscow, had to break through the barbed wire entanglements with which the bourgeois governments had blockaded Soviet Russia. More than that, the flowing tide of revolution that carried these revolutionary organisations into the Communist International also swept with it the flotsam and jetsam of the disintegrated Second International. But the Second Congress put up a grating in the shape of the Twenty-one Points to keep out undesirable elements, and at subsequent Congresses a good comb was fashioned to comb out such as had managed to penetrate through the grating.

Since it was formed ten years ago, the Communist International has witnessed many arrivals and departures with every rise and fall of the revolutionary tide. But its core, the revolutionary vanguard of the proletariat, remains steadfast like a rock on the sure foundations that Lenin laid.

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Ten Years of the "Communist International"

THE celebration of the Comintern is also the celebration of our journal. In March, 1919, the Communist International was founded, and on May 1st of the same year the first number of the "Communist International," the organ of the E.C.C.I. appeared. The editorial and publishing offices were in Smolny, Petrograd, in the one-time centre of the October, the world revolution. At the top of our first number there was printed the manifesto of the inaugural congress of the Comintern "To the proletariat of the whole world," followed by the Executive's manifesto on May Day. For this number Lenin wrote his article, "The Third International; its place in history," in which he proclaimed to the workers of the world, who with hope and anxiety were watching the Russian revolution, threatened on all sides by enemies; "as a new type of State, the Soviet Republic cannot disappear." Zinoviev wrote on the "Prospects of the Proletarian Revolution"; Maxim Gorki wrote an enthusiastic article, "Yesterday and to-day"; Rudas on "The Proletarian Revolution in Hungary." Besides many other articles, the first number also contained most important material on the inaugural congress and the early activity of the C.I., including an appeal to the workers and soldiers of all countries on the Hungarian revolution, greetings to the workers of the Bavarian republic and letters to the Hungarian and Bavarian Communists.

In the first years of the Comintern, the "C.I." was its only regular publication, and had therefore to be its theoretical organ and its vehicle for the publication of Comintern documents. Until the end of 1924, it appeared very irregularly. Up to the end of 1923 only 29 numbers had appeared, containing altogether 7,955 pages. During 1924 it was also found impossible to issue the journal regularly. This began on January 1st, 1925, and from then the paper appeared regularly every month, as had been announced in 1921, after the Third World Congress. The same number

which made this announcement also stated that, since the world congress had decided upon a special publication, "International Press Correspondence," the "C.I." would in future be devoted only to questions of theory, tactics, and organisation. The promise made of the regular publication of the "C.I." was not then kept, and this was partly due to the fact that after the appearance of "Inprecorr" the "C.I." was, for a time, pushed rather into the background. The jubilee number which appeared on the fifth anniversary of the Comintern (the double number 31-32 of 1-3-24) and which was partly devoted to Lenin's death, contained a number of contributions concerned with the Comintern celebration (including Zinoviev: The first five years of the Communist International, Klara Zetkin: From the International of words to the International of deeds; Sen Katayama: The Comintern and the Far East, Kuusinen: Under Russia's Leadership) but nothing, not even a notice, on the five years existence of the journal, on its work and tasks.

It was only during the course of the year 1924, so important in the development of the Communist movement, and in connection with the first Trotskyist crisis and the first right danger in the whole Comintern, which aroused the first great and lively discussion on an international scale and indicated the urgency of the need for firm ideological leadership, that the necessity for the regular publication of the "C.I." was apparent. And so from 1st January, 1925, it appeared regularly every month. Apart from the twelve monthly numbers, there was also during that year a special number "Problems of the East."

But it soon became evident that even regular monthly publication was not enough to make the "C.I." a really guiding organ of the C.I. The number of problems, the rapidity of development, and the necessity for fruitful and quick discussion and enlightenment was too great to be met by a monthly journal, and it was decided to make it a weekly publication.

This was done in the autumn of 1926. Since September, 1926, our journal has appeared weekly in the Russian and German languages, and fortnightly in English and French. Weekly publication in the latter two languages is at present impossible because of the small circulations.

THE GREAT INCREASE IN COMINTERN PUBLICATIONS

During the ten years' existence of the Comintern and the "C.I.," the Communist movement and the extent of its propaganda have grown tremendously. To-day the "C.I." is by no means the one theoretical organ of the Communist movement. A number of the Comintern sections—apart, of course, from the C.P.S.U.—have their own theoretical organs, and there are a great many "Communist Reviews" in many countries and tongues. The "Unter dem Banner des Marxismus" ("Under the banner of Marxism") also exists, devoted particularly to theoretical scientific work. But, overlooking this, the development of our journal from irregularity to regular weekly publication shows that, although there has been such growth in the publications of the Comintern, our "C.I." has lost none of its importance. On the contrary, the more the Communist movement progresses, the more varied and urgent its problems, and the greater the amount of periodic and non-periodic literature, the more necessary grows the publication of a central organ for the Comintern, whose task it is to sum up the experiences of the world Communist movement, to review all its work and to direct it, on an international scale, along the lines laid down by the E.C.C.I. In addition, the Russian edition of our journal has to establish contact between the Comintern and the organisations and membership of the C.P.S.U. The leading role of the Party in the country of proletarian dictatorship and in the world party of Communism gives special importance to this aspect of our journal.

After the Russian, the German edition of our "C.I." has the largest circulation. Then, with a big drop come the French and English editions. Considering the huge area to be covered by the English edition, the English "C.I." should have a much larger circulation.

The French edition, too, is used for countries where French, while not being the national language, is the one used in connection with the rest of the world. Greater circulation of the French, but more particularly of the English edition, is of the greatest importance from the standpoint of the Comintern's work in countries outside Europe. Our circulation is still far too "European." The development of the Communist movement in Latin America will, within a fairly short time, make a Spanish edition necessary, which will be particularly useful as no theoretical Communist paper is published in the Spanish language.

THE URGENT NEED FOR SYSTEMATIC CO-OPERATION

Obviously the publication of a journal such as ours in more languages, and, so to speak, for the whole world, presents many difficulties. If it is to be the real organ of the E.C.C.I. the editors must be the same for all editions, and must work at the offices of the E.C.C.I. But editing and printing are done in Moscow, Berlin, Paris and London. This, in addition to the long distances to which the "C.I." has to be sent, particularly the English edition, gives rise to many great difficulties of a purely technical nature, which can never be entirely overcome. This only makes still more necessary the utmost possible support of the Comintern sections, not merely by organising an effective system of circulation, but also by providing regular, reliable and prompt co-operation. It is the duty of all Comintern sections and Party writers to see that the "C.I." becomes more international than it is at present. How useful and necessary it is was shown last year on the occasion of the Fourth World Congress. Both in theoretical preparation for the Congress, and in working out its results, our journal did great work, and supplied extremely useful material on all questions dealt with at the Congress. All its work and services in the past prove that, if all Comintern sections and all the comrades concerned were to carry out their duty to our journal properly, it will remain and improve, as the central organ of the Comintern, the leading fighting Leninist journal of the Communist World Party.

Ten Years of Comintern Publications

M. Krepps

THE years of the peak point of the revolutionary wave, 1919 to 1921, did not leave a large amount of literature behind them. Of the far from attractively produced publications of that period the first place was occupied by translations from the Russian of *State and Revolution*, *The Coming Catastrophe* and *Will the Bolsheviks Maintain Power?* by Lenin, and later the publications from Smolny, which made their way with difficulty through the cordon of enemies. And these constitute the first slender pamphlets of Bolshevik post-revolutionary publication in the West.

Only rarely preserved, isolated specimens are left to remind us of the first attempts of the press propaganda of the Comintern during the years of civil war. These quite numerous brochures, printed largely on cigarette paper or news paper, and almost on packing paper, in German, French, English, Czech, Rumanian, Greek, Polish and other languages, made their way from hand to hand over thousands of miles, by the most unexpected and tortuous of ways, to those who eagerly awaited them. And did not many of the comrades in Britain, France, Italy receive those little packets of reports and resolutions of the First and Second Congresses, or the first numbers of the "Communist International," rich in their content, and printed on fine silk paper so as to render them easier of concealment?

How great was the demand for literature is evident from the fact that *State and Revolution* was translated in a very brief period into all the widely used languages, as also were the *A B C of Communism*, the *Russian Communist Party Programme*, the *Constitution of the R.S.F.S.R.* When, in 1922, the larger parties began to build up their own legal publications departments, the first books issued found a wide demand, not only among the Party members and the working class but also far beyond their confines. It was not for nothing that the French edition of the theses and resolutions of the Third or Fourth Con-

gress of the Comintern were on sale in all the bourgeois bookshops of North America.

The slogan of "The Struggle for the Masses" and the task of organisational and ideological Bolshevisation demanded that the Comintern and the C.P.'s of the leading capitalist countries should considerably extend their production of literature and should establish literary bases for the theoretical education of Party members.

In 1923 began an unbroken growth of activity, both quantitative and qualitative, in the publication of Communist literature, in spite of the repressions and obstacles of this or that social-democratic, democratic, Fascist or colonial regime.

In its development that growth reflected all the inequality of development of the Communist and revolutionary movement in various countries and all the heterogeneous political-economic and cultural-historic pre-requisites of the class struggle in those countries. In such countries as Germany, where before the war social-democracy had built up a rich Marxist literature, the Communist publishing companies occupied first place, surpassing the traditional social-democratic publishers in the quantity, the realism, the theoretical level and the make-up of the books they published. By occasionally publishing the classic works of Marx and Engels in a revised and mutilated form, the social-democratic publishers only pay tribute to the demands of their own left-wing, which still pretends to be Marxist. In the majority of countries the task of supplying the workers' movement with propagandist and agitational literature naturally lies entirely on the shoulders of the Communists.

The unflinching source for the propagandist activities of the Communist Parties is the continually growing stream of Marxist-Leninist scientific research and scientific publication work, both in the ranks of the larger C.P.'s and, in particular, in the U.S.S.R., a work which is profoundly interesting in its char-

acter and which answers to the primary demands of the international workers' movement.

The Marx-Engels Institute, the Lenin Institute and the Communist Academy give, and promise to give much more, valuable material for translation into the languages of other sections of the Comintern. Already such a gigantic enterprise as the international publication of a complete authoritative edition of the works of Marx and Engels is in process of realisation; already translations in four languages of the thirty volumes of Lenin's works, published in Russian by the Lenin Institute, have seen the light. There is no doubt that the five-volume collection of Lenin's works promised by the Institute will be quickly translated by the Communist publishers into the majority of the written languages.

A selected edition of the works of Marx and Engels would find widespread distribution, and the necessity of such a publication has long since been obvious and has found reflection in the decisions of the Comintern.

An indication of the certainty of their widespread distribution is found in the result of the German revolutionary Marxist publishing company, the Verlag für Literatur und Politik, and the "Marxist Library" already well-known in the International, the first volume of which was issued at the end of 1926. Since that date sixteen little books have been issued, and this library has become a valuable equipment of every active Communist. Since the end of 1927 the "Marxist Library" has been published in France, where eight volumes have been published, and also in Britain, America and Japan; only very recently have publishers in Mexico and the Argentine also begun their publication.

The "Marxist Library" is characteristic of the international level of the Marxist-Leninist theoretical book. In addition to these, and to the agitational brochures and works devoted to special problems of world policy and the workers' movement, no small place in the production of the Communist publishers is occupied by investigations, reports and reminiscent impressions devoted to the struggle and the construction proceeding in Soviet Russia.

Books throwing light on the problems of the Comintern, its decisions, and reports of its Congresses, Plenums and commissions, are appearing to a greater or less extent in all the well-known languages.

Revolutionary novels and memoirs are carving out a broad highway for themselves.

Translations of the works of Lenin occupy quite a separate and incomparable place, both as regards numbers of languages and of editions and issues.

Naturally the publishers have yet much work to do in order to give the international proletariat everything of Lenin's. There is still much leeway to be made up in all spheres.

The number of Marxist manuals which have found or could find international circulation is quite inadequate. The task of working out and popularising the basic problems of Leninism must also be enlarged and developed. The publication of a series of works commenting on the programme of the Comintern is entirely a task for the future.

An extraordinarily small amount has been done so far for the unmasking and the dissection of social-democracy as the agent of the bourgeoisie and a most dangerous enemy of the coming proletarian revolution.

The publication of a series of works devoted to an analysis of the present condition of capitalism is a task of moment.

One of the big tasks of immediate importance is that of making the masses of the C.P.'s familiar with and fixing their attention on colonial problems. The same has to be said of the task of continually illuminating the threatening danger of war.

If there are not a few tasks awaiting the Comintern in the direction of enlarging the character of the productions of the Communist publishers, the number in the field of distribution is still more considerable.

In the work of distributing their productions, the bourgeois ideologists, literateurs and publishers exploit, first and foremost, expert advertising. In the work of distributing Communist propagandist literature the chief weapon is the Party organisation and the entire Party mass with its immediate environment.

Our task is not only to learn to publish well and to publish what is most necessary, but also to ensure its wide distribution. In essence, together with the successes in the task of strengthening the organisational basis of the Party, in the task of winning the trade unions and attracting the unorganised into active struggle, a good test of the degree of Bolshevisation of this or that Party is the level of its achievements in distributing propagandist literature.

Reasons of space prevent one from citing concrete figures, but we can say that in the distribution of propaganda literature Germany holds first place. In that country the Party has succeeded in creating reasonably good machinery and the attention of the Party masses is sufficiently fixed on the necessity of constant theoretical study and on the task of agitation among the non-Party masses with the aid of press material.

The situation is otherwise in France, where, despite the existence of well-organised publishing firms, the Party has not succeeded in appreciably extending the distribution of literature. For the purpose of comparison it is worth mentioning that the Communist publishing firm of the Italian emigrés, also established in France, distributes its literature with much greater success. Whilst it is true that the French worker takes a different attitude towards books from that of the German worker, the fact that the Italians succeed in distributing books in France much more than do the French themselves hardly testifies to the ability of the French Communists to make use of their Party literature and to carry out propaganda on its behalf.

Of the Anglo-Saxon world one can only say that whilst during the last two years considerable successes have been registered by the Communist Marxist publishing firms in Britain, and especially in the United States, in regard to the distribution of literature one very considerable defect has to be put to their debit: the inability (especially of the British) to pass beyond the bounds of their own country, to penetrate into the corners of the colonies and to pour books into the dominions.

One has but to mention that only single copies, not only of Comintern literature, but

of theoretical literature generally, find their way into Canada, South Africa, Australia, New Zealand and India. It was not without reason that the Communists in Johannesburg decided not to send a comrade in prison the British edition of "Materialism and Empirio-criticism." They were afraid to risk it; there was only one copy in the whole of South Africa. Even though this may be an exaggeration, it is quite a probability.

The situation is considerably more difficult in those sections of the Comintern which have been completely driven underground by the Fascist regime. None the less, certain of these sections have given splendid examples of ability to combine legal and illegal possibilities and tackle the problems of widespread distribution and successful publication of mass propagandist literature.

The colonial and semi-colonial countries are quite a new sphere, and a very fruitful one. Here the neglect of propaganda in the colonial countries, which was the Second International's glittering "virtue," has had heavy consequences. During the past year, the demand from the colonies and semi-colonies for red books has grown appreciably; the bourgeois and petty-bourgeois intelligentsia of India, and of Japan even considerably earlier, the national intelligentsia of the Arabian East are all demonstrating increased interest in Marxism and Leninism, the U.S.S.R. and the Comintern. Of course, the influence of the Chinese revolution and also the wave of emancipation movements of the Arab peoples, as also the growth of the revolutionary movement in India, all have their share in this. The Japanese publishers are issuing—it is true, in a form badly emasculated by the censor—literally everything which the large-scale left-wing publishers in Europe are putting out. In this respect Japan comes before China, which has now lost much of the funds of propagandist literature which were so plentiful during the Wuhan and Canton periods. None the less, despite the ferocity of the Kuomintang reaction, Communist books are still multiplying in China.

The intelligentsia of India are using literature in English, and the C.P. has so far been too weak to create literature comprehen- sible to

the masses of workers and peasants in even a few of the innumerable tongues which those masses speak. The Communist Party of India is now endeavouring to fill this breach, having instructed a number of comrades to enrich the native languages with an adequate terminology and to translate the chief productions of Marxist literature and the most important documents of the international Communist movement into those languages.

The situation is approximately the same in the East, where the sole published edition of Lenin in Arabian has been a translation of *State and Revolution*, issued by the Wafd publishing firm in Egypt in a translation which is brilliant as literature, but inaccurate as a translation. The publishing problem of the Arabian East is rendered more complicated by the fact that although there is a single Arabian literary script, it is accessible only to the educated sections of the population, as the masses of the various Arabian countries speak separate dialects which are very distinct one from another. Here, as in India and Indonesia, as in South America and Mongolia, as also essentially even in certain European countries, the task consists not only in enriching the languages and translating into them the 18th *Brumaire* of Marx or the Programme of the Comintern, but also in the parties themselves creating divisions of their own popularisers, agitators and propagandists, who have been leavened with the yeast of revolutionary Marxist and Bolshevik literature, and who have to create, and are already partially

creating, an idiomatic literature for the masses. There are still few such workers in the parties, especially in the colonial and semi-colonial countries, too few mass propagandists who know Arabian or Spanish, Malayan or Mongolian, and can talk to the masses or write for the masses on their most urgent problems in the language of Marx and Lenin, the language of the Comintern.

But the sources are not exhausted, all the forces are not mobilised, the possibilities of those cadres of theoreticians, propagandists and literateurs which the Comintern already has at its disposition and which every day has fresh forces added to them are by no means fully exploited.

One of our most important tasks is to harness all our forces, which are growing up every day in the theoretical and practical school, to know how to find within every party such books and such authors as can be exploited internationally, to compensate for the comparative scarcity of proletarian intellectual workers (writers, artists, translators, etc.) by their international exploitation, to assemble them around the agitation and propaganda committees, and publishing firms, to organise their work.

Another of the many vital tasks of international and national Communist publishing activity is to afford systematic assistance to the Communist publishing firms of all the world, and to conduce to their more active participation in the work of preparing the Communist Parties for the forthcoming battles.

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Forward for the International Red Day against Imperialist Wars

THE Sixth World Congress of the Communist International raised as the central problem of the present period, the question of the inevitability of an imperialist war, and consequently of the mobilisation of all our Communist forces for the organisation of a mass struggle against it.

Beginning from the Sixth Congress, all the facts, all the events of political and economic life have in the most convincing fashion confirmed the accuracy of this estimate of the situation and the imperative necessity of fulfilling this chief task. The development of the antagonisms dividing the imperialist States on the basis of the struggle for markets, is symbolised by the gigantic struggle which is now occurring over the whole of the world between the two colossi, Britain and the United States. The regrouping of capitalist States behind one or the other of these irreconcilable antagonists is proceeding at an accelerated rate.

BUT there is one thing which unites all the imperialists in a common bond of hatred: the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics, which is carrying through the construction of socialism. The conflicts arising among the imperialist States in no wise lessen their main hatred in principle of the proletarian State. On the contrary, the intensification of the antagonisms between the imperialist robbers is inevitably intensifying the menace of war on that sixth part of the world's surface which has freed itself from the rule of capitalism.

The growth in intrinsic antagonisms among the imperialists and their intensifying hatred for the Soviet Union find their expression in the witless policy pursued by the bourgeois States, a policy directed to the increase of all their military, naval, technical and scientific possibilities to war ends. From the time of the Sixth World Congress, the armaments and the naval and military budgets of the great

imperialist powers have grown to a colossal extent. Britain and France had merely to conclude an agreement on naval armaments for America immediately to set about the construction of fifteen new warships. Dozens and hundreds of examples illustrating the monstrous intensification of armaments can be found in every country. We see that the intrigues of British imperialism, directed against the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics, are continuing and increasing. We have seen this during the recent events in Afghanistan. We see a consolidation of an anti-Soviet base in the Balkans (the State coup-d'état in Yugo-Slavia). We see the conclusion of innumerable military agreements between France, Poland, Roumania, etc. The construction of warships, the production of the most highly perfected armaments, air vessels and military chemical products predestined for the supply of the countries bordering on the Soviet Union, have never been carried on so intensively as at the present time.

In the "intellectual" sphere, i.e., in the sphere of the ideological preparation of the masses for war, imperialism is also exerting the maximum of effort. Cinema, wireless, theatre, press, school, etc., are all orientated on the "inevitable."

IN these incredible efforts for the preparation of the imperialist war, which are concealed under a variety of pacifist rags, social-democracy, especially during recent months, is forming one of the most active forces on behalf of imperialism and for the object of creating the resources necessary for the war. In Germany social-democracy is busying itself in the construction of cruisers. In France it is participating in the creation of an air ministry.

The Sixth World Congress was consequently more than right when it sounded the alarm and mobilised the sections of the Communist International for the struggle against the in-

inevitably approaching imperialist war. It did so in a quite definite form, declaring:

"The Congress instructs the Central Committees of all the Communist Parties immediately to commence political, organisational, agitational, and propagandist work in preparation for an International Day for the fight against imperialist war and defence of the Soviet Union. On this day the toilers must demonstrate against the capitalist offensive under the slogans: 'War against imperialist war'; 'United workers' front against the capitalist offensive'; 'Defend the Soviet Union'; 'To the aid of the revolutionary peoples in the colonies'; 'Expose the lies of the social patriots'; 'Establish proletarian defence organisations.'"

All the sections of the Communist International were thus bound to take into consideration the definite situation in each separate country, and to work out the indispensable practical measures for carrying through this international demonstration of the proletarian struggle against war.

The extensive militant demonstrations of the masses, the large strikes in Germany, Poland, France and Czecho-Slovakia, were bound to render easier the fulfilment of this task of preparing for an International Red Day. Nevertheless, since the Sixth World Congress, apart from a few rare exceptions, the majority of the Communist Parties have done almost nothing to effect this preparation of Communist forces and of the proletarian masses for the international day. This example of passivity was characteristic of the position as stated by the Sixth Congress, and in particular the recognition of the underestimation of the danger of imperialist war and the insufficiency of international conviction in our own ranks of the existence of this danger. The present moment is the last opportunity for all Communist Parties to realise where this kind of passivity is leading to. This realisation must henceforth find expression in all parties in a systematic and redoubled preparation for the international Red Day. It is urgently necessary to struggle in the most energetic fashion to effect a mobilisation of all our forces, and to sound the militant alarm in all our organisations, in order to realise this task.

EVERY separate section of the Communist International must, taking the issues proclaimed by the Sixth World Congress as a basis, prepare and put into action a definite plan of work adapted to the situation existing at the given moment. It is necessary at once to plan and organise mass meetings and demonstrations. It is necessary to carry on systematic work inside the factories for the preparation of International Red Day. It is necessary to popularise the idea of an International Red Day of struggle against imperialist war, and to publish the slogans for that day, the methods of work, etc., in our press.

But especially we must make use of every demonstration of the masses, every strike, and all our campaigns generally in order to mobilise the men and women workers, the peasants, soldiers and sailors for the International Red Day. It is also necessary to turn the attention of all our organisations to the development of work in the army and in the fleet. It is just as necessary to deal with the issue of drawing the mass organisations into participation in all this work, the Red trade unions for example, and the federations of ex-soldiers and war-invalids, the organisations for proletarian self-defence, etc.

All this activity of the Communist International sections must be quite definite and easily understood by the masses. There must be no fine-sounding phrases about the war, but a systematic explanation of the inevitability of the imperialist war by reference to the facts. This preparation of our International Red Day must be closely bound up with the everyday struggle of the workers against capitalist rationalisation, against intensifying exploitation, for the raising of wages, etc. It must develop under the slogan of the most resolute struggle against the social-democrats, who for their part are also preparing for an international day "in defence of peace," fixed for August 4th. The international day organised by the social-democrats is nothing other than a further development of all the policy of delusion and pacifist illusions carried on by the social-democrats in order to render easier the participation of the masses in the imperialist war.

The International Red Day organised by the sections of the Communist International

is a day of united proletarian front, closing around the Soviet Union and directed against the imperialist war and the social-democrats who are preparing for that war.

Thus, by bringing into being the International Red Day, the date of which will be fixed very shortly by the presidium of the

Communist International, we shall drive out of our ranks all passivity, we shall develop all our forces and all our energy, we shall mobilise all our organisations for systematic work in this direction!

Forward! To the International Red Day against imperialist war!

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The Reserve Army of Unemployment'

Unemployment in the Post-War Period

C. Wurm

I.

THE most important social tendency, for the workers, is the continual increase in the productive masses as an accompaniment to the reproduction or accumulation of capital. This continual increase in the army of wage workers is a fact which may easily be verified by reference to the occupational statistics of all the capitalist countries.

Another factor in the above-mentioned increase is the organic construction of capitalism. This construction has a two-fold economic significance. In the one case it shows the manner in which capital is divided into constant and variable capital; in the other, the material nature of the productive progress or the relationship between the productive apparatus and labour. With Marx, we term the first the value-basis of capital and the second its technical basis. The value-basis of capital, Marx points out, so far as it is conditioned by its technical composition and reflects its changes, is the organic composition of capital.

The continuous modification in the organic structure of capital manifests itself through the developing productive technique which grows apace with capitalist accumulation, which thereupon again reacts upon actual accumulation. This shows clearly that variable capital diminishes in comparison with constant capital. The same sum-total of capital therefore provides work for a constantly decreasing mass of labour. The continual alteration in the organic structure of capital, therefore, implies a continual modification in the productive capacity of social labour. The productive capacity of social

labour is growing; the worker, in the same space of time, produces an ever-increasing quantity of use-values. The productive processes are being continually transformed by capital. In this relation, the productive methods play a two-fold part.

"The increase of some is a consequence, that of others a condition of the increasing productivity of labour." (Marx: "Capital.")

We have already said that with the rise in the productive power of social labour the demand for labour-power decreases; thus we have the substantial decrease in the variable constituents of capital in comparison with the much slower rate of modification in the material constituents of capital. It should here be noted that, with the increase in productive capacity, not only does the quantity of goods produced by one worker increase, but the value of these goods diminishes.

"The increase of the difference between constant and variable capital is, therefore, much less than that of the difference between the mass of the means of production into which the constant, and the mass of the labour-power, into which the variable capital is converted." (Marx: "Capital.")

The more the productive power of social labour increases, the greater is the amount of investing capital needed in order to establish new enterprises.

Let us now turn to the process of the concentration and centralisation of capital. The constantly increasing concentration of capital in the hands of individual capitalists, linked up as it is with the process of accumulation, constitutes the foundation of the specific productive methods of capitalism. As individual capital holdings grow, they in their turn stimulate the growth of the productive apparatus. This growing concentration of the means of production in the hands of many in-

* As the Editors do not consider comrade Wurm's interesting article is indisputable in all details we are offering it as material for discussion.

dividual capitalists is heightened by the unification of already established capital holdings. The difference between this process and concentration lies in the fact that we have here merely a modification in the division of already established capital, unrelated to any change in the sum total of social wealth. The unification of various single capital holdings is the centralisation of capital. This is brought about by the credit system. "Competition and credit, the two most powerful levers of concentration." (Marx: "Capital.")

The consideration of the laws of the centralisation of capital becomes all the more important, in our investigation, as it is precisely this centralisation which powerfully stimulates accumulation; thus is the rate and range of unemployment increased as this also is similarly linked up with capital concentration. The large-scale mobilisation of capital on a credit basis first caused a sudden broadening of the scale of production. On the workings of this process of centralisation, Marx says:

"The growing circumference of the masses of capitalism leads to the material basis for a continual transformation of the means of production themselves. Capitalist methods of production are continually conquering sections of industry which have so far not been subject to them or only so in name." (Capital.)

Our present investigation of the concentration and centralisation of capital leads us to the following conclusion: a steady drop in the number of employed workers in relation to the growth of technical equipment.

Thus the process of capitalist accumulation, in which is included the process of centralisation, leads us to an ever-increasing army of unemployed.

The ratio of employment provided by accumulated capital is continually decreasing. The industrial reserve army is, on the one hand, the product of capital accumulation, and on the other, an actual lever for capital accumulation, as upon this reserve army rests the existence of the whole of capitalist economy. This reserve army provides for capitalism, with its continually changing methods, the necessary reserve of labour power, independently of an increase in population. One can well imagine its need in the case of a sudden expansion of trade, which

might arise from various causes. There are times when it may be necessary suddenly to increase the man power in one particular industry without having to attract labour from other branches of production. Let us take as an example the German coal mines during the British miners' lock-out. Through the stoppage in British production, the output of coal in the Ruhr district rose by three million tons per month. In consequence of this, there was a simultaneous increase in activity in all other branches of industry. The German coal barons could only take advantage of the situation created by the British lock-out by reason of the fact that a sufficiently large unemployed reserve was at their disposal in the Ruhr district. Had the coal barons been compelled to await normal access to the labour supply through the ordinary growth in population, the exploitation of the crisis would obviously have been impossible.

The distinctive features of capitalist exploitation appear in the uninterrupted cycle: moderate productive activity; high-pressure production; crisis and stagnation.

These cycles—the periodical recurrence of crises—arise from causes which are inherent in the mechanism of capitalist production and are definite phenomena of capitalist economy. True, crises are not unknown in the social epochs preceding capitalism, but their causes did not arise as results of the economic system. In this connection, it must be emphasised that these crises in modern capitalist production—which, in the pre-war period appeared at regular intervals of from 8 to 10 years—first became characteristic in the period of modern industrial capitalism and not in the earlier stages of capitalist production. The causes are in general related to the law of capitalist accumulation. Compared with the twentieth century, changes in the technical productive apparatus proceeded with extreme slowness in the earlier days of capitalism. This corresponded to a quite gradual appearance of an alteration in the organic structure of capital. In contrast with the period of developed capitalism, which is characterised by sudden and eruptive expansions in the scale of production, in its earlier epoch we note a certain parallelism between the development of capitalist accumulation and that of the working population. The slow progress of

accumulation was dictated by the definite limits of the working population at the disposal of capitalism. Capitalism "found a check in the natural limits of the exploitable labouring population, limits which could only be got rid of by forcible means." (Marx: "Capital.")

However, as soon as sudden expansions in production became manifest, it became necessary to bring into being the corresponding reserve of labour power to be continually at the disposition of industry. It had to be conjured up independently of the normal increase of population. And we have seen how capital provided itself with this reserve by continually increasing the amount of product from the same number—or from a reduced number—of workers. In this way was secured a body of workers permanently superfluous and thus at the disposal of capital whenever sudden expansions of markets occurred.

Sudden and swift expansion of capitalist production, however, implies also a contrary tendency, which appears with equal swiftness, the tendency towards a crisis. As Marx shows, from the time when machine industry became so deeply rooted that it exerted an overwhelming influence on national production, when, owing to this, exports began to gain on imports, when the world-market opened up huge spheres in America, Asia and Australia, and finally, when the industrial nations in mutual conflict became numerous enough—then these phenomena appeared at regular periods.

These periods of crisis, even in the pre-war period, were beginning to repeat themselves with ever greater frequency. The duration of a cycle shortened from ten to an average of eight years. This tendency towards a shortening of the cycle is still more pronounced in the post-war period. The upward curve gets shorter and shorter: crisis and paralysis are becoming constant phenomena of the present stage of capitalism. Friedrich Engels once described this tendency in a happy prediction, in one of his letters to Vkhnevsky:

"When three countries—for example, England, America and Germany—compete on the world-market under comparatively equal conditions, there can be no outcome but chronic over-production, as any single one of these

countries is capable of meeting the entire demand."

The previously mentioned shortening of cycles and extension of crises, the expansion and contraction of capitalist exploitation at ever narrower intervals, brings about not only a permanent increase in surplus population, but also a continually increasing amount of long-period unemployment.

Unemployment, following in the wake of increased accumulation, is growing at a still faster rate than those alterations in the organic structure of capital which are taking place as a result of changes in the productive processes.

Thus the machine of capitalist production ensures that the absolute increase of capital is unaccompanied by any marked rise in the demand for labour power. The more the productive capacity of labour develops, the more precarious becomes the existence of the workers.

This relative surplus population—a distinct phenomenon of capitalist production—takes on the most varied forms. Every unemployed worker, and every short-time worker, forms part of it. As Marx pointed out, wherever industry, favoured by advantageous conditions, amalgamates, the shrinking of the labour market takes its severest form. But, at the same time, whatever may be the temporary fluctuations of the labour market, one fact stands out clearly; the number of employed workers as a whole is increasing—a fact to which Marx frequently drew attention.

Comrade Varga claims that this law, developed by Marx as a general law of capitalism, does not apply to the post-war period. We read in his pamphlet "The Decline of capitalism": "Unemployment caused by mechanical advance is no longer balanced by the expansion of production."

Similarly Varga said at the Sixth World Congress: "The new type of unemployment is shown in the fact that the number of workers employed by industrial capital in the United States has decreased."

Two questions now arise. Firstly, do Varga's statements represent the facts? And secondly, if they do, are we right in drawing from them the same conclusions that Varga has done?

In the pamphlet by Varga which I have quoted, there is mention of a decrease of industrial workers in the period 1919-1925 of nearly two million. Already at the Sixth World Congress this statement was answered, and it was mentioned that it was not right, on the basis of doubtful and unverified statistics to draw conclusions revising the whole teaching of Marx.

In any case, is it justifiable to draw conclusions from statistics which cover a period of only three years?

Before we take up Varga's arguments one by one, we would state that a comparison of the years 1919 and 1925 is not admissible, as 1919 was a year of pronounced speculative crisis in the United States. The number of employed in 1919 cannot therefore be claimed as normal. Therefore for the post-war period we are given only the figures for 1923, 1924 and 1925. Thus such conclusions as Varga's were drawn from a study of these two years, when it was in precisely these two years that an all-round process of rationalisation was being carried out in the United States. We cannot admit that Varga's figures are suitable for the investigation of this question.*

* How careful one should always be with statistics is clearly shown by the investigations carried out under instructions from the American Minister of Labour, Davis, on the question of unemployment in the United States, according to which there were 1,874,050 unemployed in January, 1928. It is well known that the American newspapers claimed that, according to this figure, the number of employed had sunk in the period from 1925 to 1928 by 1,874,050. But how did the Ministry of Labour arrive at this figure? They compared the estimated number of wage earners in the manufacturing industries and on the railways in 1925, with the figures of the occupied workers in January, 1928, which came to a considerably smaller total. From this they concluded that there had been a shrinkage of 7.43 per cent., and from this they concluded that all other occupational groups, such as agricultural workers, miners, office workers and shop assistants, as well as domestic workers, had decreased by a similar extent. In this way they came to the figure given above. This is obviously a mockery of serious statistical methods. What is then the distinctive feature of the labour market of the United States? The unequal development of different industries and the resulting social strata. In the published figures, however, this was entirely ignored, so this investigation was quite worthless.

As the question only concerns the definition of certain tendencies, we can avail ourselves of much more exact enquiries. We think it is important to go back as far as 1914 in order to demonstrate the real tendency in this development.

TABLE I.*

Employment in the industries of the United States.†

Enterprises with an annual production of over 5,000 dollars. (In thousands).

Year	No. of workers	No. of employees	Units of power h.p. 1,000's
1914	6,888	956	22,294
1919	8,990	1,429	29,327
1921	6,938	1,141	—
1923	8,768	1,350	33,094
1925	8,384	1,340	35,696
1904	5,468	520	13,488
1914	7,036	964	22,437

Before we draw specific conclusions from these figures let us quote some statistics with regard to the number of workers employed in the most important industries.

TABLE II.

Number of workers employed in important industries (in thousands).

Industry	1914	1919	1921	1923	1925
Foodstuffs & luxury articles ...	528	723	618	672	665
Textiles ...	1,506	1,810	1,510	1,715	1,627
Iron and steel ...	618	859	572	892	851
Timber ...	865	864	703	932	921
Leather ...	307	349	280	345	315
Rubber ...	74	159	103	138	141
Paper ...	453	510	487	527	537
Chemicals ...	349	461	314	384	381
Quarries ...	336	303	293	352	353
Metal (other than iron and steel) ...	239	304	212	297	275
Tobacco ...	179	157	150	146	132
Engineering ...	619	998	662	908	859
Musical instruments ...	49	69	45	58	47
Shipping ...	313	859	406	606	560
Railway repair shops ...	366	516	418	523	458
Miscellaneous ...	216	291	223	272	262
Totals ...	7,015	9,030	6,938	8,768	8,384

* Unless another source is mentioned all the following statistics are taken from the "Statistical Abstract of the United States, 1926."

† Not including mining and related works, such as building, water, gas and electricity.

Now, what do the above figures show us?

American industry developed at twice the rate of 1904-1914 during the period of the world war.

In the period 1904-1914 the number of workers and employees rose by about 2 million. The horse-power employed in the various enterprises increased by about 7 million.

In the later period of five years, from 1914-1919, we see an increase in workers and employees of 2.6 million, while the productive power is increased by 7 million horse-power.

During the war period the recruitment of labour for industry was extraordinarily high, while the increase in power was not so marked.

We have already remarked that, owing to the speculative crisis of 1919, a comparison with that year does not correctly portray for us the true line of development of American industry. In order to obtain this we must analyse the entire period 1914-1925. Here we see that American industry during this period attracted some 1,369,000 new workers. The quantity of power units increased by about 12.5 millions in the same period. It is most instructive to note in Table II. which industries attracted the largest amount of fresh labour and also most increased their power.

	Newly employed workers	Additional H.-P.
Shipping ...	247,000	1,287,000
Engineering ...	240,000	1,457,000
Iron and steel	233,000	2,931,000
Railway repair shops ...	192,000	463,000
Totals ...	912,000	6,138,000

From these figures we may note that in the period 1914-1925 these heavy industries took on about two-thirds of the new labour and about half of the newly developed power. Table II. also shows that the number of workers newly employed in the remaining twelve industries only reaches 450,000. During the period of which we have spoken the number of workers in these remaining industries in no way approached that of the fresh labour employed by heavy industry.

This phenomenon is, of course, by no means accidental, but is closely related to the general process of the displacement of the workers by machinery. In this respect heavy industry

has an increasingly important significance. Its extension implies the displacement of workers by machinery in other industries. It is not without interest here to remark that a similar process is observable in Germany.

Now let us glance at the post-war period alone. We have already claimed that it is incorrect to compare the figures of 1919 with those of 1925. A comparison of the number of workers engaged in industry in 1923 and 1925 shows a falling off of about 400,000. Can we base upon this the supposition that a real retrogression in employment had taken place? In this connection let us examine the facts. We have already established that the recruiting of workers for industry during the war period did not substantially pass that of the pre-war years. We noted, in fact, that in the ten years before the war there were 600,000 less workers engaged than in the five-year period during the world war. The rate of engagement of labour during the war period then was twice as high. This tendency was based upon the peculiar conditions of the development of American capitalism during the world war.

After the 1921 crisis in the United States we note the appearance of a contrary tendency, which reached its peak in the period of 1923-1925. Large-scale rationalisation took place in American industry. Naturally this resulted in the dismissal of a number of workers. It is sufficient to compare the increase in horse-power with the fall in employment. While the number of industrial workers decreased by 4.5 per cent, the horse-power used rose by 8 per cent. In a consideration of this crisis, which followed on the rapid mechanicalisation of productive processes and the resulting temporary decrease in the number of employed, nothing can justify the claim that these phenomena must, by economic law, result in an absolute fall in the figures of employment. At the moment that we are concluding our investigations we have received a book by the well-known statistician, Jurgen Kuezynsky, *Wages and the Crisis in America*. Included in this work are figures regarding the number of workers engaged in industry in the United States. On the basis of these figures, which have been taken from official sources, we have made a comparative table in which the year 1919 is represented by 100. We have

done this in order to combine with these figures those of the Federal Reserve Board which were compiled on the same basis.

*Index figures of production and wages in the United States in the most important industries (1919 to 1927).**

Year	Production A	Total Employed workers B	Percentage Employed workers C	Production D per worker	Total Wages E	Wages F per worker
1919	100	9,095,631	100.00	100	100	100
1921	80	6,946,333	76.37	98	84	102
1922	104	8,134,222	89.43	116	89	99
1923	120	8,780,012	96.53	115	113	109
1924	112	7,935,938	87.25	118	104	109
1925	125	8,383,443	92.17	132	107	113
1926	129	8,402,543	92.38	134	109	114
1927	126	8,077,829	88.81	137	105	114

If we compare the figures of percentages of occupied workers from the year 1923 onward we can clearly observe the reflex of the crisis of 1914 and of the rationalisation which during the period of 1923-1925 was proceeding at its sharpest rate. This is evidenced by column D, which shows the production per worker. We also see that in 1924, besides the fall in employment resulting from rationalisation, there was another set-back which can be traced to the decrease in total production. While the index figure of employment fell from 96.5 to 87.3, the index of industrial production (column A) fell from 120 to 112. With regard to rationalisation at the present, we may note a slowing down of the process. According to column D, in 1923-1925 production per worker rose from 115 to 132, namely, 17 points; from 1925-1927, however, it only rose 5 points.

The fall in the number of the employed in 1927 by 4 points was undoubtedly principally caused by the depression in that year. In 1927 steel production fell by 10 per cent., motor-cars by 22 per cent., and the total index of production sank 3 points. Column D also shows that the further mechanicalisation of production played its part here. Incidentally we may also note that in 1927 the number of workers employed in anthracite coal-mining rose by 16.7 per cent. as compared with 1926; in building construction—which is also not in-

* Columns B and C are based upon the figures of Kuczynsky.

cluded in the preceding tables—the increase in employment during the years 1923-1926 was estimated at 48 per cent. Further increases in employment may be noted in the following branches: street railways, general transport, cinematograph, radio and commerce.

That the total of employed in certain single industries in the United States has decreased we have already remarked. This phenomenon is emphasised in the Open Letter of the Presidium of the E.C.C.I. to the Workers' Party of America, in which it is stated that the result of rationalisation is a speeding-up of labour, which, in certain industries, through the diminution in the number of workers, must necessarily lead to a considerable increase in unemployment. That the number of workers in particular industries can—either for a definite period or permanently—be decreased, is not only possible but has little direct relation to our problem. Such decreases in the total number of workers employed in single branches of industry arise inevitably from the mechanism of capitalist production; that is, from the continual transformation in methods of production. In this connection Marx shows that in agriculture the decrease in living labour elements can be absolute, and that the increase in the absolute total of labour power does not necessarily take place in all branches of industry, nor to the same measure in each branch where it does occur.

In the first volume of *Capital* he cites an example of this, and points out that at a given stage of development an extraordinary expansion of production can be connected with not merely a relative but an absolute decrease in labour. Then follows a study of this phenomenon in the British woollen industry: "Between 1852 and 1862 considerable increase in British wool production took place, during which the number of employed workers remained almost stationary."

This covers a period of ten years. After these periods of stability which intervene during the process of technical development there must occur another expansion of production in which the number of employed workers will once again increase.

But that is not the question with which we are at present concerned. Our question is, as comrade Varga has it: Is the number of work-

ers employed by industrial capital really diminishing? Varga answers this question in the affirmative, and instances a fall of 2 million. This example, however, as we have shown, cannot be properly supported by statistics.

The other question is as follows: Is such a real decrease in employment compatible with the laws of capitalism in its monopolist or imperialist stage? In other words, the concrete question is: Can we take as a model the United States, this expanding and militant capitalism, which through the cheapening of the machine process and through the powerful "forcing of workers' wages below value," has forged for itself the most mighty weapon for conquering foreign markets?

In the consideration of this question we must reckon with the two distinct tendencies connected with capitalist accumulation. These two tendencies are: the employment of the least possible amount of labour in order to produce the same or a larger quantity of goods, with the object of securing the same or even more surplus value; and, secondly, the employment of the largest possible number of workers, as the total of surplus value increases with that of the amount of labour power used at any given stage of the process of production. These two tendencies are antagonistic. The first leads to constant dismissal of workers, and the second draws the workers back into the process of production and, as Marx points out, enlarges the area of wage-slavery.

Marx handles the question of the unemployment of workers through mechanical improvements in a most penetrating manner. Already in the first volume of *Capital* he examines the pretensions of the supporters of the theory of compensation—those who claimed that when machinery freed a number of workers, at the same time a definite amount of capital was released which could re-employ those workers. Marx showed, however, that the employer who has just installed new machinery does not release this variable capital but transforms it into constant capital. And even if a part of this capital were released Marx shows how it would be absorbed in spheres where the dismissed workers could not be employed. It is quite clear that if, through the installation of

new machinery, capital be released which shall employ mechanics, turners and others, this would not help very much weavers who had lost their employment through mechanical improvements. Incidentally, it must here be noted that the construction of new machines employs fewer workers than these machines displace.

Ricardo's claim that the merchandise which had earlier been produced for the consumption of workers who now found themselves unemployed, and which were now upon the market, could be used as capital for their re-employment was successfully demolished by Marx. Marx pointed out that according to this theory no man able and willing to work could suffer want in capitalist society.

It is true that machinery can provide increased activity in certain other industries such as the following:

1. In those industries which employ raw material to that industry in which the new machinery has been installed.

2. In those concerns where further work is done upon the products of the industry concerned.

3. In luxury industries. Marx shows how luxury products grow with the mass of product from those surplus values they are nourished.

4. Through the formation of new branches of production which, through machinery or changes in process, are called into being.

5. Through expansion of production in those branches of industry which will only bear fruit in the far future.

6. Increase in the non-productive strata of the working class, which arises from increased revenue.

But this new employment of workers is only possible through extra capital seeking outlet, and not through capital which has already been functioning and has been converted into machinery.

The possibility of re-employing unemployed workers who have been released through the installation of new machinery—the raising of the productive capacity of social labour—can nowhere be brought into dialectic relation with the law of capitalist accumulation.

The raising of the productive capacity of social labour is no single example but a steady

tendency in capitalist economy. It is, as Marx pointed out, that network of social relationships and technical processes which we specifically call the capitalist method of production.

With this tendency is related the law of the accumulation of capital—the motive of capitalist production. The mutual relation between these two is as follows: the accumulation of capital takes place on the material basis of constant changes in the method of production, while in the course of accumulation one always comes to a point where the development of the productivity of social labour is the strongest instrument for accumulation.

This dynamic process in capitalist production is characterised by Marx, who showed that all methods by which the social productivity of labour is increased are at the same time methods for the increased production of surplus value, which, in its turn, forms the basis of accumulation.

Thus we return to our original theme, showing that the accumulation of capital and the tendency towards an ever higher organic structure in industry—which sometimes mutually condition each other and sometimes proceed one from the other—are the two factors which determine the number of workers engaged in the productive process.

Let us now examine each of these two laws separately. Accumulation or the growth of capital includes the growth of its variable portion, that portion which is embodied in labour power.

The rule relating to changes in the technical structure of capital has a contrary working, as it leads to a decrease in the demand for labour power. Thus with regard to our problem, the demand for labour, these two tendencies work in contrary directions.

Here, however, a limit in the working of the rule relating to the technical structure may be mentioned. A relative decrease in the number of employed becomes apparent when, owing to a change in processes, only the new accumulated capital becomes effective. In such a case, when the released capital is not 100 per cent. converted into constant capital a demand for labour power must result. Thus, for the purposes of our particular problem, this rule relating to changes in technical processes only becomes important when it concerns old capital

which has arrived at the stage of self-reproduction and is substituted by new.

We observe that under normal circumstances newly released capital may possibly provide substitute employment, but, nevertheless, always in a lesser degree. This being so, the sum total of employed must increase.

Old capital which at specific intervals undergoes organic transformation thus releases workers in an increasing ratio. Here it must also be noted that variable capital can also grow without implying an increase in the number of employed. And indeed, when the worker is producing more value, in spite of the stationary cost of labour, wages rise. At such times the capitalist is concerned in securing a certain amount of work from a lesser number of workers. The bigger the scale of production, the more distinct does this motive become, as Marx pointed out.

Yet no one will claim that wages in the United States are rising, therefore this particular point is irrelevant in this case.

The question now arises to what extent these two contrary tendencies (accumulation and structural transformation) cancel each other out. What is then the consequence of this process? Marx clearly shows, in answer to this question, that the result is the growth of variable capital resulting in a growth in employment. And again, in *The Theory of Value*, where he cites the following from Ricardo's *Principles of Political Economy*: "The demand for labour grows with the increase in capital, but not in the same ratio. The ratio is a constantly declining one." Here Marx writes that in the last sentence Ricardo has correctly described the law governing the growth of capital.

Marx's conception here is based upon his discovery of the law of the declining rate of profit, which, in its turn, is founded upon an examination of the organic structure of capitalism. The level of the rate of profit is determined by the amount of variable capital. Thus the appearance of alterations in the structure of capital is reflected in profits by the tendency for the rate to sink.

The tendency of capitalist production begets, with the continual relative decrease of variable as against constant capital, a higher organic composition of total capital, of which the in-

evitable result is that the rate of surplus value at an equivalent or even rising degree of labour exploitation, is expressed by a falling general rate of profit.

Yet the relative decrease in variable capital and relative increase in constant capital—although there is absolute growth in both cases—is only an expression of the increased productivity of labour. Yet this fall in the rate of profit proceeds, not from an absolute, but only from a relative decrease in the variable elements of total capital. But as, through accumulation, total capital continually increases, so must the sum total of profits. To what extent then do these two contrary tendencies balance each other? Here we revert to the same question, which previously arose when considering other aspects of our problem. What answer does Marx give us? He shows us that the total mass of profits can increase progressively. This, in spite of the progressive fall in the rate of profit. It is not just that this *can* be the case, writes Marx, it *must* be the case, temporary fluctuations aside, on the basis of capitalist production. For the same development of the productive power of social labour, the same laws which manifest themselves in the relative fall of variable capital in relation to total capital, and the consequent accumulation . . . all this development is expressed—apart from temporary fluctuations—in the steady increase in the amount of social labour employed. Finally Marx shows definitely that on the whole the relative decrease of variable capital and of profits corresponds to an absolute increase in both.

There can be no doubt regarding Marx's position on this subject.

Nevertheless, we will not categorically claim that an absolute decrease in the number of employed is impossible; that is, that it cannot be theoretically discussed and its possibility theoretically conceded. Marx himself has done this in an allusion to the political consequences of a decrease in the total number of employed. At the same time, however, he stresses the fact that it is a special necessity of the capitalist method of production that the absolute total of wage-earners increase. For, as he points out, a development of production which would decrease the total number

of the employed would bring about a revolution, as it would eventually involve the majority of the population.

For a yet greater expansion of production inevitably follows, covering new ground. This development becomes more and more marked until finally a country is in a position to supply an entire market. This then is the struggle for trade, and the United States are now engaged in a struggle for monopoly of the world's markets. It cannot be denied that the United States, in the course of this struggle, have not the least intention of not fulfilling the first necessity of capitalist production, namely, an expansion of the absolute number of occupied wage workers. If there be any decrease in the number of wage earners then it is certainly not in the United States.

II.—UNEMPLOYMENT IN THE GREAT IMPERIALIST COUNTRIES

I. *Germany*

With the end of the world war a substantial increase in unemployment took place in Germany. At that time there existed no published statistics of unemployment. Only the free trade unions carried out any statistical investigations of the question, in which they had been engaged since 1907. These data show us that in the period 1907-1913 an average of 2.3 per cent. of the members of the free unions were unemployed. As a whole, these workers who were released during the process of accumulation could be re-employed, so that in general there was no marked increase in the industrial reserve army. A different situation prevailed, however, in the beginning of the post-war period. Particularly after the stabilisation of the mark, we may note a steady increase in the number of unemployed. The number of unemployed reached six figures. According to the trade union statistics, unemployment developed as follows:—

Number of unemployed and short-time workers registered with the free Trade Unions. In percentages of total Trade Union membership.

	1907-13	1918	1919	1920	1921	1922
Unemployed	2.3	1.8	3.7	3.8	2.8	1.5
Part-time	—	—	—	—	5.4	2.8

	1923	1924	1925	1926	1927	(Oct.) 1928
Unemployed	9.6	13.5	6.7	18.2	9.0	9.0
Part-time	26.8	15.3	8.6	15.4	3.4	3.7
Number of Unemployed Relieved (in thousands)						
1919	1920	1921	1922	1923	1924	1925
				Dec.		
1,000	300	150	12	1,500		
1924	1925	1926	1927	1928		
Dec.	Dec.	Dec.	Dec.	Dec.		
458	1,062	1,700	1,888	1,700		

In general these figures show a decrease in unemployment until the end of the inflation period. The lower the value of the paper currency fell, the lower became the standard of living of the workers. German capital went through the inflation crisis at the cost of the working class. The surprising depths to which the real wages of the workers fell at that time may be realised by the fact that already in 1922—when inflation had not yet reached its highest point—the equivalent of a day's wage for a carpenter in the furnishing trades was 27.2 lbs. of bread, as compared with 61 lbs. in 1914. The fall in the real wages may be still more readily apprehended when we survey the total cost of living. According to the report of an investigating committee of the I.F.T.U., in Germany the average monthly wage of an employee on October 1st, 1922, was 15,500 marks. To live at the same level as in 1914 a monthly wage of 66,329 marks would have been necessary.

At the beginning of the stabilisation, the number of unemployed rose rapidly, and by the end of 1923 reached 1.5 millions. By the end of 1924 it had fallen to 458,000, and then at the end of 1925 again rose to 1,062,000. The rationalisation process, which began in the first months of 1924, steadily accelerated, leading to a remarkable increase in unemployment. By the end of January, 1926, there were 2,020,000 workless, and in December, 1926, there still remained 1,748,579. Then by October, 1927, the figure had fallen to 355,416, but by the end of 1927 had again reached the height of 1,188,000. In May, 1928, it fell to 629,740, reaching 654,064 in July of the same year and then rising again. By the end of December, 1928, there were 1,700,000 unemployed in receipt of relief.

We are now concerned with analysing the above figures in order to ascertain the reason for these fluctuations. Undoubtedly the development of a crisis is reflected in the figures since the stabilisation of the mark. Thus we see clearly the stabilisation crisis reflected in the figures of 1924: then follows the rationalisation period of 1925 and then a new boom at the beginning of the British Miners' Lock-Out, and then in 1928 the first signs of a newly beginning depression.

Statistics also enable us to follow the number of workers employed in concerns with over 5 workers, in 1925, 1926 and 1927. It is true that here no precise estimate is possible, but the tendency is unmistakable. We may here compare two different sets of figures, namely the occupational figures for 1925 and the Trade Survey statistics of 1926 and 1927. The first is a census on a given day, while the second is the average figure for the whole year. It must be remembered that the Trade Survey figures, showing an average, will be somewhat lower.

Number of Workers employed in medium and large Industrial Concerns.

	Concerns with 5-49 Workers.	Concerns with 50 or more Workers.	Totals.
1925	2,692,200	6,925,400	9,617,000
1926	2,102,100	5,458,200	7,560,300
1927	2,309,600	6,557,000	8,866,600

A comparison of these figures shows that about 2 million fewer workers were employed in 1926 than in 1925. Of these 1½ millions were released from large concerns. In comparison with 1925, 1927 shows a decrease of only 368,000, so that, when we remember the different methods of securing the figures, we can say that in general the number of workers employed in moderate and large concerns in 1925 and 1927 was about the same.

The large number of dismissed workers in 1926 was doubtless the result of the rationalisation crisis which was only overcome in the middle of 1927.

Now if we compare the Trade Survey statistics of 1927 with the occupational census figures of 1925, it becomes obvious that in 1927 heavy industry had only a small share in the absorption of superfluous labour. Here also we see the result of rationalisation, which

is most strongly developed in heavy industry. Apart from heavy industry, this tendency is only apparent to any extent in the manufacture of electrical accessories. In other industries, such as metal goods, textiles and food-stuffs, we see a rise in the number of employed in 1927 of about 225,000 as compared with 1925.

These instances show us that the development in the various branches of industry has not been similar. This shows that rationalisation has not yet been fully introduced into the lighter industries.

There remains yet one question to be examined. Whence came the 1,306,400 workers who were newly employed in German industry in 1927? The figures show 1,680,000 unemployed in receipt of relief in 1926. In 1927 there were about 850,000, as well as another 165,000 who received emergency relief. Thus there was a decrease of some 600,000 unemployed who found employment in industry in 1927. But whence came the other 700,000 workers? Here we must remember the natural increase caused by persons entering industry. Of these latter, 260,000 were described as having entered the status of wage-workers. There still remain 340,000. They are composed of workers in those concerns which in 1926 were not yet included in the statistics. We can therefore count 140,000 as having come from these very small concerns into moderate or large concerns. The remaining 200,000 may be counted as having for the most part come from the land, especially as in 1926 a number of workers returned from the cities to the land.

These observations have enabled us to observe those tendencies relating unemployment with periodical crises. A glance at the unemployment figures for a period of good trade shows that it is two to three times higher than the average for the years 1907 to 1913. That is the essential point in unemployment of the post-war period. This means that less and less numbers of the reserve army are absorbed into production. Here we see the effects of rationalisation, through which more workers lose employment than those who are re-absorbed by the expansion of production. Or, as Marx says, "If the means of production,

as they increase in extent and effective power, become to a less extent means of employment of labourers, this state of things is again modified by the fact that in proportion as the productivity of labour increases, capital increases its supply of labour more quickly than its demand for labourers." (Marx, Capital.)

On the other hand, we also see that one of the most important industries, namely building construction, was completely stagnant. In 1925 there were 16,000 less building workers employed than in 1927. Had the development of the building trades proceeded at the same average rate as the other important industries there would have been 420,000 more building workers employed in 1925. The reason for this special phenomenon in the building trades, in spite of the severe housing famine, exists in the post-war economic conditions. Among the reasons were the political policy regarding housing, lack of capital, the high rate of interest on mortgages, the rise in the cost of freehold, and other factors which, from the point of view of the capitalists, rendered building construction profitless.

So far as the figures for recent years can show us, it would appear that the building industry is again beginning to expand. The total of workers employed in the building trades has distinctly risen in the last two years.

Apart from this extreme exception then, we may note that an ever greater number of workers are outside production. Yet this great army is one of the greatest dangers for the future of capitalism.

2. England

The great increase in unemployment began in England after the end of the world-war. In January, 1919, there were already 678,703 insured unemployed. From December, 1919, until September, 1920, the number of unemployed rose by 200,000, reaching the million mark in February, 1921. The highest monthly figures for unemployment in the years 1921-1928 were as follows:—

		Insured Unemployed	Per cent. of Unionists Unemployed
1921	June ...	2,171,000	23.1*
1922	January ...	1,925,950	16.8
1923	January ...	1,493,036	13.7
1924	January ...	1,371,470	8.9
1925	August ...	1,440,628	11.4
1926	June ...	1,751,133	12.9*
1927	December	1,194,305	9.8
1928	December	1,520,000	12.0

Now let us take the figures of the Trade Unions. We note that the percentage of unemployed Trade Unionists in the period from 1921-1928 fluctuates between 8 per cent. and 23 per cent., as compared with 4.5 per cent. which was the average of the years 1900-1914. Thus we note that the post-war unemployment in Britain is about three times as great as in the ten years preceding the war. The following industries are particularly affected: coal-mining, iron and steel, textiles and building. The causes of this unemployment, which we shall not examine here, are mainly rooted in the decline of British capitalism.

Among the most important factors must be counted the loss of Britain's world-position, the industrial development of the colonies and Dominions during the war, loss of important export trade (British export trade has sunk by 25 per cent.), inflation in European countries, accompanied by simultaneous deflation in Britain, loss of its supreme position in merchant shipping, and the stationary character of the productive capacity of social labour.

There is no prospect in the near future of Britain emerging from the difficulties in which she finds herself. On the contrary, the attempt at rationalisation of the coal, iron and steel and textile industries—to mention only the most important—must inevitably lead to a further increase in unemployment. There are already over a quarter of the total number of British miners without employment. Thus is Britain menaced by this gigantic army of unemployed, which at the period of militant growth among the workers must become a special danger to British imperialism, especially as all means of fighting against unemployment have been proved useless.

(*) Not counting locked-out miners.

3. *The United States*

Even in the United States, a country which in recent years has enjoyed such remarkable prosperity, there exists a fairly large unemployed army. As there are no official statistics of unemployment in the United States, we are compelled to rely on greatly varying estimates, which are considerably affected by political bias.

The Minister of Labour, Davies, estimates that there is a permanent unemployed reserve of at least 1 million. Other estimates have placed the figure as high as 5 millions for the first months of 1928. On April 20th, 1928, Senator Wagner, in a speech in the United States Senate, estimated the number of unemployed in that country as 5.8 million. These startling differences in estimate reveal political motives: it was prior to the election and Senator Wagner is a Democrat. We shall probably be nearest the truth if we estimate the present number of unemployed in the U.S.A. as from 3 to 3½ millions. Thus in America, unemployment is a factor of wide importance. Here also rationalisation played a dominant part. The productive capacity of an industrial worker rose 37 per cent. in the period 1919-1927.

4. *Summary*

Roughly we may estimate the industrial reserve army in Europe in pre-war time at 3 to 4 million, and in the U.S.A. from 1 to 1½ million.

In the post-war period unemployment has gone considerably beyond this point. In non-European countries unemployment reached its peak in 1921 (U.S.A.). In Europe the highest point was reached considerably later. Professor Hickmann estimates the total of unemployed in Europe during the first three months of 1925 at 5 millions, and in the whole world at something over 10 millions; and it is quite possible that these figures are too low. Voytinsky's estimate is 15 millions for the same period.

Although since that time unemployment in general has decreased, yet the world total must be at least between 10 and 12 millions.

We have seen that in the great capitalist countries, such as Britain and Germany, unemployment is nowadays from two to three times as high as in the pre-war period. At the

end of 1913 in Germany the industrial population was nine and a half million persons, of whom 460,000, about 4.7 per cent. were unemployed. In the post-war period, over 10 per cent. of the industrial population became unemployed.

These high figures cannot be explained either by cyclical crises or by the seasonable nature of some forms of employment. We are concerned here with unemployment of a permanent nature, unemployment which proceeds directly from structural changes in capitalist economy. Such structural changes may imply either continual causes, such as growth, remodelling or decay; and also sudden or revolutionary occurrences such as breakdowns, closing down and so on. We might designate this permanent form of unemployment "structural unemployment."

With regard to unemployment in Germany, both continual and sudden factors have played their part in varying degree. One of the continual factors has special importance, namely,

the strong tendency towards concentration and centralisation which has appeared since the war.

This has led to a distinct increase in the productive power of labour and in consequence to a considerable growth in the ranks of the reserve army of industry. This tendency, which is inherent in the methods of capitalist production, was observable even in the pre-war period in Germany, although much less defined. Thus the average unemployment, according to Trade Union statistics, rose, in Germany, from 121,250 in 1907 to 167,000 in 1911, 183,250 in 1912, 280,000 in 1913. But now this same tendency is far more perceptible.

The general law of capitalist accumulation, with all its reactions upon the working-class, is now manifesting itself in forms which lay heavier and heavier burdens upon the masses and which involve the workers in the most terrible suffering. There is only one way out: the proletarian revolution and the victory of Socialism.

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by

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The Anniversary of the Proletarian Revolution in Hungary

Bela Kun

I.

THE victory of the October revolution was necessary before everyone could understand the importance of the Russian revolution of 1905. It was necessary to realise that, as Lenin said, without the dress rehearsal of 1905 the 1917 October revolution would not have been possible.

Thus we shall never be able truly to measure the historical significance of the proletarian revolution in Hungary until—in a new epoch of the international proletarian revolution—looking back from the standpoint of the new Socialist Soviet Republic of Hungary, we may consider it as the dress rehearsal in Hungary of the victorious European revolution. Inflexible faith in the revolution is not enough; one must also have that saturation in Marxist revolutionary theory which made it possible for Lenin, even in the blood-drenched atmosphere of the defeat of 1905, to appreciate the tremendous eventual result of the creative power of that vanquished revolution. That result being, of course, the Soviets as the concrete form of proletarian dictatorship.

A whole series of particular characteristics and experiences in the proletarian revolution in Hungary still awaits historical evaluation and verification. So far, however, as its positive revolutionary significance is concerned, we may still use the words which, ten years ago, Lenin spoke two days after the victory of the Hungarian rising, on 23rd March, 1919, in his speech to the Eighth Congress of the C.P.S.U. :

“So far the Soviet power had only been victorious among the peoples adhering to the Russian Empire. Short-sighted persons, especially those who are unable to escape from old routine habits of thought—even among socialists—have hitherto been able to proclaim themselves of the opinion that only peculiarly Russian characteristics had brought to life this unexpected turn in the direction of pro-

letarian Soviet democracy; that possibly the old peculiarities of Tsarist Russia are reflected in the peculiarities of this democracy as in a crooked mirror. Now this conception is destroyed in its very basis. . . .

“The bourgeoisie and many of their adherents, at the end of 1917 and in 1918, said that we were usurpers; they could find no other words for our revolution except ‘force’ and ‘usurpation.’ If even now such voices arise—whose absurdity we have repeatedly proved—claiming that the Bolshevik power rests upon force, the example of Hungary would compel them to silence.

“The difficulties of the Hungarian revolution are tremendous. The imperialists can much more easily strangle this country, so much smaller in comparison with Russia. But however great may be the difficulties which still exist in Hungary, we have in this case not merely to deal with the victory of the Soviet power but also with the moral victory which we have achieved. The most liberal and democratic of the bourgeoisie—even those most inclined towards compromise—recognise that, in the period of gravest crisis, when a new war menaces a land already exhausted with war, the Soviet power is a historical necessity. They have realised that in such a country there can be no other power but the Soviet power, the dictatorship of the proletariat.”

The Communist International was founded hardly two weeks before the proclamation of the Hungarian Soviet Republic. The worldwide historical importance of its foundation lay in this: that it really began on a world-scale to fulfil Marx’s solution, which, as Lenin said, after the long development of socialism and the working-class movement must find its expression in the proletarian dictatorship. The Communist International’s first step in the fulfilment of this historical path was to lead the proletarian revolution in Hungary to victory with the establishment of the Hun-

garian Socialist Soviet Republic. It is from the perspective of the historic mission of the International that we must above all consider the significance of the proletarian revolution in Hungary.

II.

The strategic and tactical lessons of the proletarian revolution in Hungary, which, by means of Bolshevik self-criticism, were drawn by the Hungarian Communists and throughout the International, have become the common possession of the whole international revolutionary working-class movement. These mistakes lead back to the fact that the proletarian revolution in Hungary had no such dress rehearsal as was the 1905 revolution for the October revolution.

The Communist Party of Hungary was founded only four and a half months before the victory of the proletarian revolution; and at the very moment of its birth the struggle for power began. The Party developed its spirited revolutionary agitation among the working masses, who, despite the fact that neither revolutionary spirit nor the desire for revolution failed them, had grown up under the influence of reformist teaching and without revolutionary traditions. The Hungarian Labour movement was specially lacking in Marxist theory. And in the socialist movement the question was never posed as to what forces and what questions of the Hungarian toiling masses—with the proletariat at their head—should bring them to revolution. The Hungarian social-democracy, functioning in a country which in many respects was similar to Tsarist Russia, had never introduced the question of a bourgeois democratic revolutionary transformation; and, of course, still less the question of a socialist revolution and proletarian dictatorship. The question of the leadership of the working class in the revolution was naturally just as unrecognised. Even without representation in parliament, it was a party of parliamentary fetichism. The objective which they provided for the working class was the struggle for democratic reforms under the leadership of the bourgeoisie.

The Social-Democratic Party was not the leader of the bourgeois-democratic revolution of 1918 in Hungary. The party had at the most approved, after much hesitation, of the

revolution which followed upon the breakdown of the war—a revolution which they had done everything possible to avert. In their endeavour to hinder the revolution they even went so far that their leaders accepted positions in a government which was formed to liquidate even the elementary revolutionary mass movement which then existed. And this in spite of the fact that the only class which the revolution and the downfall of the Hapsburg regime found at all prepared—and which, united with the soldiers and peasants, had smashed the rule of the Hapsburgs—was the working class. The Hungarian bourgeoisie was almost buried under the wreckage of the old Hungary. The defeat of Hungary in the war was in every sense of the word a national defeat for all strata of the bourgeoisie, and also of course for the semi-feudal landlords. There was not only a possibility of oppression by a foreign nation, but one could also foresee that a considerable section of the Hungarian people might actually come under foreign rule. In this situation the Social-Democratic Party became the sheet-anchor for the Hungarian bourgeoisie, and even for the representatives of vestigial feudalism—the big landlords who had not yet approximated to the later stages of capitalist development. The majority of the working class, although not prepared for revolution, was, nevertheless, at first ready for this task, inasmuch as it carried on the class-coalition policy of the war period; in fact, this policy was still further expanded inasmuch as the “revolutionary democracy” became the protagonist of capitalist private property and even of the semi-feudal elements which still remained. The founding of the Communist Party of Hungary, following shortly after the bourgeois revolution, brought the leadership of the revolution into the hands of those working masses who were not prepared to take up the salvation of the bourgeois and semi-feudal elements. The slogans “All Power to the Workers’ Councils,” and “Armed Uprising,” through the agitation of the young Communist Party, became widely known and took root with tremendous rapidity among the masses of the workers. Through the catastrophic defeat in the war and the outbreak of the bourgeois-democratic revolution, the armed

forces of the State were completely disorganised. This disorganisation was completed, through the agitation and organising activity of the Communists, by the arming of the workers. The bourgeoisie could only hope for protection from the Social-Democratic Party. But the Social-Democratic Party itself was now by no means homogeneous. Its members, and even some of its leaders—those who joined the Communists after the overthrow of the dictatorship—were hesitating; they were unwilling to serve as maintainers of bourgeois rule. The fatal error which followed, the union of the Communist and Social-Democratic Parties, was partly due to the fact that the Hungarian Communist Party, despite all its revolutionary vigour, was a young party without revolutionary traditions. On the other hand, one must also take into consideration that during the war period the Social-Democratic Party did not fully differentiate its policy, so that among its membership as well as in its leading sections could be found a large number of revolutionary elements. The "Unity ideology," which had been fostered in the Social-Democratic Party, had, however, prevented these masses from attaining a completely revolutionary standpoint.

The Communist Party itself, in its totality—despite the experiences of some of its leaders in the Russian revolutionary struggle for power—was not in a position to estimate correctly the position of the Party or the revolutionary situation. Thus it happened that, during the four months of its activity, the Party was not in a position to solve one of the most fundamental questions of the Hungarian revolution; the peasant question.

Thus from these circumstances proceeded the two fundamental errors of the revolution: the union with the Social-Democratic Party and the doctrinaire, unbolshevik treatment of the peasant question—a treatment which lost for the proletarian revolution and for the working class which led it the most important reserve army for that revolution, namely, the peasant masses. At the very beginning these two errors determined the fatal end of the revolution.

III.

Apart from the mistakes above described, the proletarian revolution in Hungary dis-

closes a whole series of special characteristics. Without an analysis of these characteristics, both the victory and the downfall of that revolution remain incomprehensible.

The success of the revolution was even at that time a riddle—not only for the social-democrats in the various European countries, but also for the different pedants in the Communist Party—a riddle which they found it painful to solve. On March 24th, 1929, Paul Levi, then a leader of the Communist Party of Germany, writing in a provincial German Communist paper on the victory of the Hungarian proletarian revolution, said:

"The new revolution in Hungary, which has replaced the bourgeois democracy by a Soviet government, is not actually the fruit of a victorious battle waged by the proletariat against the Hungarian bourgeoisie and junkers. It is not the result of a struggle of the proletariat with the bourgeoisie in which the latter has been vanquished; it is simply the result of the fact that the Hungarian bourgeoisie has—and there is no other word for it—given up the ghost."

It did not occur to this sensitive renegade—so sensitive that he had to excuse himself for being rude to the bourgeoisie—that it was necessary to analyse the special conditions and forms of the Hungarian proletarian revolution. The concrete circumstances of the victory of the Hungarian revolution, however, are obviously so distinct from those of the October revolution in Russia that it should have been absolutely essential for Party leaders—whose task it was to support the Hungarian revolution as actively as possible—to analyse those distinctions. The fact that some Communist leaders of that time, instead of organising international support for the young Soviet republic which needed it so badly, should busy themselves with fault-finding, naturally worked most disadvantageously for its success.

The final step to the victory of the proletarian revolution in Hungary was, in fact, not an armed uprising. However, this in no way implies that the conquest of State power was not the act of the armed proletariat. The city workers—and to some extent the agricultural workers—fought in a series of armed conflicts with the decaying and partly disarmed

bourgeoisie. Industrial and agricultural proletarians had occupied both factories and estates, from which they had expelled the managers and directors by armed force. A number of armed collisions took place in various country towns and villages with the small remaining armed forces of the State. In most cases the necessity for armed action was not present, as the bourgeoisie relied mainly upon the social-democracy. The latter, however, were unable to fulfil the role of a Noske because, as we have shown above, through their own lack of definition of policy, they could not control their own membership. The difference between the proletarian revolutions in Hungary and Russia is not that in the one country it was the result of armed insurrection and in the other not. In both cases the relationship of the opposing classes—which had become distinct at the stage of the bourgeois-democratic revolution—was one of force, namely, the victory would belong to whichever class possessed more arms. The difference was only in this: that in Russia, at the outbreak of the revolution, the bourgeoisie possessed more arms and could offer more resistance than in Hungary.

The common feature of both revolutions was that the internal revolutionary situation was enhanced by the international position of the particular country where the revolution was taking place. This international situation, although different as regards the two countries, in each case worked towards a weakening of the resistance of the bourgeoisie. An analysis of the international and internal factors of the two revolutions would make apparent the special conditions attending the Hungarian revolution.

As Lenin demonstrated, the October revolution was facilitated by the possibility of connecting the Soviet assumption of power with the termination of the imperialist war. While the October revolution found itself confronted by the imperialist war, the proletarian revolution in Hungary based itself on the mass feeling induced by the imperialist peace. Just as did the ending of the imperialist war and the demand for peace, so did the resistance to the imperialist peace-enforcement bring non-proletarian masses over to the side of the proletarian revolution. In Russia the peace-policy

of the Bolsheviks for a certain time brought the entire peasantry over to their side as active supporters. In Hungary, the resistance to the proletarian revolution by the bourgeoisie—and especially the nationalist petty-bourgeoisie, the petty-bourgeois intellectuals and the middle strata of the peasantry—was weakened by the expectation that Bolshevism would organise the struggle against the imperialist peace.

Even among the workers this important international factor manifested itself in an interesting manner. The masses of the Communist Party were naturally not composed of the aristocracy of labour. Yet when the shadow of the imperialist peace lay heavy on the land, important elements in the labour-aristocracy took their place side by side with the Communist Party. These elements feared the economic results of the territorial mutilation of the country, of the separation of industrial districts and the allocation of areas of raw material to other states. Not for a moment did the Communist Party fall into the error of nationalist-Bolshevism. The Communist Party with great energy and success exposed the Wilsonist and social-pacifist illusions of the Second International. But it exposed also, with equal clarity, the movement for the maintenance of Hungary's territorial integrity and the maintenance of the Hungarian oppressors' rule. The Hungarian Communist Party in its agitation emphasised that it was opposed to all wars based upon an infringement of the self-determination of peoples; and the Party disorganised the troops which the Social-Democratic war minister despatched against the Czecho-Slovakian and Roumanian armies. The Hungarian bourgeoisie's overtures to the Entente and the social-pacifism of the Social-Democrats had failed when confronted by the facts of the imperialist peace. This brought all hesitating elements for a while over to the side of the proletarian revolution. The petty-bourgeois patriots—one of the greatest enemies of the proletarian revolution—believed, with a section of the labour aristocracy, that their only hope for the organisation of resistance to the imperialist peace was in the Soviet republic. It is interesting to note how Lenin estimated the proletarian revolution in Hungary quite contrarily to the point of view of the Social-Democratic leaders who accused the Commun-

ist Party of nationalist Bolshevism and to the pedantic attitude of Levi. In his speech at the session of the Moscow Soviet on April 4th, Lenin said: "Hungary shows an example of a revolution under quite different conditions. Undoubtedly Hungary will have to carry on a hard struggle against it bourgeoisie. That is unavoidable. It is a fact that when those wild beasts of prey, the British and French imperialists, foresaw the Hungarian revolution they wanted to subdue the country and to prevent the revolution from happening. The difficulty with us was that while the Soviet power defied patriotism and smashed patriotism to pieces, yet we were compelled to conclude the Brest-Litovsk peace."

Had the Communist Party surrendered, it would have been the maddest pedantry and treachery to the revolution, especially as an important part of the petty bourgeois masses, particularly the bourgeois intellectuals, were weakening in their resistance to the proletarian revolution. The leaders of the social-democratic party, responding to the mood of the petty bourgeois, proposed the common assumption of power. The assertion of the Austrian and Hungarian adherents of Austro-Marxism, that the Hungarian proletarian revolution was really not a proletarian revolution, but a nationalist-Bolshevik, petty-bourgeois opposition to the imperialism of the Allies, is the grossest calumny. It is, however, undeniable that the proletarian revolution, from the international point of view, found itself confronted by extremely difficult, almost insuperable tasks, owing to the fact that after its victory it found itself faced with the imperialist peace-enforcements and the necessity for an armed struggle against them.

As distinct from the Russian revolution, the Hungarian proletarian revolution succeeded at a period when one of the two antagonistic imperialist groups lay defeated. Lenin distinctly stated, when speaking on the conditions necessary for the victory of the Bolshevik revolution in Russia, that the revolution could only carry on because of the possibility of utilising the struggle between the two imperialist robber bands and because these bands were not in a position to unite against the Soviet enemy. As German-Austro-Hungarian imperialism had already been defeated, this

same situation did not prevail at the time of the Hungarian revolution. Lenin clearly foresaw the peril involved in this situation and plainly indicated the danger to the proletarian revolution contained in the victory of Allied imperialism and the ending of the war. This situation affected the destiny of the proletarian revolution in no less than three directions. While the war-weary workers were by no means eager for new warfare, certain strata of the small bourgeoisie not only wanted war but wished to take the leadership of the revolutionary struggle into their hands and to transform it into a nationalist war. The exhausted workers of the neighbouring countries, particularly Germany and Austria, were horrified at the prospect of another war. They submitted to the fact that their social-democratic leaders—the Bauers just as much as the Scheidemanns—should use a sort of blackmail against the Entente what they termed as the westward-tending Bolshevik peril. The workers of the new victor countries—especially those of Czecho-Slovakia and the newly expanded Roumania—were lost in the rapture of national liberation and supported their rulers to the utmost. The Entente were enabled to send the armies of Czecho-Slovakia and Roumania against the revolution in Hungary. Under such conditions the proletarian revolution in Hungary could only fulfil one of its tasks from the point of view of international revolutionary tactics, namely to hinder the march of the Balkan army, under General Franchet d'Epernay, against Soviet Russia. Its second task, the support of the westward tendency of proletarian revolution, it could not fulfil, as its foreign policy and also the leadership of its military operations were weakened as the result of the internal situation and the international position of the Soviet Republic.

One of the greatest differences between the Russian and the Hungarian revolutions lay in the military situation. Lenin proved that in the preparation for the success of a proletarian revolution in Russia one must take into account the tremendous expanse of the country and the poor means of transportation, making it possible to carry on an extended civil war. The situation was fundamentally different in Hungary. Even in 1848, Engels showed

how the Hungarian revolution of that time was faced by great difficulties as a result of the narrow limits of its area. At that time the unfavourable transport conditions assisted the revolutionary army, the basis of whose operations was 2½ times as great as that of the Hungarian Red Army of 1919. While Kossuth, in 1848 and 1849, was able to carry on the war from Budapest, later, in the smaller Hungary of our day, the loss of the capital was equivalent to the breakdown of the revolution, both politically (the largest part of the workers were concentrated here) and from a military aspect (Budapest was the basis of the war industries). At the time of the outbreak of the proletarian revolution the front lay in the north, a distance of two or three days' march from Budapest, and in the East the Red Army, shortly after the first offensive of Roumania, withdrew its lines to a similar distance from the capital. Thus contrary to the Russian example, the war against Soviet Hungary was carried on by regular armies, which rendered it cryingly imperative for a large number of military specialists to serve in the Red Army, even before it had been possible for the revolution to have overthrown the officer caste.

Finally, a fundamental difference lay in the relations with the peasants in Russia and in Hungary. The erroneous handling of the peasant question by the Hungarian Communist Party as a subjective factor, becomes even plainer when the distinction is observed between the objective historical positions of the Hungarian and Russian peasantry. Lenin perceived that one of the conditions for the victory of proletarian revolution in Russia was the existence among the peasants of a widespread bourgeois-democratic movement. He saw that the party of the proletariat had an opportunity to take away from the Social-Revolutionaries—the majority of whom were opposed to the Bolsheviks—the expression of the demands of the peasantry and to realise those demands as soon as the proletariat had gained power. It is undeniable and cannot be sufficiently stressed that the Soviet power in Hungary committed a fatal mistake when it put before the peasants the choice of whether they wanted the division of the land or whether they wished for the continuation of the large estates. They did not recognise the

necessity of relating the proletariat with the bourgeois revolution. One source of this error was the effort to keep up the supplies of food for the towns. Another reason was that, based upon our policy of "Immediate Socialism," we wanted to bring the semi-feudal properties, together with large-scale capitalism, directly over into socialism. Owing to the great differentiation among the peasantry, the objective situation was different from that in Russia. This became apparent even at the time of the bourgeois-democratic revolution, when the whole of the peasantry did not even then support the revolution. Even at this period the struggle between the wealthy peasants and the agrarian proletariat (farm servants and day labourers) was becoming sharper. The agricultural wage earners wanted to prevent the large estates—where they earned their living—being partitioned and passing into the hands of the landowning peasantry. From this circumstance the Communists drew the wrong conclusion, and gave the agrarian wage earners no land; they held the large estates as co-operative farms, but in actuality as centralised Soviet undertakings. Thus the former farm labourer of a large estate, in spite of an improvement in his standard of living, did not mark a sufficient change in his circumstances brought about by the revolution. He did not look upon himself as an owner of the land but as a "State Farm Servant." Besides this, the historical past of the Hungarian peasantry was different from that of the Russian. When the revolution broke out, there existed no party among the peasants with the characteristics which Lenin instanced in the case of the Social-Revolutionaries. Among the peasants there existed no revolutionary movement, either under Communist or any other leadership, such as existed at the beginning of the 20th century among the Russian peasantry. As a result of these circumstances, then, the victory of the revolution in Hungary was rendered far more difficult than that in Russia, not as a result of subjective errors but as a result of the objective situation. These distinctive circumstances placed the proletarian revolution in Hungary, at its very first victorious step, before the most powerful objective obstacles. These objective obstacles, however, were not

insurmountable. The conception that the Hungarian proletarian revolution was from the beginning doomed to failure—a conception which was held by the Hungarian social-democrats and the erstwhile Communist leaders such as Paul Levi in Germany, and the Austrian Strasser and Ruth Fischer—was a defeatist position with regard to the whole question of the proletarian revolution in Western Europe. In the international situation, at the time of the Hungarian revolution, as a result of the ending of the imperialist war, no Soviet power in any country could have had as favourable a prospect as had the Russian proletarian revolution immediately after its inception.

This only goes to show that the Hungarian Soviet Republic needed even more the immediate and direct support of the international proletariat, and could dispense with such support less easily than could the Russian Soviet Republic.

IV.

The internal situation of the international Labour movement at the period of the Hungarian revolution was, however, completely disadvantageous to the success of that revolution. But still less favourable for our revolution was the military position of the Russian Soviet Republic. On March 18th, 1919, it was reported that the vanguard of the Red Army had taken possession of Kar-nopol. This had a great influence on the

“Eastern Orientation” of the social-democracy as well as other sections of the petty bourgeoisie. On April 4th, 1919, Lenin, in his letter to the Petrograd workers, sounds the alarm with regard to the eastern front. He writes:

“The situation on the eastern front has considerably worsened. To-day Koltchak took possession of the Votkinska works. We shall probably lose Bugulma, and Koltchak is pressing further on. The danger is frightful. We appeal to the Petersburg workers to strain every nerve and rally all their forces for the support of the eastern front. The soldiers will be able to feed themselves there and to assist their relatives by despatching food. The main thing is that there the fate of the revolution is being decided. If we can win there, we can put an end to the war, because the Whites will receive no more assistance from abroad. In the south we are on the point of victory. But no forces can be transferred from the south until we have completely won.”

All this made still more difficult the military situation of the proletarian revolution in Hungary, because we had partly depended upon the Russian Red Army and the uniting of the Russian and Hungarian Red troops in order to ensure our success. Here lay also the hopes of the petty bourgeoisie. It was from this hope that there proceeded the neutrality—and even at the beginning the benevo-

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lent neutrality—of these elements towards the proletarian revolution. This also had a great deal to do with our coalition with the social-democratic party, because we had reckoned that after the union with the Russian Red Army we would be in a position to drive the weakest and most hesitating social-democratic elements out of the government and out of the leadership of the united parties. Also this was the first source of hesitation among the workers. This hesitation increased when, after the downfall of the Bavarian Soviet Republic, and right on top of the defeat of the Russian Red troops in the south-east through the treachery of Grigoriev, and the advance of Petlura's and Denikin's troops, the hope for assistance from the east and west disappeared. Outside the little Soviet Republic, encircled by imperialist troops (Czechoslovaks in the north, Roumanians in the east, Jugoslavs and French in the south and Austrians in the west), behind the enemy troops there were only small Communist groups engaged in activity to support our republic, activity which hardly went beyond the borders of ordinary propaganda. The coalition with

the social-democratic party, the errors in the blockade, prepared the ground for the democratic counter-revolution.

The internal political errors reduced the power of resistance of the proletarian revolution, so that as a consequence it was not in a position to await the warmly-expected assistance of the international proletariat.

The proletarian revolution in Hungary then, after 4½ months' struggle, remained as the dress-rehearsal for the new proletarian revolution—the proletarian revolution of Europe.

But even in its overthrow it served, as the Second Congress of the Communist International stated, as a beacon for the proletariat of Central Europe. Whatever revolutionary defeatism may say, whatever the social-democrats and renegades from Communism may proclaim, the blood of the workers did not flow in vain in this revolution; already new shoots are sprouting in the Hungary of the White Terror. "Laetius ec trunco florabit" as the Hungarian jacobins wrote on the walls of their cells at the time of the French revolution.

Trotsky's Travels

(From "Anti-Kautsky" to Kautsky)

S. Novikov

TROTSKY has said of himself that he came to Lenin through fights with him.

From 1903-4 down to 1917 Trotsky vacillated between Bolshevism and Menshevism, providing a classic type of the conciliator, and working to all the extent of his (outstanding!) power and ability in favour of Menshevism. In October Trotsky "came" to Lenin. Beginning with the Peace of Brest-Litovsk in 1918 down to the Fifteenth Congress of the C.P.S.U. in 1927, during a whole decade, Trotsky carried on a fight against Lenin and Leninism inside the C.P.S.U. and the Comintern. For ten years Trotsky was moving farther and farther away from Lenin, his teaching, his Party and his International, carrying on ruthless fights the while. Since 1928, when he found himself outside the ranks of the C.P.S.U. and the Comintern, Trotsky has been coming through fights to Kautsky, Bauer and Dan. Trotsky's Communist zenith was reached in his polemic with Kautsky in 1920, when Trotsky replied to Kautsky's learned lampoon "Terrorism and Communism" with the pamphlet "Communism and Terrorism" (Anti-Kautsky). Trotsky's further development after Lenin's death and especially in 1928 right down to the present day has been and remains unswervingly in the direction from "Anti-Kautsky" to Kautsky and from Lenin to Bauer-Dan.

THE KAUTSKIAN LESSONS OF OCTOBER

In his "Terrorism and Communism," written in 1919, Kautsky sketched the prospects of the Soviet republic in the style of the Trotskyist documents of 1928. "Lenin's government is threatened by another Ninth Thermidor . . ." "Without democracy Russia will go to pieces, but through democracy Bolshevism must go to pieces. The final result is quite predictable. It need not be a Ninth Thermidor, but I fear it will not be far removed from that."

In his answer to Trotsky's pamphlet, in 1921, a few months after the introduction of the NEP, Kautsky asserted that capitalism, militarism and absolutism had been finally restored in Soviet Russia. The Soviet republic was experiencing a reaction, and it was threatened with the catastrophe of Thermidor. At that time Kautsky considered that the possibility of a "democratic" liquidation of the Soviet dictatorship was not excluded. "It is possible," he wrote, "that there will be a peaceable establishment of democracy and a proletarian peasant regime on the lines of Georgia before its seizure by the Bolshevik bands." If the Bolsheviks did not face up to a democratic liquidation of their dictatorship (i.e., the resurrection of Menshevik Georgia, only not in its former frontiers, but throughout the territory of Soviet Russia—S.N.), there would inevitably be a white-guard dictatorship, anarchy, and the plunging of Russia into barbarism. Such were to be the results of the reactionary policy and the theories of Bolshevism. (Kautsky, "From Democracy to the Slave State.")

Kautsky did not stand still. In 1925, just before the Marseilles Congress of the Second International, he issued the notorious denunciation: "The International and Soviet Russia," in which he argued that Thermidor had already arrived in Soviet Russia, that the N.E.P. was economic counter-revolution, and the repressions against the Mensheviks and Social-Revolutionaries were political counter-revolution; that the Soviet State was a Russian form of Bonapartism and absolutism worse than Tsarism; that all Soviet Russia was a counter-revolutionary formation from top to bottom, with a counter-revolutionary basis of N.E.P. capitalism and a counter-revolutionary superstructure of Soviet Bonapartism. The Bolsheviks themselves had carried out the counter-revolution, they had themselves proved to be their own counter-revolutionaries and had thus held on to power.

Kautsky presaged our perdition by an elemental rising of the popular masses and the "peaceable" intervention of western European democracy. He considered a peaceable, democratic liquidation of the Soviet dictatorship desirable, but not at all probable. He personally would be for the "reform" of the Soviet regime, but objectively there were greater chances of a "revolution" against the Soviet dictatorship, and of an elemental revolt. He was against the technical preparation of the revolt, against a putsch, but in favour of the Russian "socialists" (i.e., the Mensheviks and the Social-Revolutionaries) participating in the elemental revolt.

Entering into a polemic with Dan and Bauer, who declared that a rising against the Soviet regime would inevitably end in counter-revolution, Kautsky insisted that one must not discredit in advance the inevitable "revolutionary" overthrow of the Soviet regime through a national elemental revolt by making such prophecies. He, Kautsky, on the contrary, was confident that both "reform" and "revolution" (i.e., counter-revolution—S.N.), would bring Soviet Russia to democracy, and through democracy to socialism sooner or later. (Kautsky: "The International and Soviet Russia," brochure and articles in "Kampf," 1925, No. 8/4.)

Kautsky stabilised himself at these views and introduced them in their entirety into his pseudo "materialist conception of history," which was planned and executed as Kautsky's philosophic and political testament and as a great encyclopædia of revisionism.

BAUER'S PROPHECIES AND FRITZ ADLER'S COUNSELS

Bauer, Dan and the other leading theoreticians and politicians of the Second International are not in agreement with Kautsky on all points. For them it is indubitable that the U.S.S.R. has a counter-revolutionary base of N.E.P. capitalism, and that the Soviet regime is the dictatorship of the C.P. over the proletariat and peasantry. To that extent they are in accord with Kautsky. But they do not consider that the U.S.S.R. has a counter-revolutionary superstructure, that the Soviet regime is Russian Bonapartism, that Thermidor has already arrived. They de-

clare "merely" that the Soviet regime is being subjected to a Thermidorian-Bonapartist-Fascist degeneration. They agree that the restoration of capitalism has taken place in the U.S.S.R., although it is hidden under the superstructure of Red imperialism and militarism, but in distinction from Kautsky, they are ready (in words) to give their preference to a peaceable, democratic liquidation of the Soviet dictatorship, i.e., to "reform" rather than to "revolution."

From the very first days of October Bauer has unceasingly declared that a dictatorship of the proletariat was established in Russia owing to the backwardness of the peasantry; that only owing to the backwardness of the proletariat was this dictatorship, which existed until the middle of 1918, replaced by the dictatorship of the Communist Party, by the dictatorship of the Bolshevik bureaucracy over the proletariat and peasantry; that this shortlived dictatorship will probably be replaced in turn by the rising Bonapartist dictatorship, which in the last result will be replaced by a stable regime of a peasant-democratic republic.

The historic mission of the Soviet regime, with its military despotic socialism and "Asiatic Marxism," Bauer considers to be the uplift of the cultural-political level of the peasant masses. According to Bauer, the cultural revolution which we have effected among the peasantry must inevitably lead to the self liquidation of the Soviet dictatorship. "With the productivity of the peasant labour there will also be a growth in the culture of the peasant masses, in their self-consciousness, their will to power; they will become a political force, to which the Bolshevik regime will be compelled gradually to adapt itself, and Russia will be bound gradually to develop into a peasant democracy." ("The Soviets and the Peasant," "Arbeiter Zeitung," 28th Dec., 1928.)

Thus the left wing social-democrats with Bauer at their head consider that the U.S.S.R. is experiencing an evolutionary process which is to end with the transformation of the dictatorship of the proletariat into peasant democracy.

Even "Vorwaerts" is not entirely in agreement with Kautsky on the question of whether Thermidor has already arrived; through the

lips of the Russian Menshevik, Garvi, "Vorwaerts" recently declared in a leading article that "In the last resort, owing to the Bolshevik experiment the working class has been extraordinarily enfeebled, and the peasantry have come to the forefront. Now it is only a question of how the experiment will work out on balance, whether in a democratic, a Bonapartist, or in a Fascist form," (P. Garvi, "The Blind Alley of Bolshevik Policy," "Vorwaerts," 5th Feb., 1928.)

Finally, the general secretary of the Second International, Fritz Adler, declares that Soviet Russia is threatened with the danger of being transformed into an instrument of reaction. Consequently, "once the expectations of October have proved unjustified, it is necessary at least to save March" (i.e., the achievements of the bourgeois February revolution of 1917—S.N.). The inimitable Fritz warns us that the Second International will "defend" the U.S.S.R., if it renounces its speculation in world war and carries out an honest peace policy, if Bolshevism will effect a reconciliation with international social-democracy and will conduct itself in regard to the European social-democrats as it would to its natural allies in the struggle against the danger of reaction in Russia. In a word, if the Comintern capitulates to the Second International, Fritz Adler will unite all the vital forces for the salvation of the Russian revolution. Of course, in 1929, Lenin would have admitted the shattering of his October, 1917 hopes, and would have accepted all these conditions. That "is what Lenin would do to-day in order to save the Russian revolution." (F. Adler: "What would a Lenin do to-day in order to save the Russian revolution?" 5th Feb., 1929.)

So declaims the general secretary of the Second International, Fritz Adler. Is he interested in what Lenin would do? We answer that Lenin would laugh to scorn Fritz Adler's counsels and would have counselled the uninvited counsellor to manifest his own intellectual ability and to turn for sympathy to Trotsky.

THE PLATFORM OF "DEMOCRATIC" TROTSKYISM AND DEMOCRATIC CENTRISM

In his notorious letter of October 21st, 1928, Trotsky gave a perfect Bauer-Dan estimate

of the U.S.S.R.'s prospects. Thermidor has not arrived yet, but it is arriving and will be achieved irrespective of who is victorious, the right wing or "centrism" (or Stalinism, as following the example of all social-democracy, Trotsky exalts the official line of the party). The U.S.S.R. is passing through Kerenskyism upside down. The post-Lenin leadership is running the October film backwards. Behind Kerensky's back the power slipped from the bourgeoisie to the proletariat; behind Stalin's back the power is slipping from the proletariat to the bourgeoisie. The dictatorship of the proletariat still exists, but it is already being transformed into the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie. This is the dictatorship of the Party-Soviet bureaucracy, an almost super-class regime, operating in the best case on the basis of the middle peasantry. The return to undamaged dictatorship of the proletariat is still possible without a second revolution, by the method of an extensive Party and Soviet reform, and namely by the establishment of secret voting at first inside the Party, then in the trade unions and a little later in the Soviets. But if the Party does not effect this extensive Party-Soviet reform (according to the recipe of Trotsky-Bauer-Dan—S.N.) the U.S.S.R. is menaced with an inevitable Thermidorian-Fascist-Bonapartist dictatorship. ("Fahne des Kommunismus," 1929, No. 1.)

In this Trotskyist estimate of the "real situation in Russia" and the prospects of the Soviet revolution it is impossible to discover any noticeable objective difference from Bauer-Dan's and the earlier Kautsky prognoses even under a microscope. Kautsky of the 1919-21 period and Bauer-Dan continually have never maintained anything else than that Soviet Russia is threatened with Thermidor, and that the U.S.S.R. can be saved from counter-revolution by resort to extensive Soviet reform. By Soviet reform Bauer-Dan and Co. mean nothing other than the restoration of secret voting in the trade unions and the Soviets. For them it is clear and evident that after the introduction of secret voting there must automatically ensue the legalisation of all parties and the fall of the dictatorship.

In a leading article in the columns of the left-wing social-democratic newspaper, the

"Leipziger Volkszeitung," the Russian woman Menshevik, Domanevskaya, quite soundly crucified Trotsky's new platform as put forward in his letter of October 21st as "democratic" Trotskyism. "Trotsky is now borrowing his 'vitally important' slogans from the program of Russian social-democracy, which all these years has times out of number demanded secret voting for the workers in order to ensure them freedom to manifest their will, freedom of organisation and the right to strike." "The Trotskyists," writes this learned Menshevik feminine economist, contributor to the Russian Menshevik "Socialist Courier" and the foremost German social-democratic journals, "are gradually emerging on to the true road." "The more speedily they succeed in crystallising their political position down to its last logical conclusion and in abandoning the road of their old Utopia, the more speedily will a unification of all the class-conscious political groupings inside the Russian working class become possible, and the greater will be the chances of success in the struggle for the democratic liquidation of the Communist Party dictatorship." ("Demokratischer Trotskismus," in "Leipziger Volkszeitung," 30th Jan., 1929.)

Madam Domanevskaya is not in the least embarrassed by the circumstance that in his letter of October 21st Trotsky drew a strict line of demarcation between himself and the Mensheviks. The learned Menshevik dame realises that Trotsky is moving towards social-democracy through fighting with them, and consequently she willingly offers him her hand and heart, her advice and affection.

The social-democrats perfectly realise that having put forward the Menshevik "program of action" for the U.S.S.R., the program of extensive Party-Soviet reform (by the restoration of secret voting in the Party, the trade unions and the Soviets) Trotskyism has arrived at Menshevism. Trotskyism is Menshevism with a War-Communism mask. In the fights through which Trotsky is moving towards undiluted Menshevism the mask will fall away, and the pure Menshevism will be left.

The Trotskyists' allies, the Democratic Centrists (the little group of Smirnov and Saprnov) have already arrived at undiluted

Menshevism, they have caught up to and left behind Bauer-Dan, they have overtaken Kautsky of the 1919-21 period, and have arrived at Kautsky of 1925-29. Jointly with this later Kautsky they assert that Thermidor has already been consummated, that the dictatorship of the proletariat is already non-existent, that the U.S.S.R. has already been transformed into a Nep-kulak-peasant, petty bourgeois republic with a full-blooded Thermidorian-Bonapartist-Fascist dictatorship, against which it is necessary to prepare a second revolution.

So far Trotsky has disputed this openly Kautsky position, doing so from the aspect of his own Bauer-Dan position. In its estimate of the prospects of the U.S.S.R. Trotskyism has the same attitude to Democratic Centrism as Bauerism to Kautskyism. But just as Kautskyism (i.e., the right-wing social-democracy) reveals the essence and prognosticates the morrow of Bauerism (i.e., left-wing social-democracy) so Democratic Centrism prognosticates the morrow and reveals the essence of Trotskyism.

THE COMMENTARY OF THE GERMAN TROTSKYISTS
(THE SLOGAN OF DEMOCRATIC DICTATORSHIP
FOR THE U.S.S.R.)

German Trotskyism has already accomplished this revolution from Trotskyism to Democratic Centrism and from Bauer-Dan to Kautsky. For the eleventh anniversary of the October revolution the Urbahns group issued a manifesto which is filled with pure Kautskian slander against the U.S.S.R., the C.P.S.U., and the Comintern. This notable production of German Trotskyism contains the following lines on the ultimate fate of the Russian revolution and the prospects of the U.S.S.R. "Lenin is dead. The present rulers are playing into the hands of reformism, which declares that it has been proved to be right. 'See!' the bourgeoisie and its reformist tail will exult, 'they cannot manage the conquest of power. Communism is shattered. It is not possible.' The clear-thinking class-conscious worker will not allow himself to be hoodwinked, but the great mass which has felt sympathy for the revolutionary teaching, will be lost to the revolutionary movement for a considerable length of

time. Consequently it is necessary to effect a retreat all along the line. And Lenin had this possibility in mind. He swept away all the trimmings and in every situation struck an unadorned balance. The retreat has to be in the direction of democratic dictatorship. If it is not effected in good order the counter-revolutionary influence will get the upper hand and will destroy all the achievements of 1917." ("Der November, 1917 und 1928." "Fahne des Kommunismus," 1928, No. 45.)

Thus, after slinging mud at the C.P.S.U. and the Comintern and slandering the working masses of the world by saying that they are lost to the revolutionary movement, and for a considerable time at that, by the twelfth year of the proletarian dictatorship the German Trotskyists were putting forward for the U.S.S.R. the slogan of retreat to democratic dictatorship, in other words, to the Menshevik Bauer-Dan program of the democratic liquidation of the proletarian, socialist dictatorship.

Bauer has always opposed our slogan of the dictatorship of the proletariat with his own slogan of democratic dictatorship, or the dictatorship of a democratic parliament. At one time Martov toyed with the slogan of the dictatorship of democracy; Bauer and Dan are now pronouncing in favour of the democratic alliance of the proletariat and peasantry; and the general secretary of the Second International, Fritz Adler, advises us to retreat from October to March, i.e., to the positions of the February revolution. He assures us that Lenin would do this to-day in order to save the Russian revolution. (Adler: Ibid. "Kampf," 1928, 2, p. 59.) And the German Trotskyists, who exalt themselves into "orthodox Marxist-Leninists," and who calumniously hide behind the name of Lenin, put forward for the U.S.S.R., the "orthodox" Austro-Marxist-Menshevik utopia of the democratic self-liquidation of the dictatorship of the proletariat in the country where socialism is being built up. Justice demands that we should explain that Urbahns anticipated Adler by three whole months!

In putting forward their proposal for the liquidation of the socialist dictatorship of the proletariat and for retreat to the democratic dictatorship of the proletariat and the peasant-

try, the German Trotskyists appeal to Lenin, who according to them allowed for such a possibility. In his polemic with Kautsky in 1918, when Kautsky had not as yet said a word even about the coming Thermidor, when Kautsky occupied a more seemingly position than that now taken up by Trotsky and his German pupils such as Urbahns, and his teachers in the style of Bauer and Dan, Lenin wrote that even if the October revolution had not grown out of a bourgeois-democratic to a proletarian-socialist revolution, "even so this did not prove that the proletariat ought not to have seized power, for only the proletariat could really carry the bourgeois-democratic revolution to its conclusion." ("The Proletarian Revolution and the Renegade Kautsky.") Turning to Kautsky and Bauer-Dan for deliverance, the German Trotskyists turn upside down all Lenin's arguments, and in the twelfth year of the victorious proletarian-socialist revolution propose to the working class of the U.S.S.R. that they should retreat to the democratic dictatorship of the proletariat and the peasantry, i.e., in the most favourable case to the Bolshevik position of 1905 to 1916, but in reality to the present Menshevik position of the democratic alliance of the proletariat and peasantry, to the incomparable position of Friedrich Adler, the inimitable general secretary of the Second International.

THE BRAIN-RACKINGS OF THE GERMAN TROTSKYISTS. (IS IT THERMIDOR OR NOT YET?)

When on the Eleventh Anniversary of the October revolution the German Trotskyists presented us with a new constitution, the constitution of democratic dictatorship, they did not know of the existence of Trotsky's letter of 21st October, they did not know that in distant Alma-Ata Trotsky presented us with a charter of Menshevik liberty; secret voting in the party, trade unions and Soviets—in other words a constitution of democratic dictatorship. Despite the tremendous difference in latitude and longitude between Alma-Ata and Berlin, in both places Trotskyist intellect was at work with iron obedience to law in one and the same Menshevik direction. Both here and there the Trotskyist mountain gave

birth to a Menshevik mouse (the democratic liquidation of the dictatorship).

Trotsky's letter of October 21st appeared in the organ of the German Trotskyists only at the beginning of January, 1929. But now to the German Trotskyists the situation in Russia became as clear as daylight! A genuinely tragi-comic farce was played. Bartels, the editor of Urbahns' newspaper "Volkswille," read Trotsky's letter (in which Thermidor had not as yet been accomplished) and understood it in exactly the opposite sense, i.e., that Thermidor had already been accomplished. Thus becoming convinced that "it was impossible to save the Russian revolution," Mr. Bartels made the organisational deductions from this miserable situation. . . . he resigned from the Leninbund and passed over to the social-democrats, and this time not merely intellectually and politically, but organisationally. In his declaration to the Leninbund this orthodox "Marxist-Leninist" confesses that he has struggled ruthlessly for twelve years against social-democracy, but now he is convinced that the Comintern, the C.P. of Germany and the Leninbund are all going to pieces, and that social-democracy is the bulwark of proletarian unity. ("Social-democracy the bulwark of unity," "Leipziger Volkszeitung," 22nd Jan., 1929.) In a word, this pupil of Trotsky has arrived at social-democracy . . . through fighting it.

The editors of the "Fahne des Kommunismus" have not so far made Bartel's organisational deductions, and they advise Trotsky to reconsider his attitude to Democratic Centrism, for they remark quite justly that the disagreement between the Trotskyists and the Democratic Centrists are being more and more smoothed over. ("Fahne des Kommunismus," 1929, No. 4 Editorial note to Trotsky's letter to the Democratic Centrist, Borodai.)

Finally, Trotsky's deportation has afforded the Trotskyist chief organ an excuse for complete desertion to the Democratic Centrist positions: Trotsky's deportation is, they assert, equivalent to Robespierre's execution and Ninth Thermidor. For the October revolution Trotsky's deportation will have similar consequences to that of Ninth Thermidor for the French revolution. Thus Ther-

midor has been accomplished. But as sound, solid Germans, the German Trotskyists cough and correct themselves: "By careful and exact investigation we must establish whether it is not time to cease regarding the Stalin hegemony (!) as representation of the working class, and whether in consequence we ought not to struggle against that hegemony by all methods. It is clear that a continuation of this course will bring Thermidor ever nearer." ("Fahne des Kommunismus," 1929, No. 5.) Thus Thermidor is only just making its appearance. Whether it has already appeared or is only just arriving the German Communists instruct their economists and publicists to investigate, and meantime they are carrying on an intellectual preparation for the struggle against the Soviet regime "by all methods" i.e., they are preparing for a revolt and civil war against the dictatorship of the proletariat and its party.

The German Trotskyists' growing approximation to Kautskyism and Democratic Centrism is to be measured not in days, but in hours, and they are catching up to Trotsky in this regard. Calling the Communist policy anti-proletarian, the "Soviet Trotskyists" (Soviet, that is, in the territorial sense, but really ideologically anti-Soviet), have in fact really already slipped into Democratic Centrism. The heroes of Democratic Trotskyism, the "democratic" Trotskyists, are distinguished from the Democratic Centrists by no more than the sound of a single consonant.* One must hope that the democratic Trotskyists will not resist its supplications for long but will speedily inform the world of the arrival of Thermidor. Then old man Kautsky will be able to fling his arms out to heaven and exclaim: "Now you are repentant! Trotsky, like a prodigal son, has returned to his intellectual father," the road from "Anti-Kautsky" will have been traversed to its end. And so coming to his finale, Trotsky will be able to exclaim: "I came to Kautsky through fighting him." Even if he does not say this, all the same history will say it for him. It has already been said by quite a number of the more prominent publicists of international social-democracy: Emile Vandervelde, Fiodor Dan, Kurt Rosenfeld, and finally by Bartels

* I.e., "D.C.'ists" and "D.T.'ists."

himself. "Trotsky has not yet arrived at the Marxist conceptions of Martov and Dan, but events are already compelling him to apply the definite slogans of the Russian Mensheviks." (K. Rosenfeld.) "The Trotsky of the present day may rather conduce to the return of Communist workers into the social-democratic party than strengthen any C.P. whatever and so do damage to social-democracy." (Dan.) "The return to democracy—that is the decisive feature in Trotsky's position." (Bartels.) Absolutely correct! Trotsky's allies are telling the dry truth about him!

On Trotsky's deportation the Trotskyists of western Europe formed a committee and organised a fund for the salvation of Trotsky. An idle task! No power on earth can save Trotsky from the embraces of Kautsky and Bauer-Dan. That could be done by only one man on earth, by Trotsky himself, if he were to renounce—Trotskyism! i.e., if he were to renounce himself. But he is not capable of such a miracle of self-resurrection. During all the years of the imperialist war Lenin did not cease pointing out the ideological-political relationship of Kautskyism and Trotskyism. When he parted with Kautsky in 1917, Trotsky's road crossed with that of Lenin, only after ten years to describe a curve which brought him back to Kautsky, and that on a fundamental question of the international workers' movement; on his estimate of the prospects of the Russian revolution and the fate of the U.S.S.R.

TROTSKYISM'S LIQUIDATORIAL PLATFORM
ON THE CHINESE QUESTION. (THE SLOGAN
OF "INSTITUTIONS FOR CHINA")

But Trotsky has arrived at Menshevism behind a Trotskyist mask in regard to yet another fundamental question of the international revolutionary movement—in his estimate of the prospects of the Chinese revolution.

In his letter on the Sixth Congress, dated September 9th, Trotsky writes that in the Comintern program the "slogan of democratic dictatorship of the proletariat and peasantry" has in the last resort been transformed into a super-historical abstraction for four-fifths of humanity (for Asia, Africa, and South

America). The debates at the congress show undoubtedly that the democratic dictatorship of the proletariat and the peasantry connotes the Kuomintang road in all its possible historical variation."

For the benefit of the U.S.S.R., and in the name of the salvation of the dictatorship of the proletariat from the imminent Thermidor (unfolding in the heads of Trotskyists) in the twelfth year of the Soviet regime Trotsky and Co. are putting forward a program of retreat to democratic dictatorship. In the U.S.S.R. democratic dictatorship appears to the Trotskyists as quite real and historically concrete in its application. But for the backward countries of the East, for Asia, Africa and South America, "democratic dictatorship" is put into contemptuous quotation marks and is transformed into a super-historical abstraction. Astounding logic!

That is the logic of historical Trotskyism, with which Trotsky himself, according to his own assurances, has nothing whatever in common. Even in 1909 Trotsky called the Leninist idea of the democratic dictatorship of the proletariat and the peasantry, and the strict Leninist destruction between the socialistic and the democratic dictatorship "anti-revolutionary," a "formally logical" scheme and a "hopelessly idealistic abstraction." Whilst, starting from the abstraction that "our revolution is a bourgeois revolution," the Mensheviks arrive at the idea of adapting all the tactics of the proletariat to the conduct of the liberal bourgeoisie including its conquest of State power, the Bolsheviks, starting from just as pure an abstraction—"democratic, but not socialistic dictatorship," arrive at the idea of the bourgeois-democratic self-limitation of the proletariat, in whose hands is the State power." (Trotsky, 1905.) Both in 1909 and in 1928-29 Trotsky considered and still considers the Leninist idea of democratic dictatorship of the proletariat and peasantry and the Leninist theory of the growth of the democratic into the socialistic dictatorship as an anti-revolutionary abstraction. Trotsky, this "orthodox Bolshevik-Leninist," is quite unable to re-arm or to disarm himself from the old historical Trotskyism.

To the Leninist conception of the growth of the democratic dictatorship of the proletariat

and peasantry into the socialistic dictatorship of the proletariat, Trotsky, both before and after 1917, in fact, at all times, opposed his "original" theory, the theory of permanent revolution in words and of the common practice of co-operation with Menshevism and the liquidators in deed. And the same Trotsky is now presenting us with an estimate of the prospects of the Chinese revolution. For China he puts forward the slogans of a national assembly, of equal agreements. "The struggle for these slogans and in parliament must at the first outbreak of revolution lead to the setting up of soviets and to the struggle for the dictatorship of the proletariat, operating on the basis of the rural and urban poor. Meantime, our heroes of strategy "are jumping over the present reactionary period in the development of China, and are endeavouring to stop all the holes by the universal panacea of democratic dictatorship, which in China's case manifests Kuomintang connotation." (Trotsky: "On the Sixth World Congress" in "Fahne des Kommunismus," 1928, No. 40.)

Before us we have a complete Chinese variant of the theory of permanent revolution. The bourgeois revolution in China is completed. In prospect is the struggle for the dictatorship of the proletariat, operating on the basis of the rural and urban poor. But at the moment China is experiencing a Chiang Kai Shek-Stolypin form of reaction. Consequently the slogan of Soviets is recalled. The "abstraction" of democratic dictatorship is thrown aside as a useless rag, and all the holes are to be stopped up with a genuinely Trotskyist liquidatorial bundle of rubbish; the slogans of Chinese institutions and Customs autonomy, i.e., a quite seemly social-democratic program, which can be subscribed to by any old Wong-Ting-Wei and Otto Bauer. We do not know whether Bauer has read Trotsky's letter of September 9th, which contains the new Trotskyist-liquidatorial program on the Chinese issue. But alas, we must disillusion Trotsky and his followers. In his estimate of the final outcome of the Chinese revolution, on fundamentals Bauer has twice been afforded the possibility of agreeing with Trotsky—once before and once after the publication of Trotsky's letter on the Sixth Congress. And, in fact, Bauer asserts that the Chinese revolution has

ended in the formation of a national bourgeois State, the formation of a bourgeois Chinese republic. Bauer is dissatisfied with the Chiang Kai Shek regime; he would prefer a more democratic regime with a national assembly and complete Customs autonomy. But Bauer also objects to the struggle in parliament for the slogans put forward by Trotsky. And finally, Bauer is no less sceptical than Trotsky in his attitude to the slogan of "the democratic dictatorship of the proletariat and peasantry," evidently considering that behind this "super-historical abstraction" is concealed a Communist-Populist illusion as to the possibility of China's jumping over the natural phase of historical development, namely, capitalism.

Anticipating Otto Bauer, the German Trotskyists as early as June last year announced that China had entered upon a road of capitalistic evolution, that the Chinese revolution had ended in the victory of the bourgeoisie and the formation of an independent national bourgeois State, that owing to the unsound policy of the Comintern the historical possibility of China having a non-capitalist evolution was already excluded. (*)

China is being decolonised. Such is the discovery of the German Trotskyists, to which they add the second, no less profound discovery that the U.S.S.R. is being transformed into a semi-colony, owing to the increasing activity of the concessions policy, the searches for foreign loans, the readiness to recognise the Tsarist debts and so on. "When the concessions to the imperialists exceed a certain limit quantity will pass into quality, and the proletarian State will become a semi-colony. That has not occurred as yet, but a considerable distance has been traversed along the road leading to this end." ("Fahne des Kommunismus," No. 25, 1928.)

Such is the final summary of the Trotskyist analysis of the prospects of the U.S.S.R. and of China: "China is being decolonised and transformed into a bourgeois national State, in the direction of a constitutional Assembly.

(*) Trotsky's letter of September 9th was published in the "Fahne des Kommunismus" on October 5th, whilst Bauer's articles on China were published in the "Arbeiter Zeitung" of August 3rd and December 27th, 1928.

The U.S.S.R. is being colonised and transformed into a fascist bonapartist republic, unless the C.P.S.U. and the Soviet Government call to the Trotskyist vikings: 'Come and rule and lord it over us . . . in order to retreat to democratic dictatorship.' "

Thus having leapt across the "super-historical abstraction of the democratic dictatorship in the case of four-fifths of humanity," and across the historical concrete fact of the Soviet dictatorship over one-sixth of the world's surface, Trotsky has jumped to the slogan of "institutions for China" and "democratic dictatorship for the U.S.S.R." These are two sides of the one and the same liquidatorial medal.

THE END OF THE ROAD

In connection with Trotsky's deportation from the territory of the U.S.S.R. the Trotskyist flyers and the Trotskyist journalist small fry raised an outcry: "Where is Trotsky?" We give the most exact report possible: "En route from Bauer to Kautsky!"

Consequently there is nothing astonishing in the fact that the Dresden bourgeois publishing house "Avalun" have published a book by Trotsky on "The True Situation in Russia," announcing it with advertisements of an astoundingly, screamingly sensational character. It is not astonishing that in the pages of the "Arbeiter Zeitung" Dan aligns himself with the Trotskyist analysis of "the true situation in Russia," and writes mockingly: "Trotsky himself must admit that in essentials his view is in agreement with those views which were worked out by the Russian social-democrats before him." (Dan "The Tragic-comedy of a Romantic" in "Arbeiter Zeitung" for 8th December, 1928.)

It is not surprising that the Berlin social-democratic publishing house "Laub" have published a second novelty of Trotsky's: "The International Revolution and the Communist International," giving it the appealing advertisement, "Trotsky's voice from exile." The social-democratic publishers have paid its author the—for a "Leninist-Bolshevik"—murderous compliment: "The importance of Trotsky's work rises above the narrow framework of Party-Communist and Soviet-Russian polemic to the status of a fundamental

contribution to present-day international Marxist literature." ("Klassenkampf," 1928, No. 4.) Trotsky's "Marxism" is quite acceptable to international social-democracy. That is the essence of the matter. Consequently the bourgeoisie and social-democracy willingly gave international publicity to Trotsky's anti-Soviet writings.

Waves of sympathy are flowing towards Trotsky from the Second International, its parties and publicists. The social-democratic press is expressing its sympathy for its new ally. "Vorwaerts" speaks up in favour of Trotsky being granted the right of asylum in Germany. In the "Arbeiter Zeitung" Dan writes an "inspired" article: "The right of asylum for Trotsky!" For universal information he declares that "all the sympathies of social-democracy are on the side of Trotsky." He says that the social-democrats have nothing to fear from Trotsky's political activity. On the contrary, the present Trotsky, torn asunder as he is by internal conflict, may inflict a mortal blow on the Communist movement outside Russia and impel the Communist workers to return to social-democracy, rather than strengthen and consolidate any kind of Communist Party whatever or do any injury to social-democracy. ("Arbeiter Zeitung," 20th January, 1929.) And this is the reason why Dan is screaming himself hoarse over the right of asylum for Trotsky; with Trotsky's help he hopes to inflict a mortal blow on the Comintern in Europe. Mr. Dan is a very poor prophet; he may or may not with Trotsky's help inflict a mortal blow on the Comintern some time in the future, but by his clumsiness he has already dealt Trotsky a mortal blow, one from which the ally of international social-democracy, the renegade Leo Trotsky, will never recover. The Executive of the Socialist International held recently in London called for moral and material support to Trotsky. The president of the German Reichstag, the social-democrat Loebe, took Trotsky on in a public speech in the Reichstag: The German republic was ready to give shelter to the refugee. Trotsky sent Loebe a telegram with a request for support to his application for a visa to Germany. Loebe supported the request in the Cabinet. Having first made an intellectual journey to the book-market of Dresden and Berlin, Trotsky is now preparing to make a

real trip to the Promised Land of Hindenburg-Hilferding freedom and democracy.

The German Trotskyists hastened to explain the (for them) inconvenient fact of Trotsky's correspondence with Loebe: this, you see, was just as revolutionary an act as Lenin's journey through Germany to Russia in a "sealed carriage." These harlequins do not realise that Lenin and other Bolsheviks, accompanied by the revolutionary Platten, travelled to revolutionary Russia to prepare the October revolution and to carry Russia from February to October, whilst Trotsky sought assistance from the counter-revolutionary social-democrat Loebe to enable him to enter Germany, in order thence to carry on the struggle against the children of October, the Comintern and the U.S.S.R., and to carry the U.S.S.R. from October to February. A tiny difference, which recalls Marx's saying that all great historical events and personalities appear twice, so to speak; the first time as a tragedy, the second time as a farce. The mouse-like romping of

international social-democracy and the Trotskyists around Trotsky's deportation is at the best a tragi-comic farce.

Trotsky's publication of a series of anti-Soviet articles in the columns of British, American, and Dutch newspapers, his sensational story of his exile in the pages of the yellow capitalist press, and finally the thirty pieces of silver in the form of several thousand prosaic dollars received by him for this clean business, all turn this tragi-comedy into filthy history. In his gutter-press sensationalism Trotsky reports to the international bourgeoisie: "Our method is the method of internal reforms. . . . Anyone who expects a speedy overthrow of the Soviet regime is condemned to one more cruel disappointment." So Trotsky has not yet arrived at Kautsky. He is still travelling towards him by way of fights . . . in the pages of the yellow press. Trotsky has not come to Kautsky yet, but he has surpassed Kautsky, for Kautsky is not published in the columns of the bourgeois press. The renegade Trotsky has surpassed the renegade Kautsky.

For the Forthcoming Plenum of the E.C.C.I.

Discussion in the Trade Union Commission on the Problems of Strike strategy and Trade Union Work

1.—COMRADE GUSSIEV'S SPEECH

COMRADES: The first of the most significant facts of the last few months in the realm of the workers' mass attacks is the result of the elections to factory committees in Germany—a result which was a little unexpected. The most important feature of the elections has been our acquisition of considerable influence in the large enterprises. Hitherto the C.P. has had influence in the small enterprises, but now it is quite openly penetrating into the large enterprises, and not only penetrating but at once winning to its side well-nigh half the workers. And this is happening despite the fact that the new election tactics of our German C.P. have been marked by uncertainty in their application. For in the first place part of these tactics was completely abandoned, *i.e.*, the organisation of electoral commissions, which, on the analogy of the committees of struggle in the Ruhr, were intended to develop extensive mass work. And, on the other hand, the remainder of the tactic was applied without co-ordination, and irresolutely. In reality all these campaigns for the factory committees were carried out on the old lines, and the only new thing in them was our comrades' extensive adoption of independent lists. But the mass action which was indicated in the Comintern's instructions, and especially the setting up of mass organs, elected by the masses themselves, was not achieved. Despite all these very serious defects in the organisation of the campaign, we are faced with the fact that our Party is penetrating into a number of large enterprises, and is there winning well-nigh half the workers.

The fact that we have won half the workers in a number of the large enterprises compels

us to consider the problems from a somewhat different angle. At the moment I confine myself only to pointing out that the fuss over the expulsions, over the possibility that our comrades will be excluded in tens of thousands, is, in my view, entirely without justification. Once we have gained such a colossal influence in the enterprises we can mobilise the workers against expulsions, and the social-democrats will have to retreat. I shall deal with the question of how to mobilise the workers later. The second problem connected with our successes at the elections is that of organising new trade unions. How is this question to be considered in the light of these successes? Once we have won the masses why should we renounce the conquest of the trade unions? Once we are on the way to further winning the masses, why should we renounce our former plan for the conquest of the trade unions and organise new unions, especially at this moment, when our forces are quite manifestly growing, and growing not day by day but hour by hour? What justification is there for raising this question at this particular moment?

Comrades, so that there should not be any doubt so far as the principle is concerned, I have at once to say that the time may come when we shall not only build up new unions, but shall break up the old ones if they become an obstacle to the road of revolution.

But is the present situation such that one can at this juncture propose to start immediately on the organisation of new trade unions in one form or another as a definite slogan, a definite task of the present day, and consequently propose to start to cause a split? For the organisation of new trade unions will involve a split.

The conditions for winning the trade unions

from within are more favourable at the present moment than they have been hitherto, and they improve with every day as the workers' movement develops and our influence grows. If the trade union opposition continues to grow as it has grown recently, it is by no means beyond the bound of possibility that we shall win a certain part of the trade unions and drive out the trade union bureaucrats from them in the near future. Then, is there any sense in putting forward the proposition to organise new trade unions at this particular juncture? That is the first question.

I have taken only the fact of the growth of our influence among the working masses, and have shown that this fact witnesses against comrade Lozovsky.

Now take a second fact—the activity of the unorganised. This fact has been admitted by all the comrades who spoke at the International Conference. Its most characteristic feature is that not infrequently the unorganised workers have proved to be entirely without assistance during the strike or have received insignificant assistance, whilst the organised workers have received their wages and lived under normal conditions. Despite this, the unorganised have maintained a better bearing, have been stronger, than the organised. What is the significance of this fact? It seems to me that many even prominent comrades have failed to get a thorough appreciation of this fact. The social-democrats, and also the right-wingers and conciliators, wax indignant at the declaration that the unorganised have proved to be on a higher level than the organised. Take for instance, the social-democrat Paul Schultz, who in "Gewerkschaftsarchiv" published an article, "The Lessons of the Ruhr," which began with these words: "The struggle of the 213,000 workers in the Ruhr has ended, as frequently happens, with only partial successes to the credit of the workers. The result would have been better if the number of the unorganised had not been so disproportionately high." And after a line or two: "The chief blame for the failure lies on the unorganised workers." This is a shameful distortion of what happened in the Ruhr, where all the weight of the movement and nine-tenths of its success fell to the unorganised workers. But what are you to do with

the social-democrats, when there are Communists in our own ranks who continue to regard the unorganised workers as strike-breakers, for which reason the trade unions are forced to pay them strike pay during a strike so as to prevent strike-breaking. These comrades do not see that it is the trade unions which are doing the strike-breaking now, or, rather, it is the trade union machinery and aristocratic higher ranks, whilst the unorganised are doing the striking. By comparison with the situation fifteen to twenty years ago the picture is completely inverted.

There is also the diametrically contrary error. From the strike-breaking tactics pursued by the trade union upper ranks certain comrades draw the conclusion that the workers organised in the trade unions are reactionaries and strike-breakers. This is the other extreme, and it is no less erroneous. As you can see from the fact that the unorganised are more active than the organised, and that part of the organised are acting as strike-breakers, these comrades draw two conclusions: first, that the trade unions are good for nothing whatever, and second, that it is necessary to organise new trade unions out of the unorganised workers. These are the over-simplified deductions which they draw from the undoubted fact that the unorganised are at the present time more revolutionary than the organised workers.

Such deductions are too hasty, too lightly come to; they are not thoroughly thought out, they are superficial.

Finally, besides the fact of the growth of our influence and the fact of the enormous activity of the unorganised workers, it is necessary in addition to emphasise the fact of the masses' distrust of our Red trade unions, a distrust which is extremely clearly expressed in Czecho-Slovakia. Despite the existence of a strong upward movement among the textile workers, they joined in the strike very irresolutely, openly declaring their distrust in our trade unions. This applies not only to Czecho-Slovakia but to France. The workers see no difference between our and the reformist trade unions, and they say so openly. They support us because we are Communists, *i.e.*, they are for the Comintern and the U.S.S.R., for our policy, but not for our art and not for our

endurance in economic struggles. Is there any sense in our organising new trade unions if we cannot manage the old ones, and if they are no better than the reformist trade unions? Our strength is not equal to that work at present.

These, comrades, are the chief facts which we have to keep in mind in order to achieve a sound consideration of the problem of organising the unorganised and the organisation of new trade unions. We have already seen a tendency to organise new parallel trade unions. That tendency found quite clear expression at the International Conference. I have already said that at the conference definite proposals for the organisation of new trade unions were made. One of these proposals consisted in the suggestion of setting up an organisation of the expelled workers, on a trade union model, with membership dues and strike pay during a strike, etc. These organisations are to be attached to the trade union opposition.

For the purpose of receiving and distributing the contributions of the expelled workers, in each district a revision commission consisting of a committee of five is to be formed; of these five three are to be representatives of the expelled, and two are to be representatives of the opposition inside the trade unions. This fund is to be disposed of district by district, first, for the struggle to obtain the re-admission of those expelled from the free trade unions, secondly, for the vigorous support of the activity of the revolutionary trade union opposition during any militant situation, and also in extraordinary cases for assistance to the expelled during strikes and lock-outs. Inasmuch as the number of expelled workers is very small, only some hundreds altogether, this proposal has little practical value. Much more important is the proposal concerning the organisation of the trade union opposition, which I consider a much more dangerous affair. It is proposed to organise an organisation of expelled workers in conjunction with the trade union opposition in order that the expelled workers should aid in the latter's attacks. But in practice the situation may be the converse. The committees of the expelled workers' organisation may prove to be elemental nuclei for new unions, and may drag

the trade union opposition after them, especially those elements which would not be averse to leaving the unions. Such moods are to be found among the workers, especially under the influence of expulsion. Although this does not constitute the chief danger at the present time, which is rather that of a legalistic attitude towards the trade unions, none the less it is necessary to take this danger also into consideration.

One must adopt a critical approach to the question of organising the expelled workers. It is impossible to get round the problem because it is a burning question on which we have so far failed to find a correct political line, we have so far not defined a clear and exact political slogan. It is highly characteristic that the whole setting of the problem regarding the organisation of expelled workers arises from a certain view that it is necessary to place these expelled workers in their previous trade union conditions, that it is necessary to create a trade union basis for them. We cannot give them a genuine trade union, but we can give them something in the nature of such a trade union basis, with membership contributions, etc., and we must give them this. You see that the task is formulated in a narrowly trade union fashion. All this great problem is narrowed down to a petty trade union problem, one which none the less leads to great political consequences, inasmuch as it is the beginning of the organisation of new trade unions, the beginning of the split. The second feature is that the question of organising the expelled workers is raised panic-ally. They have taken fright at the expulsion of a few hundred workers and at Ulrich's threats to expel tens and hundreds of thousands. They have taken fright at this. Moreover, one may say that half, if not three-quarters, of the irresolution in carrying through the new tactics during the elections to the factory committees is to be explained by the fear of expulsion.

(Voice from the hall : Which side is afraid?)

Our officials are afraid.

(Vasiliev : Afraid of the struggle against social-democracy.)

The question is raised in a panic. I have already said that there is no justification for

thinking that the social-democrats will proceed to such measures as the expulsion of hundreds of thousands of workers at the present time. We have some justification for thinking that they will not resort to such a measure. They are not altogether comfortable even inside their own organisations. They expelled Niederkirchen. And what was the result? Niederkirchen immediately summoned all the officials with opposition tendencies and organised a committee of them.

(Voice from the hall : They organised a new trade union.)

We'll see later whether it is a trade union or not. From Niederkirchen's example we see what our sound tactic must be. What was decided at this conference? First and foremost they passed the decision not to sign any pledge. That kind of decision can be come to only given the condition that there is a mass movement against pledges, against expulsions, provided that the refusal to subscribe to pledges has a mass nature, provided the unorganised can be drawn into the struggle against pledges and expulsions. Can this be done? It can. We can organise part of the unorganised for this struggle. The trade unions would appear to be a strike-breakers' organisation, an organisation hostile to the unorganised. The enormous majority of the unorganised, especially such as have already been in trade unions and have left them, regard the trade unions as reactionary organisations. Can we confront the unorganised masses with the task of entering these unions, of winning them, etc., at the present moment, and in conjunction with that task raise the question of a struggle against pledges and against expulsion from the unions? We confronted the unorganised with the task of entering the unions, of winning the unions from below during the Ruhr campaign. We do not renounce this method. We must link up the struggle for the return of the expelled and against expulsions with the general struggle for the conquest of the trade unions, and we must set up temporary mass organs corresponding to this struggle. Such organs have already been indicated at the conference which was organised by Niederkirchen. They are not setting up a new union, they are organising a committee for struggle to obtain the return of the ex-

pelled workers, a committee which has to develop a mass campaign. I shall deal more definitely later on with the manner in which the unorganised workers are to be drawn in. But at the moment it is necessary to emphasise the enormous difference in the manner in which the question of struggle against expulsions is raised. So far the question has been raised in a narrowly trade union sense, and it is necessary to raise it in a political fashion. This involves linking up the struggle on behalf of the expelled with the task of struggle for the conquest of the trade unions. (It is to the point to say that those comrades who have stood for the organisation of new unions get themselves into very contradictory positions when, on the one hand, they organise the expelled as a new union, and, on the other, they add that the basic task of this organisation is the struggle for return to the old unions.) The slogan of "Back to the unions" is a narrow one, and consequently it is politically inadequate and incorrect. The task is set as a narrow one, as the task of the expelled themselves without the mobilisation of the masses. Meantime it is necessary to set this task as that of all the workers, both the organised and the unorganised, who are fighting the reactionary trade union hierarchy. The slogan that is politically true would be such as : "We shall achieve the return of the expelled from the trade unions by driving out the trade union hierarchy which is responsible for the expulsion of workers from the unions," or "the hierarchy is throwing our comrades out of the unions, we will throw the hierarchy out of the unions." That is a political slogan which is close to our previous slogans.

None the less this is insufficient. We have to find other definite slogans which will effect a broader organisation of the masses. In my opinion the struggle for proletarian democracy in the trade unions, the struggle against their Fascisation, could form such a slogan at the present moment. At a time when the trade union hierarchy is violating trade union democracy and is introducing Fascism into them it is necessary to put forward the slogan of democratisation of the trade union rules. The workers must be called upon to break up the rules by extensive demonstrations, to change them summarily. Many unorganised workers

say they will not join the unions because their rules are bad and undemocratic. At the present time the social-democrats frequently jeer at our comrades' demonstrations on behalf of democracy. They say: "See what fine Communists, who are in favour of the dictatorship of the proletariat in the U.S.S.R. and preach democracy at home!" In our agitation we must counterpose proletarian trade union democracy to bourgeois democracy. In this regard a number of social-democratic survivals still exist among our comrades, despite the lapse of ten years since Lenin dealt with this question.

Kreibich: They say one must not talk of democracy at all.)

They either say nothing about democracy whatever, or else in practice they fall into the error of adopting bourgeois democracy. Many Communists still do not realise that bourgeois democracy is a delusion, since it is democracy for the minority governing and exploiting the people masses, and that for the proletariat the sole democracy is proletarian democracy. The present time, when bourgeois democracy is passing through a fascist degeneration, is the right moment to raise the slogan of changes in the rules, of democratising the rules, and for linking up this slogan with the task of struggling against expulsions, of definitely indicating what clauses of the rules have to be changed and in what sense. Thus we can raise the political issue of expulsions on a broad basis to the masses, thus we can draw the unorganised masses into the struggle against expulsions from the trade unions, against the introduction of fascism into the unions, and so on.

Of course this problem is very closely bound up with the question of pledges. They are essentially one and the same political problem. What is a pledge? A pledge is an addition to the rules. Membership of the union is open to anyone who not only carries out the rules but also subscribes to the pledge. We must link up the struggle against pledges with the struggle for changes in the rules, with the struggle for the expulsion of the hierarchy from the unions, with the struggle for the conquest of the unions.

I turn now to consider certain of Comrade

Lozovsky's arguments. On the question of the unorganised entering the unions he said in his speech: "I consider that this is an incorrect slogan, which distorts our line, and gives nothing in return; it deludes the masses, and for us ourselves it is a diversion and not a way out. . . . When we accuse the reformist trade union bureaucracy of carrying on negotiations behind the workers' backs, of organising strike-breaking activities, of demanding compulsory arbitration, and when simultaneously we tell the workers to join these unions, every unorganised worker must regard us as lunatics."

It is not difficult to see that all Comrade Lozovsky's argument is built up on a certain modification of the real slogan of entry into the trade unions: "Join the reformist unions in order to win them, to take possession of them, to throw the trade union hierarchy out of them!" Comrade Lozovsky rejects the task of conquering the trade unions (no matter how angry Comrade Lozovsky gets we shall maintain this so long as he does not change his position) and so instead of a sound slogan he makes of it meaningless nonsense.

And now for the second quotation, which in my view explains a good deal, and which puts comrade Lozovsky's position on the trade union question in a new light. Lozovsky raises a query in regard to those workers who were organised in the Ruhr. Part of them joined the party (1,500 new members, whilst the International Red Aid made 4,000) Lozovsky asks: "Where are the rest? What has happened to the remaining tens of thousands of workers? According to Comrade Piatnitsky's theory they are not to be organised, because organising them would mean occupying our selves with the 'organisation of the unorganised, instead of 'working in the enterprises.' Then what are we to do in regard to the unorganised? We shall wait another three or four years, until there is a new strike, or lock-out, when they will again follow our lead. Then after the new conflict we shall lose them again for several years, and so on. But is this not rather organisational and political Malthusianism? This is Malthusianism, this is hanging back from an active policy, and it means that we are swimming with the current." Comrade Lozovsky raises the question

in a quite abstract manner; we have trade unions, and we have the unorganised; and they embark upon a struggle quite outside space or time, outside historical development. Then three or four years later they embark upon another struggle, and then again. In a word, this story can go on for ever. What has happened to the prospects of a new revolutionary rise with its vast class battles? They have evaporated one knows not where.

Why has the question of organising new trade unions been raised at this particular juncture? Why only recently was Comrade Lozovsky preaching the idea of organising new unions in a position of "cultured isolation," whilst now he is beginning to have followers? Undoubtedly this is in close connection with the mass attacks of the proletariat which are everywhere to be observed. On the eve of a new revolutionary rise, for the Comintern and its sections these mass attacks involve the necessity of taking on their leadership more energetically. The definite form of organisation of the leadership was indicated in broad outline in the decisions of the Fourth Congress of the R.I.L.U. and the Sixth Congress of the Comintern. We are testing that form out in practice in organising Committees of Struggle (strike committees of various kinds, committees for struggle against expulsions, committees for the struggle for proletarian democracy, etc.). In certain places, where the Communists are passive, the unorganised workers are themselves elementally setting about this work. There are cases in which the unorganised themselves organised militant committees without the aid of the Communists.

(Voice from the hall: That happened in the Ruhr.)

It happened in the Ruhr and in certain other places. It is true that these elementally organised committees of struggle fall into the hands of the reformists. That is a danger which we still have not taken sufficiently into account. So far the reformists cling to the trade unions in the old way and have not taken to entering the Committees of Struggle. But it is possible that when they see that it is a serious movement they will come into them.

(Voice from the hall: They're already beginning to hitch themselves on.)

That will be a very serious struggle. The question of the organisation of the leadership of mass attacks is now the basic problem. But the error which is being committed in regard to this question consists in taking the old organisational forms and endeavouring to adapt them to the new situation, without understanding either the dimensions, or the severity, or the resistance and political nature of the present class struggles, nor even their tendency of development. They consider it like this: Once these struggles have begun as economic struggles, then consequently it is necessary to set up economic organisations which shall direct these struggles. Comrade Lozovsky reproached Comrade Piatnitsky with not seeing the new element. But Lozovsky himself does not see the new element, namely that the economic struggles are also political struggles and that in the Committees of Struggle we have organisations of a new type, which unite both the economic and the political struggle. The trade unions are the organs of the economic struggle of the proletariat. They cannot direct the political struggle, which of course by no means connotes that they have to be neutral. Politically they will adhere to one or another party. If the economic strike develops into a political struggle, the leadership will pass to the political party either directly, or through special organs thrown up and elected by the masses themselves, organs of a Soviet type, which none the less cannot become soviets without a broad mass rise and without a directly revolutionary situation.

There was such a type of organisation in Russia in 1914, in Ekaterinoslav for instance, where during strikes the masses themselves chose their deputies. These were the rudiment of Soviets of Workers' Deputies. In the present-day concentration of capital attacking the proletariat is found the condition ensuring that the proletariat itself should advance over a wide front, and should set up such organisations as can carry it not only through narrowly economic struggles such as the trade unions have hitherto directed, but through broader class battles which take on a directly political nature, and in the course of their development inevitably become transformed in revolutionary battles. To fail to understand this, to reduce the whole question to one of trade unions, is

to fail to understand the meaning of the Committees of Struggle, to fail to understand all the new and enormous problem of leadership, to fail to understand that some kind of new organs are necessary which shall in part be reminiscent of the Soviets of Workers' Deputies, and which shall play the role of a preliminary school for the Soviets, which shall be the embryos of the soviets. What is the nature of the similarity which exists between the situation in Russia in 1904 and the present situation in Germany? It consists in the fact that at that time there was in Russia an extraordinarily broad mass movement of the workers for an improvement in the situation of the proletariat and for the overthrow of the autocracy. Now we find a similar broad mass movement in Germany, in which a single class front of the proletariat is being established, whilst the impulse to this unification of the proletariat is coming from the capitalist class, which is acting in a united front against the proletariat. The proletariat is beginning to sweep away the barriers which exist between its various divisions. But here we have the beginning of an enormous difference from the situation in 1904. That difference consists in the fact that the Russian proletariat had almost no internal partitions to sweep away. There were only the Mensheviks, who had a certain influence with the working class, whilst the S.R.'s were linked up with only the most backward elements of the working class. But in Europe we have a system, one which has developed over centuries of dividing the workers into a number of separate detachments. That is the difference. And so, although those organs of leadership which were set up in the Ruhr are to some extent reminiscent of our strike committees of 1904, they are essentially new organs, for before them lies a new task, the task of breaking down all the barriers dividing the workers, the task of setting up a united front of the proletariat for broad mass movements, which can embrace whole spheres of industry and in the last resort can take in all the proletariat. To come to this task with the footrules in the possession of the comrades working in the trade unions, to say we shall create new revolutionary trade unions leading the entire proletariat, is to fail to understand the tasks confronting us. It

is to confuse the trade unions with the Soviets, to confuse the various forms of organisation of the proletariat and the broad masses of the toilers.

In 1905 there were in the Bolshevik Party also comrades who confused the trade unions and the fighting organisations in their own peculiar fashion. They preached the rending and destruction of the trade unions from within, so as to create fighting militia in their stead. We resolutely struggled against any such tendency. Why? Because this is an organisation of a different kind. To confuse fighting militia with the trade unions is surely impermissible for a Bolshevik. Only the ultra-left wing burblers could confuse such distinctive forms of organisation. The fighting militia are for the revolutionary workers, for the leading strata of the proletariat, for the advance guard; the trade unions are for the more backward elements, which exist even in the most revolutionary times. The same applies to the Committees of Struggle.

We must work for the most backward workers to enter the trade unions, for them to be organised for the economic struggle. But as the strata are now instinctively entering the arena of political struggles, should we drive them into the narrow forms which Comrade Lozovsky proposes? That would mean to fail to understand the task. The organisations embracing the broad strata of unorganised workers in their mass attacks cannot be permanent organisations. They are created in the moment of struggle and for the purpose of that struggle.

(Voice from the hall: But afterwards what?)

I am asked, "What then?" I answer that question with the question, do you really think, comrades, that it is possible to organise all the proletariat to the last man or even the majority of the proletariat under capitalism? Only in one circumstance can that happen in capitalism; that is immediately on the eve of the fall of capitalism, during a general strike which is passing into armed insurrection. To the question what is to be done with the others I reply that our influence over the proletariat is safeguarded not only by our creating new trade unions (if that is at all possible or permissible) but by our first being able to show the masses that there are

other forms of organisation adapted to their revolutionary attacks (the masses are seeking new forms of leadership, as our experience showed during the last struggles) and secondly if we succeed in drawing the most revolutionary elements thrown up by the unorganised workers into the party and our mass organisations. Thus we shall be establishing tens of thousands of new threads connecting us with the masses, increasing our influence with the masses, and making it possible for us swiftly to mobilise the masses and swiftly to organise the corresponding organs of struggle at the necessary moment. One could answer the question of what is to happen to the rest by a very simple example. There is a time of war and a time of peace. In peace time the soldiers are dispersed to their homes, in war-time they are mobilised, whilst in peace time mobilisations are carried out in order to train the soldiers in mobilisation. This is, of course, only an analogy, and like all analogies it has sound and unsound features. I want to underline the side of the analogy in which, when the broad masses rise for struggle, we organise them correspondingly in the "war-time army."

(Voice from the hall : And in peace time?)

In peace time they do not rise, or they carry on sectional economic struggles under the leadership of the trade unions. Of course, we cannot at any given moment give them the order to mobilise as one would an army. We can mobilise the masses only at a moment of developing struggle. We cannot set up such trade unions as would mobilise the entire proletariat for the struggle at the moment of revolution. Such unions do not and could not exist. What is the point of thinking out and inventing new organisational forms when practice has provided us with splendid patterns (in the Ruhr, and partly in Czecho-Slovakia) of new organisations of the proletariat for its political struggle, for its mass attacks?

It is necessary to understand these new forms as forms of organisation of the unorganised, as forms specific to the particular level of development of finance capital that we have at the moment in Germany, in the United States, and in France. These are peculiar organisations of a temporary character. They

could not be otherwise. Only after they had been transformed into Soviets as organs of revolt would they have a more protracted existence. The peculiarity and the novelty of the circumstances in which they develop will undoubtedly set their impress upon these organs, will enrich them with new features. Consequently it is necessary to give attentive study to the new experience of organising the broad masses in their attacks.

I draw near to my close. Certain comrades have the idea that if we organise the trade union opposition (the sole definite form of organisation of new unions, for the financial committees of which comrade Lozovsky spoke, are a somewhat fantastic enterprise) this will be the organ with whose aid we shall lead the proletariat into the revolutionary battles, into insurrection. I have already pointed out how unsound is such an understanding of the problem, I have pointed out its danger, I have pointed out that it leads to a swift split of the unions. Meantime our task is by no means to withdraw from the unions. We stand on the basis of the previous decisions concerning the conquest of the trade unions from within. We shall achieve this task both by means of the trade union opposition and by drawing new members into the unions during the mass attacks of the proletariat. We already have a practical example of how to carry out the conquest of the trade unions. The last campaign for election of the factory committees in Germany has shown that we are stronger in the enterprises than in the trade unions. What is the conclusion to be drawn from this? We have more than once underlined the conclusion, through a number of decisions as to the necessity of strengthening the work in the enterprises, and the conquest of the trade unions from below. This has been reiterated so many times that no one wants to listen to it any more. The task now consists in getting the comrades to understand that an enormous intensification of work in the enterprises is the very fundamental link which we must hang on to at the moment, in order to drag the entire chain to our side. There is no other way of conquering the trade unions at the present time. Comrade Piatnitsky is right in emphasising the task of entering the enterprises in his speech. The German C.P. has passed

a striking decision in regard to the organisation of the revolutionary active element in the enterprises.

An enormous intensification of work in the enterprises, and the concentration of the forces of the Party there involve the necessity of our making the central Party task arising out of the whole situation the organisation of nuclei in the factories and works where they do not already exist, and the consolidation of extension of the old nuclei and their attraction of new members. This is not a simple repetition of the previous formula. The very task of organising party nuclei has changed in connection with the new rise of the workers' movement, in connection with the growth and extension of our influence, and especially in connection with the Communist Parties' penetration into the large factories and works, in connection with the fact that the rise of the workers' movement every day confronts us with the practical task of organising various kinds of fighting committees, elected by the workers at the enterprises.

Our first and chief task is to raise the work in the factory and works nuclei to an unprecedented level. But those who propose that we should occupy ourselves with the organisation of the trade union opposition and thus resolve our new problems are in reality taking us off the main task.

(Vasiliev : Hear, hear.)

In reality they are drawing us into subsidiary, secondary work.

(Vasiliev : Secondary.)

Whilst, like the C.C. of the Party, the nucleus is a political organ, embracing all political questions on the restricted scale of the given enterprise, the Communist fractions of the trade unions have only narrow, one-sided tasks to perform. The trade union fraction cannot be a basic organ for the conquest of political influence among the proletariat, or even for the conquest of the trade unions. It cannot be a basic organisation. It is a subsidiary organ, by means of which co-ordinating our activity we assist the nucleus at the works to win the active element and so on. Meantime the nucleus at the works, where there are both organised and unorganised workers, must direct their joint struggle for

definite tasks which are set at the given enterprise, which are thrown up by the whole course of the revolutionary struggle of the proletariat in connection with rationalisation and so on. The chief task with which we are confronted to-day is not the organisation of new trade unions, but first the development of new forms of organisation of the proletariat for its mass attack, in the form of committees of struggle and the study of that experience, secondly, the creation of new nuclei at the factories and works and the consolidation of the old, and, thirdly, the intensification of work for the further conquest of the existing trade unions, in conjunction with the growth of our influence at the works.

II.—COMRADE ULBRICHT'S SPEECH

At the Sixth World Congress an analysis of the "third period" was made, in the course of which special emphasis was laid upon the contradictions of capitalism and the world-wide struggle.

The experiences of the various sections of the Comintern, however, have not yet sufficed to enable us to deal thoroughly with those problems of strike strategy which are connected with the present sharpening of the class struggle. It is a task of the E.C.C.I. Plenum to make concrete this portion of the resolutions of the Sixth World Congress on the basis of the experience of the last few months and to bring them to the knowledge of the Party membership.

I wish to deal with the following questions : (1) the development of our trade union tactics, (2) methods of leading the revolutionary struggle, (3) the struggle against the splitting policy of the reformists, (4) the question of the unorganised workers.

THE DEVELOPMENT OF OUR TRADE UNION TACTICS

In the first period of this struggle after the war we were guided by the slogans "Class struggle or co-partnership" and "Moscow or Amsterdam." At that time it was necessary to work out the principles of the revolutionary class struggle and its relation to strike strategy, and to convince the masses of the Party membership and the workers in general

of the necessity of a struggle to capture the trade unions. In this first stage, under pressure of the revolutionary workers, the trade unions were still carrying on active struggle. In spite of the sabotage of the leadership the branches, and even some of the districts, carried on an economic struggle, although in general they were endeavouring to avoid the breaking-up of the capitalist system. The revolutionary pressure of the workers was still strong, and the trade union apparatus—from the Central Committee down to District Committees—had not yet become so centralised and so inclined to an economic truce as it has become since the relative stabilisation.

After the defeat of 1923, during the intensive rationalisation, when wages were reduced and the working day lengthened, the workers still carried on partial offensives with meagre success. In these offensives the unorganised workers played a subordinate part. They were less capable of resistance than were the organised. It was necessary, therefore, to make every effort to strengthen Communist influence over the trade union membership and to avoid isolation. The chief task at that time was the struggle against ultra-left tendencies, against sectarianism, against neglect of revolutionary trade union work, and against a defeatist frame of mind. In this period of retreat, when the working-class movement was on a downward curve, our Party comrades were compelled to lay special stress on the reverses which, in most cases, had been brought about by the reformists. The German C.P. and the Comintern carried on a struggle for trade union unity, on both a national and international scale, with reference to the class-coalition tendencies of the bureaucracy and their splitting policy. The insufficient fighting experience of our Party, the pessimistic feeling in the organisations, and the difficulties of the struggle in this period of brutal rationalisation, caused our Party's trade union work to be weakly carried out, more or less under the slogan of "Throw out the trade union fakirs."

As a result of the intense exploitation of the workers through rationalisation a crisis appeared in 1927, and simultaneously the gradual increase in activity of the working

class. In the meantime, however, the situation in the working-class movement had altered. As a result of stabilisation the trade unions had drifted towards social-pacifism. While up till 1923 the local leadership of the trade unions had yielded to the pressure of the rank and file, later on the linking-up of the trade union apparatus with that of capitalist industry and that of the State had become a fact. The trade unions had developed more and more into constituent parts of capitalist economy and government. This found its theoretical sanction in the so-called theory of "Industrial Democracy," and in the resolutions of the Kiel Congress of the social-democrats. No longer, under pressure of the workers, did the trade unions place themselves at the head of movements in order to betray them; they now hindered the very earliest development of such movements. Only in exceptional cases did they now lead certain petty struggles and then always to strangle them. Faced by this situation, the principal task of the Communist Party and the revolutionary trade union elements became the independent organisation of the struggle against the trinity of trust-capital, the capitalist State and the reformists. The character of the class struggle, then, at the beginning of the third period, in 1927-1928, threw up the question of the independent leadership of the economic struggle of the workers against the pacifist policy of the reformists. The internal Party differences with the right and the conciliators centred principally around the questions of strike strategy and the Party work within the trade unions.

METHODS OF LEADING THE REVOLUTIONARY STRUGGLE

The principle obstacles in our struggle for strike leadership are trade union constitutionalism and respect for the rules of the reformists and capitalist law. Reformism acts as a liaison between capitalist legality and the trade union constitution. This, of course, is because the reformists exercise their activities only within the framework of capitalist law. Submission to reformist trade union rules implies the support of industrial peace and of capitalist economic and political

policies. The trade union legalistic conception appears in the German C.P. in the "trade union" tendency. Certain comrades believe that trade union policy must in itself necessarily be a policy of class struggle. They don't realise that there are two trade union policies: reformism or revolutionary class struggle. In the struggle against the policy of industrial peace and splitting a tendency often appears to formulate these questions as being "neutral" politically. Our comrades often take a purely defensive attitude, and state in resolutions, "We are against the splitting policy, and demand that the trade union leadership cease its practice." They ignore the political aspect, and in such resolutions take no positive stand for our revolutionary class-line. With regard to this tendency we must always insist that the question should not be stated from this purely formal and organisational standpoint, but that the struggle should be carried on as a political campaign against reformism and on behalf of our revolutionary programme of trade union tactics. This ideological struggle is a necessary preliminary to overcoming the constitutional attitude and to the preparation of the workers for unofficial struggles.

Our task, therefore, in this third period is to secure the class unity of the proletariat in the struggle. We must overcome the division of the workers brought about by the reformists, and lead both organised and unorganised labour forward to the struggle. We must develop the fighting capacity of the workers on the widest possible working-class basis, and in every way must strive to build up organs of struggle in connection with any conflict that arises. These organs of struggle—strike committees, councils of action, workers' defence committees, workers' delegate conferences, women's conferences, unemployed committees, etc.—are at present the typical forms through which will be realised the class unity of the workers. The policy of the united front thus becomes exclusively the policy of the united front from below.

These methods of unofficial leadership, breaking through trade union constitutionalism, naturally imply a tremendous intensification of the struggle between the revolutionary workers and the agents of capitalism within

the trade unions. But it will be precisely in the measure of our success among the masses, as a result of our trade union and strike tactics, that we shall be able to unite the workers under the leadership of the trade union opposition despite all repressive attempts by the reformists. The carrying out of these tactics should not result in a weakening of our work within the trade unions, but in a decided strengthening. It would be incorrect to look upon the unofficial leadership as being merely centres for the economic struggle of the workers, and to consider them as starting-points for the creation of new unions. For this unofficial leadership in its very essence must be an organ of political as well as of economic struggle. We must not forget that in the present situation the economic struggle is of the greatest political significance, and in many cases can be heightened into a declared political struggle.

The prominent role of the unofficial united front centres of the workers imposes the strengthening of our work in all mass organisations. The growth of our influence over the masses in the preparation and leadership of the struggle is dependent upon the strength of those organisations which sympathise with us and upon the strength of the revolutionary opposition in the other organisations. Our educational work within the mass organisations therefore is an important preparation for independent leadership in political and industrial conflicts.

Under the changed conditions of the struggle the question of relief must be construed otherwise than in the traditional trade union manner. For the successful maintenance of a strike the distinctive question is not the old one of relief but of the correct strategy and tactics. Whatever relief is necessary, in order to save the strikers from starvation, must be obtained through the most extended solidarity. In those cases where the carrying-on of a strike has been tactically correct, and when the workers are convinced of the necessity of the strike, a minimum of relief could always be raised. The organisation of relief should take place through common action between the W.I.R. and the leadership of the struggle. It is necessary to make it quite clear to the workers that they should support the W.I.R.

for political and economic reasons in order to support that mass organisation which can give assistance to the workers in the severest times of conflict. As a consequence of this a certain reorganisation of the W.I.R. should follow, so that the W.I.R. may be capable of this greater task.

THE STRUGGLE AGAINST THE SPLITTING POLICY OF THE REFORMISTS

I have already stated that our attitude towards trade union tactics should spring from the content of trade union policy and not from its organisational form. The struggle against the splitting policy of the reformists will only lead to an increase of our influence among the rank and file when we are able to explain that the exclusion of communists and the removal of all revolutionaries from official positions is definitely carried out in the interests of industrial peace and in order to prevent the workers carrying on struggles over questions of wages and hours. The reformists are desirous of having this question put from the formal and organisational standpoint. In opposition to this we must state the question in the following manner: For or against the increased wages demanded by the workers? For or against the shorter hours which the workers demand? For or against round-table conferences? For or against proletarian democracy in the trade unions? On this basis we can not only prove to the workers that the expulsion policy of the reformists is directed against the wage demands of the workers but we can also win over trade unionists to proposals for the exclusion of reformist leaders, social-democratic ministers, police chiefs and similar rabble.

As representatives of revolutionary trade union unity we must carry on the struggle for unity on the basis of the class-struggle, directed against the disruptive policies of the reformists. Wherever we have a substantial majority of the membership behind us and the leadership is in our hands, we must not capitulate to the disciplinary measures of the reformists. We must reply to any attempt to expel our leading officials or to take the leadership out of our hands with the widest activity of the rank and file. The membership should insist that the officials should not leave their posts. They should realise and

demonstrate that a surrender to the disciplinary measures of the reformists would mean the destruction of the organisation involved and the weakening of the fighting capacity of the workers.

The tactics of our party at the time of the defeat of the Königsberg railway trade unionists, although carried out with considerable hesitations, was correct. Likewise, given the destruction of the Scottish mine workers by the reformists, it is necessary to preserve the unity of those miners under our own leadership. However, it would be quite incorrect to draw a conclusion from this particular instance that we should divide the miners' organisation in other parts of Britain. On the contrary we should mobilise the workers all over the country to assist the Scottish miners in their struggle for trade union unity on the basis of the class struggle, and for the reinstatement of the expelled. Here it seems necessary in this connection to refer back to the resolution of the Second World Congress. When I say that, in spite of the expulsion policy of the reformists and the partial splitting of whole organisations, we should not go wholly over to the creation of separate organisations, I want to express that even where the tendency is in the direction of splitting, no secondary organisation should at present be formed as the embryo of a future trade union.

In some cases the reformists endeavour to secure formal sanction for the expulsion of revolutionary workers by insistence on a signed declaration. Some comrades are of the opinion that the question of signing the declaration depends upon the degree of massed support. However, we are of the opinion that at the present time, all declarations which embody the obligation of opposing the policies of the Communists, must not be signed. During the depression of the labour movement after 1923 some of us were forced to sign such declarations in order that our influence over the trade union members would not be lessened through loss of official positions. But now, in a period of increasing activity of the working-masses, the signing of these declarations means checking the revolutionary mobilisation of the masses and encourages the reformists to take even sterner measures against us.

In Germany, through following our tactics of unofficial leadership of the struggle and the presentation of revolutionary candidates for the factory committees, many of our comrades have been expelled from their unions. Naturally these comrades are carrying on a campaign for reinstatement. Some comrades said, "I cannot go around as a non-unionist. We should have the opportunity of being organised." We answer, "Well, organise in the W.I.R., in the Red Front and, if you are not already a member, join the Communist Party." But usually, behind the talk of "being unorganised" lies the question of relief. There are cases when comrades at first wished to decline their nomination as revolutionary candidates for the factory committees on the grounds that they would be expelled from their union and would in future receive no benefits in the case of strikes, lock-outs or unemployment. In a circular issued by one of the districts of the German C.P. a proposal is made for the creation of a relief organisation for the expelled. Serious as is the question of relief, it should not be used as the grounds for the formation of separate organisations. It is of interest to note that some comrades have sought to make the accomplishment of our revolutionary tactics on the factory committees dependent upon the settling of the question of relief. Here the opportunistic obstruction is obviously transformed into an ultra-left deviation. The real meaning of the proposals of such comrades is the formation of the germ of new unions in the guise of these relief organisations. We have at present no possibility of relief except through the W.I.R. It might be possible to give to expelled trade unionists the possibility of putting aside the equivalent of the trade union contributions which they formerly paid, as savings. This would not be the formation of a mutual relief organisation but merely facilities for the depositing of individual savings.

THE QUESTION OF THE UNORGANISED WORKERS

In my introductory remarks I already pointed out why the question of the unorganised has now become one of such extraordinary importance. In his article in the "Communist International," comrade Lozovsky writes that the question of the unorganised is the

most important problem of the period. That is incorrect. The most important problem of this period is the struggle of the Communist Party to obtain leadership in the struggles of the working-class. Whether, in the course of rallying the working masses, we lay more weight upon the unorganised or the organised depends upon the concrete situation. Comrade Lozovsky asks what has become of the unorganised whom we registered during the conflict in the Ruhr. And he draws the conclusion that we must found new organisations. Evidently comrade Lozovsky over-estimates the workers' capacity for organisation under capitalist conditions. His proposal arises from the separation of the organised and unorganised. The organised must stay in the trade unions and the unorganised must be comprised in the relief organisations. The proposal is in opposition to our general policy. The characteristic of our policy and tactics at the present time is the establishment of the class-front under the leadership of the Communist Party in the fight against the laws both of the trade unions and of the State. There are two forms in the conception of the organised and unorganised. One is the temporary organ of struggle such as strike committees, workers' conferences and so on. The other form is the working class mass organisation, such as trade unions, W.I.R., Red Front, etc. In the interests of our leadership of the struggle, and in our campaign against the attempt of the reformists to isolate us, we must strengthen both the opposition in the unions and the recruiting of sympathetic organisations. We know that under capitalist conditions the 100 per cent. organisation of the workers will never be possible. For that reason our most important problem is the realisation of proletarian democracy, bringing together the unorganised and organised workers for mutual discussion and decisions, and the development of the fighting powers of all workers through the creation of temporary organisational forms. We must increase our influence upon the vacillating workers of reformist tendencies through a strengthening of our opposition in the trade unions, but at the same time the revolutionary trade unionists together with the unorganised must use every means for the smashing of trade union constitutionalism and for the construction of a working-class front

under Communist leadership. The organisational capacity of the unorganised—the possibility of their inclusion in the workers' mass organisations—will become greater in proportion to the degree in which we are able to draw the unorganised into activity and responsible work through leading them in their struggles. That is the main question.

As opposed to this comrade Lozovsky has developed an inverted organisation-mania. He has declared—and this is I suppose, Rule I. of the new organisation:

“When you come to the average unorganised worker and say to him there has been a wholesale exclusion; you have come flying out of the factory; no-one has helped you. Let us organise a society. You will pay dues and will receive relief during the struggle—I believe that then the worker will enter into it.”

This forming of societies is nothing more than the transition towards the foundation of new unions. The result must be that no workers will be added to the opposition in the trade unions and that many will leave. My viewpoint is that the development in Germany has not reached that point when we can form new organisations on a mass basis. It is of course possible that, in the course of revolutionary mass-struggle, the trade union may play the part of a treacherous and Fascist organisation and that as a result the masses will refuse organisationally to support this reformist body; then the contradiction between the policy of the trade union leadership and of the overwhelming majority of the workers would lead to a split in the union. Then the question of the formation of class trade unions comes sharply to the fore. If comrades believe that through the creation of semi-trade union organisations they will bring about favourable conditions for such a situation, they are acting contrary to the previous resolutions of the Comintern. The formation of such societies can only lead to a weakening of our influence over the membership of the trade unions. This

is even more dangerous—even when the majority of the workers are unorganised but willing to fight—as the trade unionists are in a position seriously to hinder the carrying-on of the mass strike. For these reasons the unorganised should only be brought together through temporary fighting organisations and through sympathisers' organisations such as the W.I.R., Red Front, etc. The mustering of all our powers for the mobilisation of the unorganised and the organised for the formation of independent leadership of the struggle, co-ordinated work by the revolutionary workers within the unions, together with the unorganised, for the purpose of breaking down reformist trade union constitutionalism—that is our next step.

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To sum up: in my opinion three principal questions must be treated in the resolution which will be laid before the Plenum.

In the first part of the resolution the particular conditions of the struggle in the third period, the changes which have taken place within the trade union movement, as well as the part which the unorganised must play, should be analysed. In the second part the question of strike-strategy and tactics must be handled. In this connection the principal problem is the independent (unofficial) leadership of the mass-struggle and the development of specific organisational forms such as strike committees, councils of action, workers' defence bodies, delegate conferences and similar temporary bodies. In the third part of the resolution there should be a special reference to the work within the trade unions and also to the question of the mobilisation and organisation of the unorganised; in connection with this last point the question of the struggle against the reformist exclusionist and splitting tactics must be specially discussed. At the same time the question of the organisational form of trade union opposition must be settled. In my opinion these must be the chief points of the draft resolution.

Problems of the Revolutionary Movement in India

P. Schubin

THE CAPITALIST CRISIS AND THE STRUGGLE FOR COLONIES

THE intensification of antagonisms, both among the imperialists and within each imperialist country separately, which is characteristic of the third period of the crisis of post-war capitalism, cannot but have particularly clear expression in the colonies. The general crisis of the entire capitalist system, the characteristic feature of which is the growing lack of correspondence between capitalism's increasing productive forces and the shrinking markets, is forcing the question of the repartition of the world very insistently on the chief imperialist countries. The inequality in the development of capitalism is in turn making it possible for individual countries to achieve this redistribution by force of arms. One has but to mention the Anglo-American conflict in order to indicate what place colonies occupy in the economic, financial and military conflicts of the imperialists. At the same time the internal antagonisms to be found in all the more important capitalist countries, antagonisms arising on the basis of capitalism, cannot work towards any other solution than that of the repartitioning of the colonies or the transformation of new, still formally independent countries into lands of colonial serfdom.

As early as 1920, in his speech "On Concessions," Lenin summarised these radical antagonisms, which were, he said "traceable to profound economic causes." Warning against attempts to exploit dissensions of a petty and fortuitous nature, Lenin specified three basic conflicts: (1) that between the U.S.A. and Japan, (2) that between the U.S.A. and Britain, and (3) that between the Entente and Germany. He also indicated the tendency of development of these conflicts. Only now, nearly ten years later, is it possible for us fully to realise all the keen scientific prevision

which lies at the basis of this analysis. One of the problems which Lenin touched upon in his estimate of the sources of the basic antagonisms is concerned with the importance of colonies in the development of American imperialism.

"America has 110,000,000 inhabitants. It has no colonies whatever, although it is many times richer than Japan. Japan has seized China, where there is a population of 400,000,000, and the richest coal reserves in the world. How can such a position be maintained? It is absurd to think that the stronger capitalism will not deprive the weaker capitalism of all that the latter has stolen." "America is strong, everybody is indebted to her now, everybody is dependent on her, everybody is coming to hate her more and more, she steals from all, and she steals in very original fashion. She has no colonies. Britain came out of the war with enormous colonies; France did the same. Britain offered America a mandate for one of the stolen colonies—that is the language used to-day!—but she did not accept it."

It is now clear why American imperialism did not then attempt to satisfy its colonial appetite either by a "voluntary" Versailles agreement between the victors, or in the form of a benevolent gift or enforced purchase from the other colonial robbers united in the League of Nations. In the first place, at that time the United States had no need to hurry with the capture of colonial monopolies, because the situation after Versailles temporarily afforded it the possibility not only of plundering everybody, but of plundering in a very original fashion, without needing to possess colonies. Secondly, American imperialism was striving not for the sharing of the colonial booty, but for its capture, not for an extension of the Versailles Peace Treaty, but for a new, more decisive world war, with a view to "supple-

menting" and "correcting" the results of the war of 1914-1918. It was in connection with the Versailles peace and with one of its most characteristic results—*i.e.*, the fact that the strongest robber of all remained uninterested in the maintenance of the established division of the colonies—that Lenin saw the decisive factor, determining not only the chief object of dispute, but also the moment of the arrival of the coming war. "Thus we have before us the greatest State in the world, which in 1923 will have a fleet stronger than that of Britain, but this State is meeting with the growing hatred of the other capitalist countries. We must take this trend of circumstances into account. America cannot make its peace with the rest of Europe—that is a fact determined by history." The fact that Lenin mentions 1923 may give the impression of an error in fixing the moment of the beginning of the war. But there is no error here, for Lenin is giving the objective symptom of when one may expect the European - American, Anglo-American hatred and dissension to pass into open war: that moment will arrive when the United States "will have a fleet stronger than that of Britain." The chronological date is given approximately, and its exact fixation depends on technical factors (the speed of naval construction in the various imperialist countries), which still remain essentially uncertain, and were necessarily all the more uncertain in Moscow in 1920. A year later Lenin was groping for a more exact date. "Over this gold they are planning undoubtedly to murder 20,000,000 men and to maim another 60,000,000 somewhere about 1925, or possibly 1928, either in war between Britain and America or between Japan and America, or something along those lines." (Article: "On the Importance of Gold.") About 1928!—the very time when the United States openly raised, for official export, the question of the "stronger fleet," and whether America or Britain was with that stronger fleet's aid to rule the seas. It was then made clear that owing to the intrinsic antagonisms of capitalism in the United States the latter was already losing the possibility of plundering all the rest without the necessity to possess colonies.

In no country can the bourgeoisie find any other way out of the contradiction between the

extended possibilities of production and the contracted markets than by seizing new external markets for themselves. In the conditions prevailing under imperialism, in which the distribution of the world's surface between a handful of robbers has gone as far as it can, the seizure of new markets cannot be effected in any other way than by an armed struggle for colonies. In the conditions of post-war imperialism, with its extraordinarily intensified antagonisms, with its basic "injustice" of the centre of economic, finance, technical, and consequently of military power—the United States, being deprived of colonies whilst having extreme need of them—the war for colonies cannot but be on a world scale, cannot but be still more a "world war" than that of 1914-1918. For, being determined first and foremost by the Anglo-American conflict, the line of the chief front will traverse all the oceans and all the continents.

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One cannot help seeing the object which the bourgeoisie and its economists are pursuing in sounding a sudden alarm in connection with the decline in the number of employed workers. Its purpose is to prepare the masses for a war over the issue of the U.S.A.'s colonial power. In 1927 the Secretary of State for the U.S.A., James Davis, wrote an article in the magazine "Wall Street" entitled, "Does prosperity create unemployment?" which is, I think, the first official estimate of the phenomenon of an absolute decline in the number of employed workers. This article persistently and cleverly brings the reader to the idea that the sole way out of the situation which has arisen consists in the States' industry taking on itself the task of benefiting the backward peoples on a scale quite unprecedented. "It seems to me," the imperialist minister mildly remarks, "that there is a possibility of ensuring that our productive possibilities should not become a burden (in the sense of reducing the number of workers). That possibility consists in our directing our attention to the disposal of our surplus production abroad." After coquetting with the nobility of his pacifism, Davis suddenly reveals that "if the purchasing power in China were to be raised by ten dollars per annum a new market to the value of

4,000,000,000 dollars would thus be created, a sum approximately equal to our present export." It is true that it is not altogether excluded that other imperialist Powers may throw themselves into such a profitable business as "improving the living standards and raising the level of the backward peoples and nations." But Davis calms the fears of his reader with the remark: "A certain degree of specialisation exists among the various nations." "At the moment it is violated because the fear of war is forcing the various countries to think of self-support and of developing those spheres of production which it would be better to leave to others." How are we to ensure that every fox should know his own hole, and should not pretend to the role of saviour? If we are to believe Davis this is very easy of achievement! It is only necessary to remove the fear of war from the capitalist countries. And this in turn is not at all difficult to achieve. It is only necessary that American imperialism should be strong enough to deprive its competitors of the possibility, and consequently of the desire, for war! In a word, it is the old formula: "To ensure peace, prepare for war!" Of course, the American minister took China only as an example, one highly popular in 1927. For from this period also dates Manchester's dreams of the Chinese wearing their gowns an inch longer, which would enable the crisis in the British cotton industry to be overcome. If Davis had written his article in 1929, during the period of a further intensification of the Anglo-American conflict, it is not altogether off the cards that his Christian imagination would have carried him from China directly to India.

The so-called "policy of the open door," which was advantageous to American imperialism even after Versailles, when Europe was economically broken, is now unacceptable to it. For, on the one hand, its need of external markets is increasing, and, on the other, it is everywhere coming into conflict with trustified Europe, which is now producing cheaply and swiftly, and is intending to produce still more cheaply at the expense of the working class. American imperialism needs colonial monopoly in order to protect itself from any competition on the world market, to

a smaller extent than does its British brother. But, nevertheless, it has need of such a monopoly. "Open doors" in China no longer satisfy American imperialism. Its need is the extrusion of its rivals, Britain and Japan, and of seizing the strategic points in a "united" China, and the transformation of the Pacific Ocean into an "inland sea" of the United States. But the aggressive designs of American imperialism cannot rest even at this. The British colonial system cannot be administered any decisive blow so long as she dominates the Indian Ocean, with her possession of the strategic points on the line running to Australia through the Malayan Straits, and through India, Egypt, the Sudan, tropical Africa to the Union of South Africa. At the very centre of this arch is the "finest jewel in the English crown," India, with its inexhaustible material and human resources.

In the event of an Anglo-American war—and that war is inevitable unless it is averted by a prior proletarian revolution—the strategic plans of both opponents will include the struggle for India as one of their most important features. In the language of American imperialism the freedom of the seas connotes, first and foremost, the destruction of Britain's hegemony on the seas and the destruction of her colonial might. But neither the one nor the other can be achieved so long as Britain retains her monopolist rule over the Indian Ocean. The most effective method of bringing British imperialism to its knees is by dealing it a blow, or at least by menacing it with the danger of a serious blow in India. Already the shadow of the coming war gives rise to a spider-web of intrigues around India. The agents of American imperialism have long since gathered on the farther side not only of the Pacific, but also of the Indian Ocean, seizing spheres of influence and concessions (in certain instances not without the direct support of Germany) in Arabia, Abyssinia, Persia, etc.

America is aiming at India. Of course this does not mean that she will have any possibility of firing this mortal shot at Britain yet awhile.

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All the prospects for British imperialism are in no less, indeed are in still greater de-

gree than for American imperialism, bound up with the extension and consolidation of its colonial piracy. The stagnation in British industry is not being generally dispelled, despite the strongest of pressure on the workers' living standards, despite the birth-pangs of rationalisation which here and there are evincing themselves as the result of that pressure. British competitive ability on the world market is not improving. But even those partial successes which have been achieved in certain spheres of industry can be destroyed in an hour by a sudden jump in development in the corresponding spheres of the United States or even by a swift success in Germany. And such a success is not only possible but is even a prerequisite to the realisation of any of the variants of the old or a rejuvenated plan of reparations.

Only her colonial monopoly maintains Britain in her present position. That monopoly is the hoop which holds together the dry barrel-staves of the British Empire. One of the chief motives counteracting the centrifugal forces of the dominions consists in the possibility of participating in one way or another in the general colonial robbery carried out by White Britain at the expense of the coloured population of the colonies. Consequently the loss of India would involve not only the loss of one of the chief sources of the exploitation which rejuvenates decrepit British imperialism, but would also deprive the dominions of their chief reason for remaining within the Empire.

Whilst for the U.S.A. the seizure of India is the ultimate aim of their imperialist designs, for Britain the retention of India under her own iron heel is a prime condition of her existence.

So far we have confined ourselves to a consideration of the importance of the struggle for the colonies in the Anglo-American conflict. Naturally, that conflict does not exhaust and does not cover all the antagonisms of the imperialists; but it is their touchstone. The struggles between the U.S.A. and Japan, between Germany and the former Entente, within the Entente itself (between France and Italy) and so on, are in their turn directed towards the repartitioning of the earth, towards the redistribution and extension of the colonial

plunder. The antagonisms of the "third period" must have particular effect in the activation of imperialism's colonial policy, and first and foremost of the policy of Britain, still the strongest of the imperialist robbers, in her largest colony, India.

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In face of such a general increase of colonial aggression it is absurd to expect that even if she desired (which is out of the question in any case) Britain could allow any weakening of her economic and political monopoly in India. To yield to the dream and idea of the possibility of "decolonisation" (in any either open or hidden form) as a new policy of British imperialism in the conditions of the third period is to be inept as a man who dances at a funeral. For that matter it would appear that all except the completely hopeless "decolonisers" and "industrialisers" have already renounced their erroneous theories, and that not only from formal considerations.

None the less is it interesting to note those distortions in the summarisation of the general situation in India which result, and cannot but result in practice, from even the vestiges of the theory of "decolonisation" or of its pseudonym: "the British policy of industrialising India." In this regard one of the clauses in the political resolution adopted by the conference of the Workers' and Peasants' Party is instructive, for it pays tribute, one must hope the last tribute, to the theory of industrialisation. But how does that party reconcile this tribute with the general situation which the Indian comrades cannot but notice, with the fact of the general attack of British imperialism in India along the whole line? A conventional "reconciliation" is achieved by declaring this imperialist aggression a temporary factor, a break in the general policy, an exception to the rule, so to speak. "The unexpected aggressiveness of imperialism," the resolution reads, "consequently does not connote a fundamental change in its policy in relation to the Indian bourgeoisie, but only a partial and temporary change. But its policy remains essentially the same."

What justification has the author of the resolution for not only asserting but even assuming that British imperialism will change or weaken in its aggressiveness in regard to

colonies generally, and in regard to India in particular? For the reasons which, as the resolution justly points out, condition that aggressiveness (the approach of war, Great Britain's continuing economic decline, the necessity of resorting to non-economic pressure in consequence of the weakening of the economic factors) are none of them tending towards a decline in their force. And why, in face of the maintenance of and even increase in the causes, should the consequences, i.e., the aggressiveness of British imperialism, which is expressed first and foremost in the defence of its economic and political annexations, disappear or "be sucked out"? The author of the resolution does not even ask himself this question.

None the less, the manner in which the question is raised in the resolution quoted is favourably distinguished from the abstract approach of the apologists of "decolonisation" by the fact that the Indian comrades do not separate concessions in the economic sphere from concessions in the political sphere, for they know that in colonial conditions they are inseparably connected. The superiority of such a formulation of the issue over the attempts to sunder the economic liberalism of imperialism in the colonies from its political liberalism (to separate economic from political decolonisation) consists in the circumstance that the actual course of events more easily disproves and destroys it. Without any risk of error one can declare that in this resolution we have the last little cloud of a storm that has cleared, and moreover a cloud which itself has been blown aside.

THE NEW RISE IN INDIA AND THE CHINESE EXPERIENCE

But the "third period" connotes not only an increase in the objective antagonisms of the imperialist system, but also a rise in the revolutionary activity of the exploited and oppressed on the basis of that increase. In the capitalist countries this process takes expression in the revolutionising of the working class. In an intensification and extension of the economic struggle, in new forms of leadership of that struggle, in the counter-offensive and offensive character of that struggle in the ranks of the participants, despite the enor-

mous increase in the strength of the employers' organisations.

In the colonies this process is preparing a new round of colonial wars and revolts. A number of objective conditions are working to ensure that this new round will most probably have its beginning in India. First and foremost among these conditions is the circumstance that the national revolutionary movement in India, the first wave of which was broken owing to the treachery of the bourgeoisie in 1922, has now succeeded in recovering from the blows then administered, and in assembling its forces, purging its ranks, regrouping and reconstructing itself, has succeeded in determining its own master, and in recognising its class enemies.

One of the chief facts determining the character of the new rise of the national revolutionary movement in India is the experience of the Chinese revolution. All the forces participating in the struggle on both sides of the barricades have learned a considerable amount from the Chinese lesson. British imperialism has never ruled in India except with the aid of the most shameful terror and contemptible bribery. And now, not only because of the objective reasons above-mentioned, but also under the influence of the lessons of revolutionary development in China, it regards the display of any concession even to the bourgeois opposition as too risky, for it is afraid that such compliance might set in motion all the avalanche of the national revolution. The more severely the antagonism between the necessity of developing productive forces and the colonial pressure has its effect in India, the greater will be British imperialism's justification for fearing that any weakening of the military and administrative pressure will lead to the break-up of the entire system.

The swift war-period transference of capitalist production to India, the existence of comparatively few, but technically highly organised enterprises in the country, a sprinkling of individual centres in a backward pre-capitalist economy, have already proved to be a source of the greatest danger to Britain's economic and political hegemony. The struggle against a more or less normal industrial development of the country, the ruthless distortion of its economy, the opposition to India's independent entry into the world market, the

support and development of backward, pre-capitalist elements in the cities, and even more in the countryside, all constitute the traditional policy of British imperialism and are all being given a new impulse at the present time.

This it is which determines the extraordinarily limited nature of the concessions to the native bourgeoisie which imperialism can make, even if by so doing it could count on ransoming itself from a national revolution, even if it could achieve a real disarming of the toilers at such a price. But the experience of the Chinese revolution has unmasked the role of the native bourgeoisie in the colonies to such an extent that its authority among the masses has fallen considerably, indeed to such an extent that its role as the channel of imperialist influence with the national revolutionary movement is becoming more and more insignificant. Its corruption for the benefit of imperialism is no longer worth much consideration. This by no means connotes that the possibility of the bourgeois opposition attaching itself in one form or another to the national revolution is excluded in all and every colony and semi-colony, and at every stage of development. The resolution of this question depends in each separate case on the definite situation and the corresponding distribution of forces.

But so far as India is concerned one can definitely assert that not only the imperialist but also the native bourgeoisie has changed from what it was before the Chinese revolution. Possibly there is no better indication of the degeneration of bourgeois nationalism in India (to whose tail, as we know, considerable sections of the intelligentsia continue to cling) than the fact that the present feudal-bourgeois-terrorist regime of China, established by imperialism against the workers' and peasants' revolution and involving the maintenance of the imperialist slavery in a new form, is regarded by the Indian bourgeois parties as a victory for the Chinese revolution. But this same fact finally determines the attitude of the bourgeoisie to the workers' and peasants' movement in India itself. The period of the patriarchal, sentimental, hypocritical attitude of the bourgeoisie to the workers' movement, during which the employers threw widely advertised but miserable

crumbs to the children of the strikers, and when the same employers obtained certain ameliorations for native industry by the agency of the strikes, has passed in India, never to return.

Of course, even in the past the bourgeoisie sought to head the emancipation movement only with a view to beheading it. Of course, even then, in its economic policy the bourgeoisie acted as the class enemy of the proletariat, and, as it had never severed its connections with the landowners, as the class enemy of the peasantry also. But in the tactical realm this hostility to the interests of the toilers was stifled under and lightened by a complete system of "primitive" theories, in so far as the bourgeoisie could count on exploiting the workers' and peasants' movement as a basis of support in its own negotiations and agreements with imperialism.

The present period has as its characteristic the fact that the bourgeoisie are now more afraid of the working class than they are of imperialist oppression. Canton is to them more terrifying than London. This explains not only their cowardice in regard to imperialism, but also their extraordinary resolution in the task of struggling against the workers' and peasants' movements. The relationship between imperialism and the native bourgeoisie at the present time is determined by the circumstance that the first-named is strengthening its machinery of oppression, and neither wants nor can make concessions, whilst the second is increasingly ready to seize on any form of imperialist oppression in order to put up a resistance to the workers. This explains why within the course of a single year the Indian bourgeoisie, which has not received any concessions whatever from imperialism, but on the contrary has been continually humiliated and treated offhandedly by it, without even getting a smell of power in return, has reached the point of becoming the open ally of imperialism.

Of course, neither the Swarajists nor the Liberals are themselves firing on the workers as yet, but it is only for the simple reason that so far imperialism has not confided in them to that extent, has not allowed them to hold the rifle; and even the guard of honour of the National Congress, commanded by one

of the leaders of the Independence League, the Fascist Subash Bose, was armed only with bamboo canes. Unlike the Chinese bourgeoisie, not having the possibility of itself doing the shooting and hanging, the Indian bourgeoisie is for its part doing everything possible to assist imperialism in its handling of the working class. The fact that the Indian bourgeoisie has not so far itself acted as executioner ought to delude nobody. It is imperialism's batman.

But the proletariat also has assimilated the lesson of the Chinese revolution, and that lesson is helping the toilers of India to understand and to exploit the lessons of their own defeats in 1919 and 1922. As we know, at that time the bourgeoisie succeeded in breaking off and damming the national revolutionary movement at the preliminary stage of development, even before the working class had succeeded in acting as an independent force. Owing to the poor differentiation of forces in the nationalist camp the treachery of the bourgeoisie was masked to a certain extent—the latter was successful in combining both the violator and the victim in one. The man chiefly responsible for the betrayal of 1922, Gandhi, has for many years been clever enough to maintain his authority by himself posing as a martyr, partly owing to the fact that after his summons to complete capitulation to British imperialism he continued to find himself shut away in a British prison.

The years of intense reaction which followed the first wave were exploited by the British government with exceptional artistry in order to isolate the Indian movement from international experience. Watchdogs of British imperialism, the most well trained and pernicious in the world, are watching all the roads leading to India, barring access to all who might assist in the growth of the class-consciousness of the proletariat. The colonial prison bars outside conducted to a bestial frenzy of terror within, which tore up and annihilated the shoots of the revolutionary movement at their first appearance. In order to suppress the least attempts of the peasant movement British imperialism has at its disposal throughout the countryside a widely ramified apparatus of repression, which has roots in the very lowest and remotest groups, an apparatus such as

even Tsarism in Russia never had, not to speak of imperialism in China. This political isolation is the chief reason why not only the peasantry but the proletariat of India also have till recently assimilated the experience of their own past defeats slowly. The Chinese revolution proved to be a turning point in this regard also. British imperialism had no resources which could hide from the proletariat of India the flame lit by the Chinese revolution throughout the East. The new rise of the movement, which had its beginning early in 1927, began under a new banner unfolded by the proletariat of China.

THE TREACHERY OF BOURGEOIS NATIONALISM

The new attack of British imperialism had as one of its first open expressions the appointment of the Simon Commission, the composition and the program of which left no doubt that British imperialism was renouncing the policy of agreement with the native bourgeoisie, and would demand of it an out and out capitulation. For the Indian bourgeoisie this involved the destruction of their hopes of an extension of their rights under a new constitution and of reward for their moderate and faithful conduct under the old constitution. The Labour Party categorically announced that in the event of MacDonald coming to power governmental policy in India would remain unchanged. MacDonald pledged himself in advance to carry out all that Baldwin should decide. The Labour Party and the General Council showed that they would not allow even a shadow of interference on the part of "third persons" in the domestic dispute between the conservatives and the "loyal opposition"; on the other hand they demanded the completely unrestricted right of British imperialism to interfere in all India's business.

Bourgeois nationalism sought to answer the attack of British imperialism with a protest "by legal and peaceful methods" and by the demand for the Simon Commission to be transformed into a round-table conference, with the participation of representatives of India's possessing classes. If British imperialism had had any intention of combining terror with bribery the "cheap" offer made by the Swarajists with a view to agreement would have attracted it. It was quite an easy matter

to come to an agreement with the National Congress. They had only to offer the simulation of some sort of concession to the bourgeoisie, which was ready to accept not only promises as the reality, but even any equivocal hint, which carried no obligation whatever with it, as a real promise. But British imperialism has need not of agreement but of destruction; and public abuse of the impotence of Indian bourgeois nationalism constituted part of the program of that destruction.

It was in such a situation that at the end of 1927 the National Congress in Madras announced India's complete independence as its aim; they at once added to this that the achievement of the new aim was only by the old, i.e., the legal and peaceful methods. Having proclaimed the slogan of independence the National Congress thus crossed the Rubicon. It was its last weapon, which had either immediately to come into action, or else must reveal its complete impotence. The latter proved to be the case. The congress endeavoured to strengthen the demand for independence by threats against the two most sensitive spots of British imperialism: a declaration of the impossibility of allowing a war with Soviet Russia, and the organisation of a Hartal, a mass solemn protest against the Simon Commission.

The first menace was completely stultified by the fact that not long before the Madras conference there were unequivocal indications in the Indian national press that the Swarajists were intending to make the question of attitude to the U.S.S.R. a subject of bargaining with British imperialism. The most definite and exact formulation of this not merely shameful and cowardly, but openly stupid policy was provided in one of the leading articles of the "Forward," which said that the national movement could not undertake any obligations in the event of a war against the U.S.S.R. so long as its interests were not satisfied. Thus the national bourgeoisie offered the London government its right and obligation to defend the great republic of labour in exchange for a brass farthing. But no purchasers put in any appearance.

During the organisation of the campaign against the Simon Commission bourgeois nationalism concentrated all its efforts on ren-

dering any independent demonstration of the masses impossible; and also on ensuring that the movement should not penetrate into the villages even in an emasculated form. For they realised that here the least spark might evoke an outbreak of revolution, the consequences of which the bourgeoisie fears no less than does the government.

The bourgeoisie's demand for independence was answered by British imperialism with open ridicule. The London "Nation" wrote that India was trying in vain to talk in the language of Ireland; would any Indian bourgeoisie ever really dare to demand the recall of the British troops from the country? Who more than the Indian bourgeoisie itself would suffer from the anarchy that was possible in such an event? In these words there was not only a reminder of the civilising role of British repression in India, but also an unconcealed threat to provoke that anarchy "in the event of anything happening."

Within the space of one short year bourgeois nationalism has without a struggle lost everything that remained to it from the former far from glorious times. There is no necessity to deal with the various steps in this fall. It is sufficient to say that imperialism has succeeded in forcing the bourgeoisie openly to act as the betrayer of the nationalist movement without granting it any compensation, and thus has caused it to eliminate itself even in the capacity of a loyal opposition.

Nor shall we stop to deal with the constitution adopted by the last Calcutta national congress, which represents the next, but, of course, not the last step in the fall of bourgeois nationalism. The "Unity" which constitutes the chief aim and "justification" of this program was achieved in no very complex fashion. The Swarajists achieved it by their acceptance of the program of the Federation of Liberals—an organisation which openly expresses the interests of large-scale and usury capital, which did not even take part in the Congress, and has never even played at opposition to British imperialism. The slogan of independence remained somewhere outside the doors, since through the lips of its president the Federation has declared that it is against independence not only for tactical reasons but on principle, and "does not even understand

how honest advocates of the dominion can allow any slogan of independence."

Nehru's platform goes even farther: he takes on himself the defence of the interests of the feudal landowners and usurers, although in their turn these latter refuse to support his platform. By proclaiming the inviolability of all forms of private ownership, the Nehru constitution provides for the preservation of the entire system of landed proprietorship, and offers the usurers the munificent present of being bought out by the government. In other words the same tax-paying peasant is to pay all his indebtedness, plus all the inordinate interest which has grown on top of it. It is true that the constitution promises the toilers "democratic freedom," . . . in the circumstance of the maintenance of the entire machinery of State repression in the hands of the bourgeois-feudal-imperialist bloc.

None the less, imperialism has deprived bourgeois nationalism of the doubtful satisfaction of toying with democratic rattles. By confronting the Swarajists with the fact of a terrorist attack on the hitherto legally existing mass workers' and peasants' organisations imperialism has obtained their practical participation in and concealment of these crimes. As for the Swarajists' allies on the right, inspired by the British officials, these have even shown some initiative, "demanding" of the Government the annihilation of the Communists, the break-up of the workers' movement and the introduction of martial law into the country. The "democratic freedom" of the Indian bourgeoisie has thus even in its cradle succeeded in showing not only its wolfs' talons but its ass's ears.

It is necessary to note that even before the "constitution" betrayed its nature in practice it met with a fitting estimate even among the radical petty bourgeoisie. Not only the workers' and peasants' party stigmatised the constitution as an act of miserable treachery, but even the youth conference dissociated itself from it. Nehru's report showed that the Indian bourgeoisie is no longer capable of expounding, even on paper, a reformist program which could lead the masses up the garden.

Thus the "fathers" and leaders of the national congress have degenerated so far as to be no longer capable of pretending to the function of mask to British imperialism.

Naturally this is not to be taken as meaning that bourgeois nationalism is renouncing once for all its attempts to hide its co-operation with imperialism behind more or less out-worn opposition phrases. It is not altogether beyond the bounds of possibility that in other circumstances these delusive phrases will be decked out in fresh trimmings. But imperialism itself does not reject a certain dose of hypocrisy, and that even in its most open and cynical forms. The important factor which determines the place which bourgeois nationalism occupies in the present struggle, is not its playing at opposition, it is rather that it pins its hopes not to agreement with the bourgeoisie—agreement still presumes more or less equal parties, or at the very least parties pretending to equality—but to bribes from imperialism, which bribes are to be earned only by direct participation in the suppression of the revolution. To have any illusions whatever that the bourgeoisie would again even temporarily incline to the side of revolution would imply failure to see the new element which has now arisen in the distribution of forces in India.

The role which the "fathers" formerly played in the national movement is now, according to the designs of the national bourgeoisie, to be played by the "children." The place of Motilal Nehru is now to be occupied by his son, the place of the Swarajist party is to be taken by the Independence League, headed by the Swarajists, but of a more left wing tendency; the place of the National Congress is to be taken by its opposition. But this play with its rough distribution of roles between "fathers" and "children," between the majority of the National Congress and its minority, between the Swarajists and the Independence League betrayed its nature in the country at its very first move.

It is true that only quite recently comrade Roy expressed in print the opinion that "the national revolutionary party (into which the Independence League must be transformed) must unite the majority of the nation under its banner" (Forward Annual, 1928, pp. 57-8.) It is true that in an article devoted to an estimate of the All-Indian conference of the Workers' and Peasants' Party, comrade Roy reproached it with adopting a too cautious attitude to the Independence League, confusing it with the Swarajist leaders of the

National Congress, not proposing a united front to it, and so on. (Inprecorr, No. 6, p. 94, British edition.) But this time comrade Roy's erroneous point of view found no response in India itself. The workers' and peasants' conference considered the program and practice of the League and decided not to enter it, but to unmask it as a superficial intelligentsia organisation, which in parts had already displayed Fascist tendencies. At the same time the conference provided for a resolute and consequential criticism with a view to splitting off from the League those elements of the petty bourgeois revolutionary wing which can still be of some importance at the present stage of the movement's development.

One has but to make a simple comparison of the National Congresses held this year and last (the Calcutta and the Madras Congresses) to be at once convinced of the extent to which the "children" have already been infected with the ancient impotence of their "fathers." As is well known, at the Calcutta congress the left wing, the majority of which are adherents of the League, had almost half the votes at their disposal, which afforded some justification for certain credulous ones to raise the possibility of a split in the National Congress as the result of a swift growth in its opposition section. But in reality the situation at the National Congress was such that the left-wingers achieved the maintenance of the old positions; whilst Motilal Nehru, the official leader of bourgeois nationalism (who not for nothing was carried to the congress in a silver chariot, and not for nothing was saluted with cannon hired from British imperialism) openly broke with the Madras congress decision for complete independence, and in accordance with the constitution he had drawn up, called on the congress to be satisfied with dominion status within the confines of the British Empire. It is characteristic of the "radicalism" of the left wing that it did not even make a pretence of fidelity to the decisions of the previous year's congress, but only confirmed a compromising formula which had been accepted unanimously only two or three months previously by a conference of all the bourgeois parties, including the extreme right.

But Swarajism is declining so swiftly that

this recently unanimously adopted formula now provides a platform for the left wing opposition. But the matter will not rest here; the process of the political decay of bourgeois nationalism is approaching its consummation, and is moving at such a pace that the resolution of the Calcutta congress is already unacceptable to the "fathers" and is being handed over to the children for their "radical" amusement. Whilst agreeing to dominion status, this resolution none the less makes the proviso that if this demand is not granted by the British Government within one year, the National Congress will recognise all limits as passed and will refuse to be satisfied with anything less than complete independence, obtaining this by struggle, the practice of the system of "non-co-operation," non-payment of taxes, etc. At the congress the opposition voted against this resolution; Nehru senior, aided by Gandhi, summoned specially in order to organise the betrayal, dragged it up again, arguing that it provided the only salvation for the country. But the decorations adorning the congress hall had hardly been taken down when the roles were sharply changed. The defenders of the resolution both in spirit and in letter now proved to be the leaders of the League. Its founders, Motilal Nehru and Gandhi, came forward in the role of revisionists correcting the resolution. In answer to the cynical jeers of the British press of all shades of opinion over the "ultimatum" presented by the National Congress, Gandhi and Motilal Nehru hastened the very day after the adoption of the resolution to explain that the resolution contained no ultimatum and no fixed period whatever. Gandhi declared that he by no means demanded of the British Government that it should even promise to confer dominion status within a year. It was sufficient "if it only displayed the desire to meet India's wishes halfway." Motilal Nehru explained that the phrase "too late" used in the resolution had to be understood in the sense that it was "late for psychological influence," and as on the other hand "psychological influence" was not to be determined by the calendar, the 1930 mentioned in the resolution had only a symbolic significance.

Thus for the authors of the resolution all that is left of the formula which they had

built up is the renunciation of the demand for independence. In all the rest they are essentially against the decision of the Calcutta congress. But on the other hand the leaders of the opposition prove to be ardent advocates of that decision. If to this be added the circumstance that the younger Nehru will not lose any opportunity of protesting his fidelity to the congress, and his readiness to dissolve the League, if only the Swarajists announce themselves in favour of independence, the nature of the new League is clear enough.

The revolutionary crisis in India is so extreme that even at the beginning of the rise of the wave the Indian bourgeoisie is starting where the Chinese bourgeoisie left off.

THE STRIKE MOVEMENT

The press has already dealt with the facts which witness to the development of activity among the proletariat during the last eighteen months, to the growth in its class-consciousness and organisation, to its continually growing importance in the national revolutionary movement. We confine ourselves to pointing out the most important of these facts.

First of all is the growth in the strike movement and its militant character. The rise in the strike wave during the past year exceeds the greatest rise in the previous stage of the revolution (1921-22). The strikes are distinguished by great persistence and resolution, self-sacrifice and class solidarity. Considered from the formal aspect, the series of recent strikes might be regarded as purely defensive, since they had very definitely as their aim the repulse of the continually growing pressure of the imperialist and native bourgeoisie. But regarded from the aspect of the nature of the struggle, the activity of the working masses, and the character of the leadership, it is impossible not to note that they are increasingly permeated with the quality of workers' attacks.

The same has to be said of the results of the strikes. If one only judges by the superficial symptoms, by the direct economic results, one would rather have to regard them as defeats, for in the majority of instances the strikers' demands remained ungranted, and the employers' appetites have not been appeased as the result of the strike struggle.

But if we take into account the more important feature, i.e., the influence which the strike struggle has had on the raising of the fighting ability of the proletariat, on its organisation, and on drawing new workers into the movement, we can boldly declare that the whole movement is proceeding on the basis of a rise of the class struggle of the proletariat.

The immediate cause of this successive wave of strikes consists in the introduction of capitalist rationalisation into India, and its introduction in a situation of harsh colonial exploitation. The basic feature of capitalist rationalisation—the maximum exploitation of past labour incorporated in the means and equipment of production, at the cost chiefly of an intensification of living labour and an imperceptible exhaustion of the worker's vital forces—cannot but take on particularly monstrous and tortuous forms in the colonies. The characteristic feature of Indian rationalisation is that it forces a worker to work who is in a state of chronic under-nourishment, clothed in rags, and without living-quarters either for himself or for his family. In other words, it combines the perfected methods of organisation of labour with barbarous methods of obtaining the surplus product. Thus rationalisation carries capitalist production in the colonies to the extreme limits of monstrosity.

In the textile industry the employers are demanding that the workers shall mind three looms instead of two, whilst retaining the old machines and methods of production. In the railway workshops the same form of rationalisation begins by throwing a large number of workers on to the streets, without affording them any hope of finding a new place in production. The railway companies are preparing for the same operation throughout transport generally, only on a much larger scale. In the mining industry the perfection of technique is combined with female labour underground in intolerable conditions. Everywhere rationalisation is being introduced either in face of a standstill in development or even in places of a decline in production. The unemployment evoked by this industrialisation meets halfway the growing wave of pauperisation coming from the villages. Imperialism and its politicians are throwing the ruined

peasantry either into the ranks of the agricultural slaves or into those of the urban coolies. In both cases it delivers millions to the care of its close colleagues, death, famine and disease.

Despite all this, the strikes of the past year have been carried on in the form of a development of the proletariat's tendency to attack. The number of days lost over the latest period exceeds the previous maximum: the number of strikers per enterprise is growing; the wavelike development of the struggle, inevitable under conditions in which each strike reduces the workers to the last degree of exhaustion, none the less retains its general tendency to take a rising curve. Such a curve leads to a general strike as the steadily maturing task of the present period.

A general strike as a unification of the struggle now going on in all the most important spheres of industry, as a resistance to the attempts of the imperialists to shatter the organisations of the proletariat and to deprive them of their ability to struggle, is already in the air in India. Even at the Trades Union Congress the reformist bureaucrats spoke of the necessity of replying with a general strike if the government did not stop shooting down the workers. Naturally in the eyes of the reformists a general strike means a struggle "with folded hands," a form of passive resistance. The masses which have already passed through the strike struggle have quite a different conception of the character and meaning of a general strike. The extensive organisational preparatory work which is being carried on by the textile workers of Bombay, the organisation of left-wing trade unions, the collection of a strike fund, the selection of the best workers for the defence divisions, show that they regard the general strike as one of the higher forms of class struggle.

THE TRADE UNION MOVEMENT

The second factor witnessing to the offensive character of the strike movement is the appearance and the development of trade unions during the course of that struggle. According to the statistics of the official Bombay journal, the "Labour Gazette," in the

Bombay presidency alone the number of workers organised in trade unions during the last quarter of 1928 rose from 117,000 to 198,000, *i.e.*, approximately 69 per cent. If we take the unions which have their administrative centres in Bombay, *i.e.*, the largest unions, the growth proves to be still more considerable, being from 84,000 to 160,000, or 89 per cent. The nature of this growth is elucidated still more clearly if one takes into account the fact that it is being accomplished through the appearance, development, and consolidation of the left-wing unions. The "Labour Gazette" considers it necessary to emphasise this fact with unconcealed alarm. "There is observable a striking growth of members of the union, 'Girni Kanigar' (the 'Red Flag' textile union), the membership of which rose from 324 in the third quarter to 54,000 on December 1st. At the moment of writing (January, 1929), according to the latest reports available, its membership has risen to 65,000."

In order to get a sound estimate of these figures it has to be borne in mind that in previous textile strikes the reformist trade union bureaucrats have had a monopoly, uncontrolledly and unhinderedly "directing," in other words, sabotaging and betraying the workers. At the present time the reformist textile workers' union, whose president is Joshi (first violin in the General Council, owing to his being the "representative" of the Bombay textile workers), and whose general secretary is the hardened strike-breaker Bakhal (who recently travelled around Europe, and even looked in at Moscow), has a membership of 6,740. Thus among the Bombay textile workers the reformists have been completely shattered within a period of a few months, and, what is of even greater importance, they have been shattered in the course of a strike struggle, as the result of pressure from below and the organisation of the vast masses unorganised by the strike committees. Is it necessary to add that both the government and the employers have done everything to support the reformist union, refusing to "recognise" the strike unless it was headed by such "generally recognised" leaders as Joshi, refusing to carry on negotiations except with the participation of these same reformist

leaders, whilst simultaneously the governmental machinery and the employers have done all they could to shatter the left-wing union? But the activity of the masses has made way for itself through all these obstacles.

The fact that the left wing unions have grown out of a strike struggle determines the nature of their organisation and activity. The fundamental weakness of the unions in India as in other colonial countries has consisted in the fact that they were built from the top down, headed by "come-overs," lawyers, bourgeois politicians, who sought to subject to their protection not one but several union organisations. These self-appointed agents of the workers' interests represented the masses in arbitration commissions, in negotiation with the employers, in relations with the government institutions and so on, thus combining a profitable profession with the advantages of a social-political career.

Mr. Purcell realised that this attachment of their persons to the workers constituted the "vulnerable spot" of the trade union bureaucrat Swarajists, and directed his blows against that spot with the object of wresting the unions out of their hands and subordinating them to the British social-imperialists. The delegation of the British General Council, which appeared in India simultaneously with the Simon commission, attempted to conceal their plans for the annexation of the slogan (extraordinarily popular among the Indian toilers) of struggle against the intelligentsia who had attached themselves to the movement while having nothing whatever in common with the working class, by the slogan of struggle against the outsiders. The Bombay textile workers showed the workers how to drive out the outsiders by organising a mass left wing union, not according to the system laid down by Purcell and European reformism, but in struggle against it, in struggle on two fronts: against bourgeois nationalism and against social-imperialism. There is every reason to reckon that at the present time the "Girni Kanigar" not only has deep roots among and commands the sympathy of the masses, but that it also has an organisational basis in the enterprises, that it is operating on the basis of elected factory committees. It is for this reason that neither the govern-

mental terror nor the intrigues of reformism can now succeed in pulling up the roots of the left wing union and regaining their domination over the textile workers.

Of the other left wing unions one has to note the railway workers' union of the Great Indian Railway (the G.I.P. Railwaymen's Union), which has 41,000 members, and the union on another railway (the B.B. and C.I. Railway Employees' Union) which has about 5,000 members. It has also to be borne in mind that the "Labour Gazette's" figures only deal with the registered unions. Thus the growth of the left wing trade union movement and the particularly swift growth of the movement in the Bombay presidency is not open to doubt.

In Bengal the tempo of development of the trade union movement lags behind the objective possibilities. The chief reason for this is that in Bengal the leaders of the left-wing voluntarily share their influence with the reformists to an even greater extent than in Bombay, instead of resolutely driving them out. This "Tolstoyanism" of the leaders is in Bengal accompanied by a passivity on the part of the left-wing unions in carrying on the strike struggle. A clear expression of this passivity is provided by the "neutral" attitude of the Calcutta union of jute workers to the heavy and protracted struggle of the Boria workers, as the result of which the reformist union attached itself to the strike. Bengal also shares the weakness common to all the Indian trade union movement, *i.e.*, the almost complete non-existence of work in the reformist unions. All these organisational defects could be eliminated without special labour if the Communists were to arrange their work on sound lines.

As in Bombay so in Bengal, and indeed throughout India, it is indubitable that the objective conditions are already present, given the existence of a strong demand for the development of a class trade union movement, for the organisation and consolidation of the already existing left-wing unions, for their reorganisation on the production principle, and for the realisation of workers' democracy. The conditions are ripe in India for the creation in the immediate future of unions which would be genuinely militant organs of the proletariat.

It would be unsound to explain the comparative swift growth of the left-wing trade union movement in India by the circumstances that the proletariat of the colonies is immune from the reformist infection. That is not so. Of course, the most malignant, stubborn and dangerous forms of reformism are to be found in the imperialist countries, where owing to the super-profits obtained through the imperialist plunder the bourgeoisie is placed in a privileged position, and thus corrupts the upper ranks of the workers and directly bribes the leaders of those upper ranks. In the colonies and semi-colonies the method of exploiting the working class is such that the imperialist bourgeoisie does not wish, indeed, has no need of guaranteeing a minimum tolerable standard of existence to any strata of the native workers whatever, whilst the native bourgeoisie for its part is unable to make any such guarantee even if it wished. Thus reformism is deprived of its chief source of support. None the less, the existence of reformism in the colonies and semi-colonies is a fact which it would be dangerous to ignore. Reformism exerts its influence on the working class to a varying degree at different stages of the national emancipation movement, and given different dispositions and inter-relationships of the struggling forces. But in all cases it reflects the influence and the specific importance of bourgeois nationalism in the country.

"Everywhere throughout the world the proletariat, which in any capitalist society is bound with the petty bourgeoisie by thousands of communicating threads, has lived through to the period of formation of labour parties, the period of more or less protracted and persistent intellectual political subjection to the bourgeoisie. This phenomenon, common to all capitalist countries, has taken on various forms in various countries, in dependence on their historical and economic peculiarities." (Lenin, "Marxism and Liquidatorism," Vol. XII, Part 2, p. 481.)

Even in the colonies and semi-colonies in which capitalist production has already been implanted, the historic and economic conditions are not the same as those in the foremost capitalist countries, nor are they even the same for all the colonies and semi-colonies. The communicating threads connecting the

working class with the petty bourgeoisie, with the home-worker and artisan who are gradually being ruined, and with the landless peasantry, are stronger in the colonies, and at the incipient stages of development this fact cannot but manifest itself in the great backwardness and inertia of the workers. Only in the course of the struggle will the proletariat break these threads, emancipating themselves and at the same time emancipating all the toilers from serfdom to the bourgeoisie.

But whilst in the local organisations the reformist trade union bureaucrats are already being eliminated by the pressure of the workers, the central machinery of the unions remains in practice entirely in their hands. The several representatives of the workers' and peasants' parties who are in the General Council play the role of hostages in it; they humbly submit to the decisions of the majority, and by the fact of their peaceable cohabitation damp down the struggle which is being carried on against the trade union bureaucrats in the rank and file. This is the only true explanation of the fact that the growth of the proletariat's class consciousness and of the class unions was not reflected in the least in the decisions of the Trades Union Congress held last December. Not only so, but the decisions of this Congress are a step backward by comparison with those of the previous year—which is one more summary proof of the fact that the evolution of the trade union bureaucrats repeats the evolution of the bourgeoisie in the National Congress down to the last details.

The only radical gesture made by the Trades Union Congress consisted in its decision to join the League Against Imperialism. But one has yet to see whether the General Council will in practice carry out their most elementary obligations as a member of the League, or whether they will sabotage the workers' struggle against the break-up of the workers' and peasants' parties. The arrest of the League Against Imperialism's representative at the Congress, comrade Johnson, an arrest of a frankly provocative character, put the right-wingers of the Congress in a position in which they did not dare to vote against joining the League. This in turn got the younger Nehru out of a difficult position, for as a mem-

ber of the League he could not vote against membership, whilst at the same time he did not want to spoil his relationships with the right-wingers, by whose votes he had been elected president of the General Council.

One could regard the decision of the Congress to demand of British imperialism not dominion status, and not even independence, but the proclamation of a socialist constitution for India, as a left-wing gesture; however, the Congress entrusted the advocacy of this decision at the Conference of all Indian parties to its president, Dutt, who in his opening words had defended the slogan of dominion status with all his powers.

All the decisions of the Congress on the question of establishing international connections were directed towards a *rapprochement* with international reformism, for whom the poisoning of the colonial movement is now, as we know, the chief task. Unfortunately the reformist bandits met with no effective opposition whatever from the left-wing. Thus in its fears of a "fiasco" the left-wing withdrew its proposal for membership of the Profintern (R.I.L.U.), contenting itself with the compensation which the right-wingers granted in the form of refraining from putting forward the proposal to join Amsterdam. But the very next day the right-wingers united with the "centre" to pass by an insignificant majority a decision to send a delegation to the Geneva International Labour Bureau, and also to participate in the Pan-Asiatic Conference organised by Japanese imperialism with the aid of its social-democrats and the Kuomintang executioners.

The left-wing adopted the same tactics of passivity and with no less harmful results on questions of internal policy, allowing the Congress to avoid even raising the problem of the coming heavy economic struggles, of preparation for them and consideration of their further development. The greeting sent by the Bombay textile workers is a repetition of the official greetings from outside well-wishers which the National Congress customarily sends. We have already noted above that in the hands of the bureaucrats of the Congress the general strike acquired the character of playing at passive resistance.

How is this weak influence of the left-wing opposition in the work of the Congress to be explained? By the fact, of course, that a considerable section of the new left-wing unions had no representation at the Congress, owing to packing and to "constitutional points." The bureaucratic machine of the Indian reformists has adopted the science of "preparing" the Congress in all its perfection from its British colleagues. Despite all the packing, the left-wing was able to collect almost half the votes, as the voting in the election for the chairman of the General Council showed. The railwayman Kulkarni, the candidate of the left-wingers, obtained 29 votes against the 36 obtained by Nehru. The essence of the matter lies in the passivity of the left-wing, in their neutral tactics. The left-wing did not fight to get a majority before the Congress, and did not exploit their positions at the Congress itself. They made no attempt to unmask the treachery of the reformists, a treachery which had a worthy crown in the Congress decision. They did not exploit the activity of the masses in order to put up a resolute struggle against the reformists for possession of the General Council machinery. They preferred not to struggle but an amicable sharing of the places in the Executive Committee, whilst allowing the reformists to do the opposition down in the most ridiculous fashion.

But for their part the left wing did not raise the issue of preparation for the general strike with all the seriousness which it warranted. And all these serious, impermissible errors were committed despite the fact that among the left wing opposition at the congress were comrades who enjoy the confidence of the advance guard of the workers. What is the chief reason for this passivity? It is that the workers' and peasants' parties cannot be organisers of the left wing of the trade unions, either by their social composition, or by their principles of organisation, or by the character of their activity. Only the Communist Party can resolve this task.

The same weakness in the left wing was revealed at the railway workers' conference, with the essential proviso that the resolution which it had put forward concerning the strike issue was of a much more business-like and practi-

cal nature. The resolution demanded that the railway companies should be given a definite time-limit (15th February) within which to reply to the conditions long since put forward by the workers and so far ignored by the employers. The federation was to assemble on Feb. 15th to consider the employers' reply, and if it proved to be unsatisfactory it was to fix a date for a general railway strike. In preparation for the strike the resolution proposed the beginning of an agitation immediately for 100 per cent. membership of railwaymen in the unions, the organisation of strike committees in the chief centres, the assurance of their centralised direction and the immediate opening of a strike fund. This proposal, put forward by comrade Bradley, was rejected by only an insignificant majority; to such an extent has the question of a general strike developed. And yet the left wing agreed to this vote, and submitted to the strike-breaking decision, which afforded the railway robbers the opportunity of attacking the proletariat at the moment most advantageous to themselves and of depriving the workers of the possibility of preparing for a counter-attack. The left wing did not transfer the question of preparing a general strike of railway workers to the masses for consideration.

But whilst the left wing opposition retain their blind fidelity to the "constitution of the General Council," the reformists take a different attitude: immediately after the congress they opened a campaign for the exclusion of all left elements from the trade unions. This campaign was headed by Kirk, Shiva Rao and others, who are entirely without importance in the trade union movement, but behind whom is the entire machinery of imperialist oppression. But now it is quite evident that these reformists' counter-revolutionary declarations in the national press were in preparation for the terrorist attack on the workers' and peasants' parties. A preparation which was of no consequence, for these gentlemen's articles breathe the police spirit to an even greater extent than the writings of a Citrine or Thomas.

The break-up of the legal mass organisations, the criminal law against the unions which imperialism is forcing through the miserable legislative assembly to the sound of

the crack of its whips—all witness to the fact that very soon now the left wing in the unions will have to withstand the united pressure of the imperialists, the bourgeois nationalists and the reformists. Very little time is left in which to make preparations for resistance. It is necessary to retrieve what has been lost. That can be achieved only provided the tactic of superficial negotiations and combinations is at once revoked, and provided the left wing leadership turns all its energy, all its authority to preparing and organising the mass activities of the proletariat.

POLITICAL DEMONSTRATIONS

Finally, the third indication of the increase in the role of the proletariat in the national revolutionary movement is the increasingly definite nature of the strikes and demonstrations of the workers. Owing to the ruthless manner in which imperialism dealt with the strikers, even previously the workers came directly into conflict with the machinery of State repression. But previously the sectional, local conflicts with the police and at times with the military were not united by any political slogans. At the present moment the political character of the strikes is developing further owing to the fact that it is also directed against the native bourgeoisie, and is thus compelling bourgeois nationalism to abandon the position of hypocritical neutrality and to identify itself openly with the employers.

At the end of 1927 there were two such small, yet characteristic strikes: in Calcutta, where the street-cleaners struck against the Swarajist municipality, and in Bombay, where the municipal workers declared a strike and secured the re-employment of the workers who had been discharged for their participation in the demonstration against the Simon Commission. During the year following the political character of the strikes has widely extended. In February a general strike of Bombay workers was carried out under the slogan of winning the streets for the workers and against the government of pogromists. Only quite recently strikes have been proclaimed in various towns which have as their demand the release of the arrested leaders of the workers' and peasants' party.

A number of workers' demonstrations in the

main centres, sometimes breaking out elementally, sometimes organised in connection with definite events, have been carried out under the slogan of Soviets. This is quite a new phenomenon for India. Until the beginning of the present rise the workers dissolved into general demonstrations organised by the bourgeois nationalist parties. But now, even when they participate in a general campaign, as the one against the Simon Commission, for instance, the proletariat organises its separate columns, arranges its own march routes (as happened in Calcutta in January) and marches under its own slogans, directed not only against the imperialist but against the native bourgeoisie. Even in the very general, propagandist form in which it exists in India at the moment, the slogan of Soviets already connotes not only a struggle against imperialism, not merely a renunciation of the reactionary ideas of Nehru senior, but also the unmasking of Nehru junior, who promises all the blessings of socialism without a revolutionary struggle.

In order to be convinced of the extent to which the proletariat has already outgrown the noisy and wordy petty bourgeois intelligentsia, one has but to compare its class demonstrations with the civic demonstrations which are now occurring in a number of towns. Even the finest of these demonstrations—that of the students in Allahabad against the arrest of Joshi, the secretary of the workers' and peasants' party of the United Provinces—also suffered from its civic lack of discrimination. Whilst demonstrating in defence of the workers' and peasants' party, the radical students, the "flower of the revolutionary intelligentsia" simultaneously very willingly applauded the younger Nehru. The spectacle of the demonstration was the solemn participation of the wives of the older and younger Nehru in the burning of European cloth, which still more emphasised the patriarchally sentimental character of the whole proceedings. There cannot be any question of the petty bourgeois intelligentsia making any claims over the proletariat to the leadership of the national revolutionary struggle. That section which does not submit to the hegemony of the proletariat will be immediately thrown by the course of events into the camp of the counter-revolution.

THE PEASANTS' MOVEMENT

The experience of the Chinese revolution summarily showed what decisive importance, especially for the colonies, attaches to the alliance of the workers' revolution with the peasants' insurrection. The consciousness of this necessity is now clear at least to the advance guard of the Indian proletariat. The proletariat of the colonies feels its obligations as organiser and leader of the peasantry more keenly than that of the capitalist countries. But the importance of the workers' and peasants' bloc and its danger to imperialism has since the Chinese experience become clearer than ever before. British imperialism's plan in India is determined by this fact: and that plan is to hasten the shattering of the workers movement before the extensive peasant reserves succeed in coming into action.

The peasant movement in India has not yet broken loose; the scattered outbreaks of peasant demonstrations are ruthlessly and swiftly suppressed by British imperialism. But the fact that the peasant movement has lagged behind in activity does not permit one to draw the conclusion that it will fall under the influence of bourgeois nationalism. The fact that the peasant movement cannot develop in present conditions otherwise than in the form of revolutionary activities, the arbitrary seizure of the land, the mass refusal to pay rent, taxes, debts, etc., excludes the possibility of the bourgeois intelligentsia having any at all serious influence in the villages. Of course all this applies only provided that the proletariat and its party does not let slip the moment for developing the agrarian revolution in the country. The objective conditions favourable to proletarian influence in the villages are already present. The slowness in the development of the peasant movement at the present time is to be explained not only by the bestial terror, but especially by the fact that the peasantry have become convinced of the ineffectiveness of the old methods of struggle of 1919-22, and realise the necessity of passing to more complex and higher methods of revolutionary activity. And in the conditions of colonial oppression such a transference demands that sparks from the revolutionary conflagration which has started up in the towns should fly to the villages.

The measures which British imperialism is taking against the development of the peasantry consist not in concessions to the peasantry but in an intensification of the terrorist regime. Of course, in the event of the shattering of the workers' movement (and imperialism is basing all its hopes on this) a further attack on the peasantry will become inevitable. There will be a mass expropriation of the land of its weaker sections in the interests of the development of capitalist agriculture; and tens of millions will suffer a hungry death. But it does not follow that because in the event of the suppression of the working class the situation of the peasantry would become yet more intolerable, therefore the slackened tempo of the peasant movement at the present time is to be explained by any weakening of the crisis in the Indian countryside.

The toilers' retaliation that the organisation of a workers' and peasants' bloc is an indispensable condition of victory has found expression in the growing influence of the workers' and peasants' party. This growth in influence is indicative of the trend of the peasantry towards the organisation of its forces. None the less, the workers' and peasants' party, with its dual composition based on the "equality of classes," is not the form of bloc which will guarantee the leading role of the proletariat and consequently a popular settlement of the agrarian revolution. And again, despite the fact that certain of them only recently called themselves peasant-workers' parties, and still partially retain this character, the workers' and peasants' parties are not in any condition to raise the peasantry. This inability arises not only from the circumstance that their agrarian program is abridged, deprived of definiteness, confused, that it does not take into consideration the process of class differentiation which is going on in the villages. All these defects would unquestionably have a fatal influence on the further stages of development of the peasant movement, by increasing the danger of the influence of the kulak elements, and of the bourgeoisie through them. But for the present preparatory stage of the swing, the negative side of the workers' and peasants' parties still makes its presence felt not so much in these defects, but, much more important, in the circumstance that the workers' and peasants' parties have even

proved incapable of overcoming the Swarajist philanthropic approach to the work in the villages, incapable of turning to the organisation of the revolutionary activities of the peasantry.

In view of the amount of combustible material in the Indian villages—reserves which cannot but be increased—a circumstance of no great importance in itself can cause an outbreak of the mass peasant movement. In order to guide that outbreak it is necessary to organise the peasants, and, of course, the poor peasants first and foremost, into revolutionary unions and committees. In view of the variety of agrarian relationships in the Indian countryside and the consequent heterogeneity of the sectional demands of the peasantry in various areas, local peasants' unions, growing up in the course of the struggle and directing that struggle, cannot have a single platform; they cannot be homogeneous in their organisation. At the given stage of the struggle, and in view of the still surviving passivity of the peasantry, the work of prime importance is not even the propaganda among the peasant masses of the entire program of our measures after the seizure of power, but rather their organisation under the influence of the proletariat for a genuinely revolutionary struggle against British imperialism, feudalism and bourgeois reaction. In the conditions of the present revolutionary crisis, in the course of that struggle the peasantry will swiftly pass from sectional demands to a developed program of agrarian revolution, to the nationalisation of all the land.

THE POSITION OF BRITISH IMPERIALISM IN INDIA

British imperialism is carrying on a frenzied struggle against the emancipation of India. The higher the revolutionary wave rises, the more desperately will imperialism hang on to its richest booty. Britain has never yet paused before any methods of suppressing India's least attempts to emancipate herself. But never before has the independence of India threatened the capitalist system of Great Britain, its very existence, with such a blow as it does at the present time. The mobilisation of all the forces which British imperialism has at its disposal in the home country, in the colonies, in the dominions—naval, air and

land forces on the one hand, and political, economic financial on the other, against the Indian revolution—is a foregone conclusion. The struggle of the British Government against the Indian revolution will truly be a struggle for life and death.

At the same time, it would be the height of frivolity to under-estimate the enormous dimensions of those resources for destruction which British imperialism has at its disposal against the Indian revolution. Britain's economic and technical backwardness has not yet undermined her naval and military might. The fact that the United States will overtake and is already overtaking, Britain's war forces must not hide the other just as undoubted fact that there is a simultaneously occurring, further frenzied growth of the world war machine of British imperialism, especially in that section of it the direct purpose of which is the "defence," *i.e.*, the enslavement, of India, (the Singapore base, the incessant increase of the fleet in the Indian Ocean, the vigorous development of the air fleet in India, the vast plans for organising "peaceful" aviation in India, in circumstances which ensure British imperialism the possibility of transforming it into war aviation at one stroke, the incessant perfecting of the Indian army, the mechanisation of its transport, its re-equipment, etc.) All this system of war measures is not only directed towards holding India under external bars, "defending" it from the encroachment of any competing imperialism, but it can at any moment be directed to the maintenance of "order" inside this monstrous prison which is India. And to this purpose also is directed the entire British system of diplomatic intrigue, provocations, petty wars, assassinations and open organised attacks which envelop India in an ever-denser cloud. (The counter-revolutionary war in Afghanistan with a view to capturing the country through the mediation of one or other of the crowned mercenaries, the extending seizure of positions in Persia, the activity in Arabia, etc.) Thus isolating India on all sides, surrounding it with a dead zone of British domination, imperialism is facilitating the possibility of flinging itself on the Indian revolution with all the strength of its war machinery.

The second base of British domination is its positions inside the country, both State administrative and economic positions. India is a colony: not a semi-colony, not simply a dependent country, but a colony in the most perfect form, *i.e.*, a country where the rule of the conqueror directly and immediately dominates the people, concentrating into its hands all the machinery of State oppression from top to bottom, controlling, subordinating, and suppressing all the functions of social life, reserving to itself an unrestricted monopoly in this sphere. This factor of the unrestricted monopoly of the colonial autocracy is rarely allowed to slip from view, for the very reason that such a despotic power on the part of the conqueror is a savage anachronism when applied to a country with a population of three hundred millions, with capitalist production, with large-scale concentrated enterprises, with a developed network of railways, with enormous natural riches, with a grown-up class-conscious proletariat, with a certain achievement of bourgeois culture, etc. This savage anachronism, which is an inexhaustible source of the vital motive forces of the Indian revolution, witnesses none the less to the still maintained might, depth and ramification of the machinery of imperialist oppression and to the variety of the levers with the aid of which it suppresses, subjects and deforms the life of the country. In this regard one has but to compare present-day India even with China in order to see all the extent of the slavery of India. Only the direct blows of the organised Chinese revolution compelled the imperialists competing in China to unite their war operations in Shanghai, to put the fleet under a general command, to disembark a joint expeditionary force, to surround themselves with barbed wire, and so on, so as to establish a war base safeguarded against all surprise and for the purpose of attack against the Chinese revolution. But even operating on this base, imperialism could move its military forces directly only along the main waterways, and, with definite limitations, over the railways. The direct war aid which it could afford the Chinese counter-revolution off the track of these roads, in the heart of the country, in the ocean of villages, could not immediately be considerable. Herein was one of the chief

reasons why the agrarian revolution in China could accumulate its forces for a definite period, could develop and grow, even although at the same time the forces of the imperialist counter-revolution were being formed in the central town points, with the fleet and the Shanghai arsenal of imperialism as their operating base. In India, British imperialism already possesses a number of military bases in various central, strategically important points, whilst these were created in Shanghai only at the moment of the height of the revolutionary battles. Not having to share its rule with any other imperialism, and consequently not having to overcome the inevitable competition which would otherwise result, the British war staff is systematically working on its plan for the suppression of the revolution in India, modifying it in accordance with the growth and the redistribution of revolutionary forces, establishing the chief bases for its struggle both in the native principalities and in British India, stretching its threads across the whole country, penetrating into its utmost depths, even into the villages. A peasant rising in India cannot develop away from contact with the imperialist forces; it will come to a hand-to-hand struggle with them from its first step.

The machinery of open repression is not exhausted with the pincers by the aid of which imperialism is strangling India. Together with political annexation, colonial oppression also presumes economic annexation, which develops out of the first, fusing with it and strengthening it. From the aspect of economic annexation the positions of British imperialism in India are exceptionally strong, despite the circumstance that India's economy is more developed than that of any other colony, and to a certain extent owing to that very development. It is superfluous to remind the reader that British financial capital has not only subjected to itself the entire banking system in India, and not only all its external trade, but through the compradore bourgeoisie, through the wholesale merchants it finds its way to the tiniest roots of economic life, enveloping, subjecting and exploiting the countryside in manifold ways. Being the largest landowner in the country, and directly extorting rent from approximately one-fourth of the peasant population, through its agents,

the zemindars of various shades, imperialism holds in its hand the economic threads of all the remaining agricultural economy. Its positions in the industrial sphere are still stronger (transport, mining industry, jute and in part metal-working). But even those spheres of industry in which native capital predominates cannot but find themselves in subjection to finance capital, which dominates the whole country. The strength of Britain's colonial monopoly is, *inter alia*, revealed by the fact that all the attempts of Indian capital to operate with the aid of the United States finance capital come up against very serious obstacles. Naturally one cannot deny that American capital is penetrating into India, partly openly, partly through the Japanese banks; but the extent of this penetration is quite insignificant by comparison with the "trend" which both the two factors reveal: both by the Indian bourgeoisie, which counts on weakening the British monopoly by this means, and by American imperialism, for whom the extension of their economic positions in India would be a weapon in the struggle against Britain.

The military and economic might of Britain determines the circle of her social allies in the country. These are first and foremost the despots of the native principalities, the ruling princes, whose fates are directly and immediately bound up with the fate of the British imperialists. Then there are the landowners and all the elements interested in one way or another in the maintenance of the pre-capitalist forms of exploitation in the countryside. Nor must one underestimate the role which the compradore bourgeoisie plays openly or secretly in India as a buttress for imperialism. The fact that out of seven provincial legislative councils only one (in the central provinces) stood by the position of boycotting the Simon Commission, is very significant. As for the other legislative councils, part of them pronounced in favour of co-operation from the very beginning, whilst the others which had pronounced in favour of a boycott did not stand by this quite harmless position, so strong in the legislative councils is that group of feudalists and section of the bourgeoisie on whose unreserved support imperialism can count in all its policy.

On the question of the industrial bourgeoisie

we have already noted the growing speed of its decline. In the struggle with the workers' and peasants' movement—and that movement continues to determine the content and the character of the national revolution in India—imperialism has every justification for regarding the bourgeoisie as its instrument, and will either extricate it or leave it in such a situation, confronted with such accomplished facts as to force its line of conduct to correspond with the government's plans.

THE FORCES OF THE REVOLUTION AND THE METHODS OF ORGANISING THEM

The struggle against British imperialism therefore demands the greatest exertion of effort of all the toilers and oppressed in India, demands not a single victorious battle, but a series of class conflicts which will gradually extend the positions of the revolution, unloose its forces, increase their organisation, and lead the movement to increasingly developed methods of struggle. Only an alliance between the workers' revolution and the peasant struggle can develop the revolutionary energy which is necessary in order to overthrow British imperialism. The Indian revolution will conquer only under the leadership of the proletariat.

The industrial proletariat of India is not numerically large, but none the less it exceeds the number of the proletariat of China. The concentration of industry is leading to the concentration of the proletariat in the most important points. Hence arises the possibility of organising the striking forces of the revolution in the decisive town centres. The youth, the insufficient political experience, and the poor organisation of the Indian workers are compensated for in practice by their revolutionary self-sacrifice, their activity, endurance, ability to carry on through protracted conflicts and in conditions of the utmost deprivation. How swiftly the class growth of the proletariat in India has proceeded during the past 12 to 15 months has been shown above. The proletariat has passed from sectional, separate strikes under the formal "leadership" of the reformist strike-breakers, to a combination of mass strikes with political demonstrations, to a discussion of the question of preparing for a general strike in the more

important centres of industry. From a state in which they were a more or less dependent appendage to the National Congress the proletariat is passing to the slogan of soviets. The experience of the strike struggle and of the political demonstrations is bringing the proletarian advance-guard, the Bombay workers, to a realisation of the necessity of extending the struggle and to the first steps in this sphere—steps still uncertain, it is true, but already extraordinarily noteworthy, such as the overcoming of the dominant theory and practice in India of "non-resistance" and the formation of divisions for workers' defence. It is also necessary to take into account the circumstance that in all cases the transfer to higher forms of struggle is evoked by the initiative of the masses, which invariably move before the leaders. It is further necessary to take into account the circumstance that the left wing leadership is in turn developing in conditions of almost complete mechanical isolation from the international revolutionary experience, which hitherto has been able to react only after considerable delay on the swift tempo of development of the movement in India. In such conditions the road laid down by the workers' advance-guard of recent days particularly emphasises the growth in the forces of the revolution.

The industrial proletariat is being joined by the workers of the large plantations, whose importance in the task of safeguarding the leadership of the working class over the peasantry may grow swiftly. Together with them are coming the dozens of millions of agricultural workers and coolies who are held in a state of semi-slavery and chronic unemployment, and so represent an enormous reserve of elemental hatred for imperialism and its native allies.

The great majority of the 175 millions of the peasantry cannot follow the proletariat, cannot form the numerically chief forces in the revolutionary bloc of the workers, peasants and city poor against the bloc of imperialists, landowners and treacherous bourgeoisie. Despite the fact that in certain areas, which are of particular strategic importance to imperialism either from the aspect of the coming war or that of the struggle against revolution, separate sections of the affluent peasantry are receiving or may in the future receive bribes

from the government, one cannot from this draw the deduction that British imperialism is in a condition to take any way whatever leading to reforms in the countryside without intensifying the unbearably heavy situation of the main peasant masses and without increasing the revolutionary crisis in the country. Now that the conclusions of the Royal Commission on Agriculture have been published, there is less doubt than ever that British imperialism has and can have no other plans for resolving the crisis in the countryside and its associated crisis of the internal market than those based on the literal annihilation of millions of peasantry. Imperialism may postpone its "reforms," realising that they will evoke an outbreak of the revolutionary forces which have accumulated in the villages. But so long as imperialism remains imperialism it can find no other ways of reform in India but this. Hence there is every justification for considering that the peasant attacks will not keep waiting long.

Finally, at the present stage of the struggle we have to take into account as possible allies of the proletariat, the lower strata of the petty bourgeoisie and their intelligentsia, which, however, have hitherto been exploited by the Swarajists, and also by the Independence League, for the organisation of nationalist demonstrations, Hartals, etc., whenever bourgeois nationalism seeks to show that the "people" are behind it.

At its present stage the struggle against imperialism makes possible and necessary the joint revolutionary activity of the proletariat with all the toilers and oppressed, with the entire nation, with the exception of the feudal bourgeois upper groups. But it goes without saying that in order to safeguard the leading role of the proletariat during the accomplishment of this national task, it is necessary first and foremost that a theoretically, politically and organisationally independent Communist Party should be in existence. During all its manoeuvres both inside the worker-peasant bloc and outside it, in its unmasking of the bourgeois nationalism, in its criticism of the unstable petty bourgeois allies, and in still greater measure in its leadership of the peasant struggle, the C.P. must remain the organisation of the special class of the proletariat, the most consistent and most

revolutionary class in the country. Under no conditions whatever, from no conceptions of a united front should it bind its own hands in the work of propagating its views, in the work of winning the finest elements of the working class to the side of Communism, in the work of mobilising the industrial agricultural workers under the banner of the class struggle, in the work of destroying the highly dangerous petty bourgeois illusions as to the possibility of overthrowing imperialism without opposing to it the forces of the revolution. Only by concentrating against the compromising bourgeoisie, by systematically and unswervingly unmasking the true character of its miserable playing at opposition, by pointing out the bonds which exist not only between the bourgeoisie, but also between considerable sections of the petty bourgeois intelligentsia and the feudal system of landownership, only by criticising the vacillation and instability of its allies, will the C.P. emancipate the toiling masses from the influence of bourgeois nationalism, will it teach them to depend only on their own organised forces, will it teach them to raise the practical question of the revolution in all its exceptional difficulty and harsh necessity.

Do the objective conditions for the creation of a mass C.P. already exist in India? Everything we have said above on the swift growth of class consciousness among the vast masses of the proletariat is an answer to that question. Can one deny the existence of an incipient process of forming Communist elements in the workers' movement, the existence of Communist groups and a growth not only of their ideological but of their organisational influence? In my view, we cannot. But at the same time there is no doubt that the condition of the organised Communist movement in India is extremely backward, and that it is a question of life and death to retrieve the lost ground. In the conditions now established time will not wait. The Indian Communists are risking the likelihood of their falling into a torrent of great events in a disintegrated and impotent state, they are risking the likelihood of losing the game for the proletariat at the present stage of the struggle.

One of the chief reasons for this backwardness in the organisation of the C.P. in India

consists in the fact that the young Indian proletariat has to carry on a struggle against British imperialism, the most experienced and the most astute of all imperialisms in the work of suppressing and disintegrating revolutionary forces; and furthermore, it has to carry on that struggle almost alone. In the struggle against the Indian Communist movement the British Government is applying the entire system of rationalised methods known to the European and American secret police. Together with penal servitude for those who are merely suspected of Communism, together with death sentences, the British Government has sought to poison the revolutionary movement by other methods, by simulating the possibility of the Communist Party of India having a legal existence. This "Communist Party of India," which existed legally on paper, and in which together with honest revolutionary elements were also petty bourgeoisie confusionists, and openly suspect elements, by its utter impotence, passivity, and complete severance from the mass struggle could only give the workers the impression that the organisation of a Communist Party in India is quite impossible. The fact that the legal Communist Party neither lives nor dies has led to the theory that its destiny is to "occupy an empty place," whilst the struggle of the workers and peasants has to go on independently of the C.P., outside it and under the leadership of other party organisations. And in these circumstances the worker-peasant parties which were at first connected with the left wing of the National Congress afterwards began to acquire the sympathy of the workers and peasants seeking organisational forms for their struggle.

The increase in the activity of the masses, and particularly of the working class, cannot but be reflected in the development of the Worker-Peasant parties also. On comparing the decisions of the conferences of the Worker-Peasant Parties held in December, 1927 and 1928, the character and also the rate of their development is clear beyond all doubt. The practical activity of these parties has changed still more considerably. Hence arises the present attack being made by British imperialism along the whole line against the worker-peasant parties. But in exact accordance with

the growth of the movement and the development of the positive activity of the worker-peasant parties, its negative sides, as a party of dual elements, began to be revealed in practice, and that not only in the sense of the dangers which the mixing of the working class and the peasantry in one party may bring in the future, but also in the sense of the harm which it is already bringing now, by hiding the Communist Party, by taking its place, by conducing to the spread of the most dangerous illusion that the absence of a Communist Party can be compensated for by the activity of the worker-peasant parties. Thus India also, albeit in a different form from other colonial countries, has already revealed the tendency to "re-dye the pseudo-Communist revolutionary emancipation movements in backward countries in the hue of Communism," a tendency against which Lenin warned us that it was necessary to wage a resolute struggle ten years ago at the Second Congress of the Comintern.

Without prejudging the question of what forms of mass workers' and mass peasants' organisations are most expedient in the present period in India, one may nevertheless remark that the left wing trade union movement, and the factory committees selected at delegate meetings of the workers, constitute a base for such a mass workers' organisation. The existence of a Communist Party and its fractions in all organisations, and in the unions first and foremost, its struggle for the exploitation of all the legal possibilities, will ensure the leading role of the Communists. It is inexpedient artificially to unite the peasant committees and unions, which are the elemental organisational forms of the peasant movement and which develop in the process of the peasantry's active demonstrations on the basis of their sectional demands, into an all-Indian organisation, for reasons which we have already stated. The carriers of the Communist influence into the local peasant organisations are the industrial workers, who in India remain connected with the countryside to a considerable extent, and many of whom return to the villages during a strike, and also the plantation workers. The workers-peasants' bloc might take the organisational form of workers-peasants' committees, elected at local conferences from repre-

sentatives of the workers' organisations and the peasants' unions. Here also the centre of attention should be concentrated on ensuring that these committees are an expression of a militant alliance, that their programme should contain the clearly formulated demands of the current struggle, that they should enrol their leading ranks from workers and peasants thrown up by the masses in the course of that struggle. The most dangerous phenomenon in India is the endeavour of the petty bourgeois intelligentsia, with its philanthropic attitude to the peasantry, with its interest in land rent, to exploit the enforced stagnation of the peasantry in order to claim to represent it in all organisations. In the organisation of the worker-peasant committees a maximum of suspicion of these intelligentsia upper groups, and an endeavour to establish direct connections with the peasant masses is obligatory. In all these organisations, whatever their forms, the proletariat is to act as an independent force. Its party is not to be mixed or blended with others. It will address itself to the masses in its own name and through the medium of its Communist Party.

THE INTERNATIONAL ALLIES OF THE INDIAN REVOLUTION

The Indian revolution can be victorious only under the leadership of the proletariat and as part of the world proletarian revolution. A blow inflicted on British imperialism in India is a blow to all the capitalist world. The proletariat of India has allies not only inside the country. Its tasks are of an international character; its allies on the world scale are the international proletariat and the colonial revolutions of all the oppressed peoples. The nearest and immediate allies of the Indian revolution in their joint struggle against British imperialism are the British proletariat and the Chinese revolution.

After long years of study of the Irish question, and on the basis of the experience of the national movement in Ireland, Marx wrote: "A decisive blow to the ruling classes of Britain can be inflicted not in England, but only in Ireland, and it would be of decisive importance to the workers' movement of the whole world." (Marx: letter to Danielson, 19th February, 1881.) During the decades

which have passed since Marx wrote these lines the situation throughout the world and in Britain first and foremost has changed profoundly. The Irish insurrection took place at a moment when the European insurrection of the proletariat had not matured. On the other hand, at the moment of the insurrection, British imperialism had at its disposal adequate resources not only to suppress that rising by armed force, but also to resolve the revolutionary crisis in Ireland and in the countryside first and foremost by reformist methods.

At the present moment the positions of the British bourgeoisie are incomparably more vulnerable in Britain itself, than they were before and during the first years of the war. The influence of those perverted by super profit of the bribed lieutenants of the bourgeoisie, and the bribed lieutenants of the bourgeoisie, and is becoming an enormous revolutionary force. On the other hand the blow which the Indian revolution will administer to British imperialism is certainly not weaker than the blow which it avoided in Ireland: the distance separating Bombay and Calcutta from London is only enormous geographically. A revolutionary conflagration in India is a conflagration in the chief stronghold of British reaction. The developing revolutionary blows of the British proletariat and the Indian revolution, combined, albeit not entirely coinciding in point of time, will settle accounts with British imperialism.

In these combined blows an extraordinarily important role will be played by the reciprocal action of the Chinese and Indian revolutions. We have above noted one of the manifestations of this reciprocal action: the class growth of the Indian proletariat on the lessons of the Chinese revolution. There is no doubt whatever that in its turn the Indian revolution will evoke new strength in and a new outbreak of the Chinese movement. The worker and peasant movement of China was suppressed not so much by the forces of the Chinese bourgeoisie and gentry, as by the forces of world imperialism, among which the British and Japanese played the decisive role. Any weakening of the positions of British imperialism in India will bring alleviation to the Chinese revolution also. Any success achieved by the proletariat in Bombay or Calcutta is

providing direct support to the proletariat of Shanghai and Wuhan.

The difficulties confronting the Indian revolution are extraordinarily great. A systematic, deliberate struggle, waged without illusions, but also without pessimism, against these difficulties along all the long road is possible only provided the revolutionary advance guard of the proletariat, its Communist Party, keeps before it the main tasks confronting the colonial revolution, with a view to overthrowing imperialism and annihilating its political and economic annexations. As a section of the Comintern, the C.P. of India must elucidate, must agitate, and in the course of the struggle must gradually lead the masses to the realisation of their tasks, and then to the struggle for their accomplishment in the developed form in which they are formulated in the program of the Communist International.

The proletariat is already acting as the most active force in the national revolution. It is already head and shoulders above not only its opponents, but also its petty bourgeois allies. Acting as an independent class force, building up its own Communist Party, the

proletariat, and only the proletariat, is in a condition to mobilise the peasant and petty bourgeois masses for the struggle to drive out imperialism and to pull up the roots of its economic power.

The already developing wave of proletarian economic strikes, the proletariat's political demonstrations, and the co-ordination of strikes with demonstrations have revealed all the strength of the revolutionary energy in the proletariat; but also all the unpreparedness of the organisation and the leadership. Even if this wave were temporarily to ebb, it would profoundly disturb the people's consciousness, would give the peasantry a mass revolutionary education. In the conditions of India to-day it would inevitably be followed by a further wave of still greater dimensions and might. The course of the revolutionary development places the general strike on the agenda of the revolutionary struggle. Among the tasks of the Communists during the present period are the preparation and organisation of the general strike, and also the propaganda of the necessity for the political strikes to develop still further. Without this, India cannot be free.

Social-Fascism in Germany

IN Germany, where the discussion and practical application of the decisions of the Sixth World Congress of the Comintern has given rise to great disputes within the Communist Party, to a great deal of renegacy and to serious vacillations, those very decisions are being most clearly justified by the actual course of events. This is no contradiction in terms, but a logical state of affairs, for it is because the German problems dealt with by the Congress are so acute that the Communist attitude towards them has been accompanied by such lively encounters.

The programme of the Comintern contains the following (Section 2, paragraph 3) :

"The epoch of imperialism, the sharpening of the class struggle and the growth of the elements of civil war—particularly after the imperialist war—led to the bankruptcy of parliamentarism. Hence, the adoption of 'new' methods and forms of administration (for example, the system of inner cabinets, the formation of oligarchical groups acting behind the scenes, the deterioration and falsification of the function of 'popular representations,' the restriction and annulment of 'democratic liberties,' etc.)."

At least one paper every day contains articles on the crisis in, the decline or bankruptcy of parliamentarism, and discussion on "new" methods and forms of government. Herman Müller's "Cabinet of Personalities," indicated the change from discussion to practical usage, and, up to the present, the Müller government is still not the parliamentary coalition government desired. When it was about to reach that state, the Centre thwarted the design by charging the social-democrats with full responsibility for the reactionary deeds of that government and with the desire to conclude a concordat with Rome, etc.

The curtains behind the Müller Government are so thin, that it does not require much effort to see the oligarchic groups working behind them, particularly when Hilferding is submitting his estimates. The limitations on, and abolition of "democratic liberties" were not nearly so fashionable in the bourgeois-bloc

coalition government as at present; to the prohibition of all street demonstrations there has now been added a censorship of books and the drama—a censorship which does not exist in the Constitution.

The fourth section, paragraph 23 of the Sixth World Congress thesis on "The International Situation and the Tasks of the C.I." runs as follows:

"It must be borne in mind, however, that these new coalition governments in which social-democrats are directly participating, cannot and will not be a mere repetition of previous combinations. This particularly applies to foreign politics generally, and to war politics in particular. Social-democratic leadership will play an immeasurably more treacherous role in the present period than it did in all previous stages of development."

If one compares this paragraph with the activity of German social-democrats in the present governmental coalition, one is forced to assume that Müller, Severing, Grzesinski and Co. have been won over by the famous red rouble to demonstrate the correctness of the Sixth World Congress theses.

The armaments and military policy has never been so strongly emphasised in Germany since the fall of the monarchy as during the existence of this government. The operation of the arbitration system and the "social" measures of this government affects the working class in a worse fashion than that of the bourgeois bloc government. Speaking of the budget of the social-democratic Finance Minister, Hilferding, even the social-democratic paper "Zwickau Volksblatt" had to admit that it is worse than that of the purely bourgeois coalition. It writes:

"The budget which Hilferding presented does not differ in its distribution of the burden of taxation, from that previously passed by the bourgeois bloc government. The burden on the masses is just as great . . . the percentage falling on them even greater. The budget which the present government is presenting to

the Reichstag and the nation is an unsocial budget."

Besides social policy and taxation, the political reaction, the limitation on "democratic liberties" can also be laid at the door of the social-democratic members of the government.

And now to place as it were, the crown on all that has been done by Severing, Zorgiebel and Grzesinski, the Prussian Minister for the Interior has published an official threat to dissolve the Communist Party and the Red Front Fighters' League. It is true that these two bodies are not mentioned by name: he merely says that "I shall combat radical organisations with all the means at my disposal," and "I shall not hesitate about such unions and associations" which "have the form of political parties." But, of course, the social-democratic Minister—as indeed has often been admitted—will take no steps against the "Steel Helmets," working more and more in conjunction with the "Reichsbanner" and of whose honorary presidents Hindenburg is an intimate political colleague.

These facts indicate two parallel phenomena; discussion among and threats from the right wing of the bourgeoisie, that a dictatorship is necessary and in sight; and the gradual, actual realisation of this dictatorship by the social-democratic leaders who at the same time, in opposition to that right wing, play the part of defenders of democracy and parliamentarianism.

The real origin of these facts lies in the growing contradictions within partially stabilised capitalism generally, and German capitalism in particular. The internal contradictions of stabilisation threaten to lead to a serious crisis more easily in Germany than elsewhere, because of its burden of reparations and its great indebtedness abroad. In the last six months, for example, production has fallen by 6 per cent.; it is sinking slowly but uninterruptedly. But, due to rationalisation, unemployment is increasing more rapidly than production is decreasing. The figure of three million unemployed or on short time has already been passed. The actual standard of living of the worker is going down and the taxation of the worker is rising locally, nationally, and in the Federal States. But still the rate of profit demanded by finance capital is not nearly reached, and bankruptcy follows

bankruptcy. Finance capital is openly preaching the necessity for further wage reductions and has even threatened the possibility of inflation in order to increase exports. This is accompanied by Hilferding's budget, which reduces the taxes of the possessing classes and increases the fiscal burden of the workers. Politically, in spite of its "disarming," the German bourgeois republic is being drawn more and more into imperialist policy, and, therefore, it must arm to prepare for war." The class struggle is intensifying, and the revolutionary mass movement grouped around the Party grows greater and greater.

In such a situation, the political question amounts simply to this: what form of government will best assure the actual control of the State by finance capital, and defeat and suppress the resistance of the workers to finance capital's home and foreign policy? This is actually a dispute as to the best way of introducing the dictatorship of finance capital, and the "crisis of parliamentarianism," for the bourgeoisie, consists in this, that the old system of coalition governments and parties does not provide sufficient guarantees that the interests of finance capital will be safeguarded and its plans fulfilled. Stresemann exposed the character of the political crisis in his speech on February 26 to the Central Committee of the German Populist Party, with a candour which is surprising for him, when he said:

"If things continue as they are, we are confronted by the trusts on one hand and by millions of employees and workers on the other. Social hostility is growing . . . this policy must not be continued if we wish to avoid falling into the abyss . . . We must try to reform parliamentary government . . . If the parties themselves were to make such reform impossible, then 'res venit ad triarios'—and responsible persons would find the courage to rule, i.e., to take over the leadership."

A week later the "Deutsche Allgemeine Zeitung" appeared with an article on "The Hour of the President" in which the following occurred:

"It seems to us that the time has come for the constitutional head to make a decision. It might have been imagined that after the 13th March, the President would set up a Cabinet of 'personalities' under a strong and tried

leader. . . . The floods have risen high, and mighty waves threaten to break over the embankment, annihilating life and hope. In this hour of need, the German people turns to that honourable and beloved form raised above the petty ambitions of parties, above all the hollow clatter of the daily struggle. The hour of the President is drawing nigh."

And, in the "Kölnische Zeitung" at the same time: "If we are not utterly mistaken, we are living in a new period similar to before 1848. Party crises are two a penny, and people chatter of new parties and dictatorship. Many of these rumours spread abroad without being in the least understood. But so much is certain, the rumours are not of peace, but of alarm. No longer, as in those old days, about the absolutism and incapacity of the princes, but about the barrenness of our parliamentary life, the irresponsibility of parties, the lack of discipline in our national economy. . . . The Government has too little power, the people has too little power; Cabinet and referendum have become the prisoners of an incapable parliament and party wrangles. What we need is a simplification of democracy as in America or England; greater independence, responsibility and length of life for the governments, stronger guarantees against the laxity of deputies, rationalisation of parliament. Will the parties, and chiefly the Liberal parties, really set about this job sincerely? Do they want to make Parliament more disciplined and more effective? The answer to these questions will decide their fate. Youth is hammering on the party doors. They have their own ideas, and are not inclined to deny them in favour of the present system."

It would, however, be incorrect to conclude from this, that Germany is directly faced with the establishment of a Fascist government à la Mussolini. Even fascist methods are subject to the changes of time and circumstances, i.e., to the development of capitalism, and are adapted to the economic and political situation of the country in question. The great change that has taken place is the growth of fascism within social-democracy, and in German social democracy particularly the German capitalists have found a strong support with increasingly definite fascist tendencies. And Germany shows, more clearly

than elsewhere, how correct our programme was in its description of the relations between bourgeoisie, social-democracy and fascism, and of the openly fascist role of the social-democrats. Facts seem to show that the German capitalists are getting ready for a bourgeois-social-democratic coalition with fascism. The behaviour of the S.D. leaders shows that they have received such a proposal from the bourgeoisie and are willing to accept it. Facts themselves show this. We have only to remember that it was Hermann Müller who, on Stresemann's recommendation—that particular confidant of the great capitalists—received Hindenburg's permission to form his "government of brains" without the constitutional parliamentary majority. The social-democratic ministers expressed the wish long before the "Allgemeine Zeitung" and "Kölnische Zeitung," to rise "above the petty ambitions of party," to drop the "irresponsibility of parties," and did so by utterly ignoring the decisions of their party and doing what they liked, or rather what the capitalists ordered them to do. At a meeting of the S.D.P. committee, Müller declared that no decision of the parliamentary fraction or the Party Congress could force him to vote against the armoured cruisers. Severing, at a parliamentary committee meeting, stated still more clearly:

"I am not dependent upon my Party . . . a minister should not be the slave of a party, and I shall subject myself to no party slavishly."

When the "Leipziger Volkszeitung" protests against the party executive putting up with such a "breach of discipline," it tries to hide from the workers the fact that the leaders of the S.D.P. are entirely in agreement with the attitude of their ministers, for they themselves adopt the same policy, and try at the same time to lessen the S.D.P.'s responsibility to the workers for that policy. This is nothing but one aspect of the S.D.P.'s preparation to take part in a dictatorship employing fascist methods. The social-democratic ministers are already offering themselves quite openly for the job. On 3rd March, Severing, at an Essen meeting celebrating the foundation of the Reichsbanner, said:

"If it should really come to pass that this country should be governed by Article 48

of the Weimar Constitution, I am not afraid of the responsibility, I place myself at the disposal of the republic."

The Weimar Constitution, as has been practically demonstrated by social-democratic-capitalist coalitions and President Ebert in 1923, constitutionally allows for the possibility of a bourgeois dictatorship, and the political ambitions of the social-democrats are now concentrated on proving to finance capital that it can very well set up its dictatorship without attacking the Weimar Constitution and the "foundations of democracy." German social-democracy not only established this Hindenburg republic—a counterpart of that famous republic with a Grand Duke at its head—it also drew up the most ideal constitution for the "freest democracy of the world," which allows for a dictatorship. When the Weimar Constitution was being formulated, that paragraph was included in order to enable the president to take extraordinary measures to save capitalist society, at that time crumbling at the base and cracking in every limb. At that time social-democracy and the petty bourgeois democratic parties were the assistants and allies of the capitalists. Since then great changes have taken place. Capitalism and bourgeois society have been temporarily stabilised, and finance capital now rules. The democratic parties are openly managed by the capitalists, while social-democracy and the reformist trade unions have become an integral part of capitalism and the State machine. Social-democracy is no longer merely a product of capitalist development and the helper-in-need of bourgeois society, it is a part creator of the capitalist society which arose from the ruins of the world war, of its organisation and its State; social-democracy is an essential constituent of capitalist society, and whenever that society is threatened by crisis and by the revolutionary struggles of the working class, the existence of social-democracy itself is threatened. It is not surprising therefore, that as it helped to rebuild and then to stabilise that society, social-democracy will help to defend it against any danger which threatens. The present situation in Germany is, simply, this; that on one hand, neither continued stabilisation nor defence of capitalist society is possible without the assistance of the social-democrats, and on the other,

social-democracy is bound for better or worse to capitalist society. That is why the S.D.P. is helping to prepare for the political dictatorship of finance capital, both within and without the Government. For apart from the State apparatus of power, the civil services, the Reichswehr and its subsidiary organisations, finance capital has also at its disposal various powerful mass organisations, the Stahlhelm with Hindenburg at the head, the Reichsbanner, supported by the social-democratic leadership and by the Prussian and national Governments. Thus, in every respect, a synthesis of social democracy and fascism is provided for the regime, in a political form, of the dictatorship of finance capital.

The social-democratic press contends that Grzesinski's "warning" is not directed solely against the Communists, using the excuse that it also refers to the national socialist handful organised outside the Stahlhelm. But they give the game away by their present virulent anti-Communist campaign. The Berlin "Vorwaerts" writes of the "rowdy mob" and old Schöppfin, who before the war grew grey in honour, and then white-haired in treachery, calls the Communists in the "Karlsruhe Volksfreund," the "lumpenproletariat," and "the rabble." The growth of the revolutionary mass movement recently, led by the C.P., has frightened not only the bourgeoisie, but the social-democrats, too. As bloodhound of the capitalist class, one of the chief jobs of the social-democrats is to fight the Communists, and the tone of their press towards the Communists is much more vulgar than that of the bourgeois press. Everything shows that the social-democrats have received the order from the capitalists—an order which, of course, coincides with their own wishes—to give the Communists a really decisive blow this time, before their movement attains the dangerous dimensions reached after the revolution and in 1923. The press is preparing "public opinion" for the campaign.

Both bourgeoisie and social-democracy are vitally interested in the defeat of the Communist movement. They are anxious to impoverish the masses still further, and definitely to direct their foreign policy along the road of imperialism and therefore of war. Connected with this is the tendency to join the imperial-

ist front against the Soviet Union. In such a situation the leftward swing of the masses constitutes a great danger. The influence of the Party on the masses is growing, the new line has been well received by them and has already had considerable success; wage struggles are developing; reformist treachery is becoming more difficult, the masses of unorganised workers are taking up the fight and the Communists threaten the social-democratic position in the trade unions and particularly in the factories. The greatest success of the Communists is in the large factories, so vital to German capitalism. The social-democratic and trade union bureaucracy has taken up the struggle in this sphere, as is shown by mass exclusions of revolutionaries from the trade unions and other organisations. The social-democratic ministers' use of the State machine is another aspect of this struggle, of its extension and intensification. The S.D. leaders are using newer and sharper methods in their fight against the Communists; their final weapon will be a combination of bourgeois and social fascism, wherein the parties behind the mass organisation, while supplying the "personalities" will themselves unobtrusively withdraw. Social-democratic slander and virulence is, however, more than mere slander and virulence; it has political significance and hides a political plan. The S.D. leaders wish to paint the finance capital dictatorship—in reality the fight of capital and the labour aristocracy against the proletariat—as the struggle of the "real," "honest," "orderly," or organised working class against the "lumpen proletariat," i.e., against the "non-class conscious" unorganised workers. To this extent social-democratic slander is ideological preparation for the dictatorship.

In face of such facts, which are obvious to all, the attempt to deny that Grzesinski's threat is directed solely against the Communists is as deceitful as it is ridiculous. The "left" social democrats are, of course, the most zealous in the matter. The "Leipziger Volkszeitung" shows that the attitude of these heroes towards the threatening fascist dictatorship will be as disgraceful as it has been towards the prohibition of demonstrations and the heroism of the social-democratic police generally. But even the "left" German social democrats seem anxious to prove the correct-

ness of the Sixth World Congress of the C.I. in its thesis on the international situation. The same section quoted above states:

"It is necessary also to bear in mind—particularly in view of the coalition policy practised by social-democracy and the evolution of its official upper stratum—the possibility of a growth in the so-called "left wing" of social-democracy, which deceives the workers by methods more subtle and, therefore, more dangerous to the cause of the proletarian revolution."

The "lefts" in the German S.D.P. are today more active than ever before. They "criticise" all the minute ailments of their party, and under mass pressure at least partially admit some very bitter truths. Take, for example, the following from the "Klassenkampf," of March 1st:

"The contention that the presence of social-democrats in the government is a sure protection against fascism is refuted by an investigation into the political development of recent years, which shows that fascist tendencies have more chance of growing when socialists take part in the government."

And the "Plauener Volkszeitung" writes:

"However grotesque it may sound, it is today a historical fact that coalition is the way to fascism."

All such criticism and chatter, however, has but one purpose, to pacify the masses with the illusion that the opposition in the S.D.P. will prevent any really serious degeneration of reformism, and that, therefore, they—the masses—have no need to rebel against the party. The job of the "lefts" generally is to say, in revolutionary words, the same as the right, and certainly to do the same. They write on the danger of preparing for fascism by coalition, but they keep silent on the readiness of the social-democratic leaders to take part in a dictatorship using fascist methods. In the event of a dictatorship supported, or even politically directed, by the social-democrats, their job will be to restrain the masses, at any cost, from fighting seriously against that regime. We have only to remember their shameful attitude in October, 1923. And, if the worst comes, and the masses can no longer be held within the S.D.P. these

most dangerous traitors to the working class will again come forward as a "left" body, in order to prevent the masses, disillusioned in and bitter against the S.D.P. from going over to the camp of revolution of the Communist Party. That is, they will try to save social democracy at a time when the workers' cause demands its complete extinction. But whatever they may do, these "left" social-democrats will in the grave times coming be a most serious danger to the revolutionary workers' movement of Germany.

The sudden accentuation of the German situation coincides with an intensification of capitalism's fight against the Communist Parties in France (where it is expressly taken as one step in the preparation for war) and in Switzerland, where social-democrats and fascists work as colleagues in Government bodies. In Austria, however, Austro-Marxism, working alongside the bourgeoisie, the State machine and the fascists against the Communists, is making great progress. Viewed thus internationally, the present social-fascist danger in Germany and the struggle of the German section of the C.I. against that danger, is of great importance, chiefly as a sign of the accentuation of internal contradictions, of the crisis and the international strain in capitalism, as an indication of war and of great revolutionary struggles.

But the German Communist Party of to-day is not the young, inexperienced and weak Party of 1919-20, nor is it as it was in 1923, burdened with a tremendous load of opportunism. It has grown, it has shaken off its weak elements "left" or "right," it has freed itself from opportunism, and has accumulated revolutionary experience. To-day the C.P.G. is a Bolshevik mass party with a much stronger revolutionary mass basis—particularly in the factories—than it had in the years from 1920 to 1924. The revolutionary decision and promptitude of the C.C.'s answer to Grzesinski's threat, the answer of the Communist leadership to those creatures of the bourgeoisie, shows how hard is the job that the social-democratic aspirants to dictatorship have undertaken. The successes of the Party in the last few weeks prove that their promise to fight is not an empty promise. The revolutionary workers of Germany understand the new tactics formulated at the Sixth World Congress of the C.I., they are following the C.P.G. in its thorough and consistent application of those tactics; they are answering the call of the Party, and that means that every sharpening of the struggle, every new fight, will bring the Party nearer to its leadership of the masses, and nearer to victory.

The Revolt of the Liquidators in the Red Trade Unions of Czecho-Slovakia

Gustav Henrikovsky

THE REVOLT of the liquidators in the Red trade unions of Czecho-Slovakia has been defeated by the Czecho-Slovakian revolutionary proletariat, which, under the leadership of the Communist Party, has with the utmost firmness suppressed these agents of capitalism within its own ranks. To-day the liquidators already represent only a part of the chemical workers' section, a dwindling minority of the textile section and a small fraction of the pottery workers, who in an overwhelming majority have placed themselves in opposition to the liquidation group of Hais, Sikora and Nadvornik. An absolute majority of the members of the following sections follows the present leadership of the International Labour Federation: Metal Workers, Miners, Glass Workers, State employees, Railwaymen, Leather Workers, the overwhelming majority of the Building Workers, 27,000 out of the 31,000 members of the Textile Workers, and also now a large part of the Chemical Workers, who until recently supported Hais. It was with the help of the police and the whole apparatus of the capitalist State that the usurpers of the liquidation group seized the machinery of the International Labour Federation.

The crisis in the I.L.F. is part of the same crisis which the C.P. of Czecho-Slovakia is undergoing. The Red Day made the crisis evident; the elections to the local government bodies showed—notwithstanding the fact that the Party maintained its position—that the former Party line was almost entirely wrong and opportunist. This wrong opportunist line was revealed at its worst in relation to the economic struggles and to trade union politics.

The preparations for the last textile workers' strike and the wage struggles which were carried on in different branches of industry after the Sixth World Congress showed how

strong a hold the old social-democratic traditions and influences had upon the Party as well as upon the officials of the Red trade unions. The new Party leadership had to break down an incredibly broad rampart of social-democratic prejudices. Before all, the Party had to liquidate the former opportunist tactics in relation to wages policy. The Red trade unions systematically took part in negotiations until within a few months of the last Fifth Congress of the C.P. of Czecho-Slovakia, even after the Fourth Congress of the R.I.L.U. and the Sixth World Congress. In many sections of the I.L.F. the long-continued co-operation with reformist leaders in the so-called "Equal Representation Commissions" has meant in practice during recent years an abandonment of preparations for any struggle whatsoever. This has meant that in the agricultural workers section in Bohemia and Moravia no big strike movement has taken place since 1922, but the workers have become accustomed to learn yearly through the agricultural Equal Representation Commission what has been decided, without their being consulted, about their wages.

The chemical section in the most important industries—in the sugar, alcohol, cement and paper industries, etc.—has participated almost exclusively for years past in this kind of Equal Representation Commission, without any big struggle whatsoever. For example, two years ago in the paper industry the chemical section submitted to the behests of the majority of the Equal Representation Commission, which decided as a solution for the rapidly increasing hardships of the industry—to petition the government with reference to the raising of the export quota for the paper industry. The Red Wood-workers' Union has worked for years in these Equal Representation Commissions where it has

allowed itself to be out-voted by the reformist majority. The same holds good for the textile industry, and also for other sections.

At the same time, the Party had to rid itself of the idea that a struggle could not be initiated without the reformist unions, and in spite of their opposition. The majority of the leaders of the sections of the I.L.F. were of the opinion that the task of the Red unions consisted merely in exposing the fact that the reformist traitors were against the strike. In the joint Councils of Action they allowed themselves to be out-voted by the reformist agents. Many leaders of the Red unions considered also that it was only possible to initiate a strike when substantial strike funds were at the disposal of the particular section concerned before the strike took place.

It would be wrong to believe that the opportunist elements opposed the decisions of the Fourth Congress of the R.I.L.U. during the popularisation of those decisions. On the contrary, throughout the whole C.P. of Czecho-Slovakia and the Red unions, not a single comrade (from Hais to the ultra-left Neurath) raised any protest against the adoption of the new line. The resistance of all the opportunist elements only began when we undertook the practical operation of the new line in the different sections and industries, and when we demanded the liquidation of the former opportunist tactics of negotiation.

This resistance showed itself in its worst form in the textile section during the preparatory work for the textile strike in North Bohemia.

The wage-movement of the textile workers involved 150,000 workers in the districts of Czecho-Slovakia in which the agreements had expired at the end of the previous year. The Party and the Red Unions from the beginning endeavoured to include within the scope of the struggle all the districts where agreements were concerned, and thus to make clear to the textile workers the necessity of conducting the existing wage-struggle on the broadest possible basis. Thus the Party line was directed towards the uniting of the wage-struggles in the Reichenberg, East Bohemia, Brünn, Ascher and North Bohemia districts, with the simultaneous mobilisation of the workers in all these districts for the struggle.

The first practical steps in this direction immediately brought the Party up against the strong opposition of some of the leaders of the Textile Section, with Sikora at their head. During the first phase, when the liquidation group had not the courage openly to oppose the line of the Party and the R.I.L.U., they declared that it was the textile workers and not they themselves who were against the new line, and that the textile workers could not understand how the struggle could be initiated in spite of the reformists, on the basis of democratically elected strike committees and independently of the amount in the strike funds. They also opposed with the utmost determination bringing into the forefront the question of rationalisation and the special demands of the women and young workers, not as mere propaganda, but as real demands, jointly with the demand for wage increases. Thus they were against terminating the Tenter Agreement which covered questions of rationalisation, at the same time as the wage agreement. The further we carried our preparatory steps, the stronger became the resistance and sabotage of the Right elements. At the same time as the workers had at a mass meeting declared in favour of the termination of the agreements and for the carrying on of the struggle, even against the will of the reformists, part of our Communist trade union department was agitating against the termination of the Tenter Agreement and against the struggle. The opportunist elements found active support in this part of our industrial department, which was recruited from among the most highly skilled workers. We have on many occasions witnessed the sad spectacle of members of our industrial department opposing Party speakers at meetings of the workers.

Further, on November 17th, at a time when the Party had already accomplished much preparatory work, Sikora, the secretary of the textile section in Sillein, in Slovakia, concluded an agreement with the employers on the basis of a sectional increase behind the backs of the section leadership at the Party centre and of the Sillein workers involved. This occurred at a time when the Party was carrying on a strenuous campaign against the reformist leaders on this question, and was exposing to the workers that the acceptance of

a sectional increase was a shameful betrayal. That was a direct stab in the back for the textile workers, which was terribly compromising for the Communist Party. Sikora's betrayal was naturally used to the utmost by the reformists in their fight against the preparatory work being carried on by the Communist Party and the Red trade unions.

In this situation, the Party leadership considered it impossible to initiate a fight in every district. Immediate preparations for a strike were therefore concentrated chiefly in the North Bohemian district. The meetings which had been held during January in the North and East Bohemia districts revealed an ever-increasing demand on the part of the workers for the struggle. In Brünn, two enterprises spontaneously declared a strike, and the same thing occurred in Königshof and in Königgrätz. All these strikes were in connection with the question of rationalisation. On the eve of the North Bohemian strike, 700 workers in a concern in Úpice came out. Most of these strikes were suppressed by the secretary of the textile section, and in Úpice also they succeeded in throttling the strike. Three conferences of representatives of the concerns were called in North Bohemia and these declared in favour of the strike and the immediate taking up of the struggle.

On the first day of the North Bohemian struggle, the liquidation elements among the textile leaders publicly resigned their positions in the section and openly placed themselves in opposition to the strike. For example, the secretary of the textile section carried a resolution against making the strike a political struggle, in the Industrial Council in Běla during his stay there, being unsuccessful in getting through a resolution against the strike as a whole.

At the outbreak of the textile strike the increasing demand on the part of the workers in North Bohemia were confronted with a united front of the capitalist State, the employers, the reformist trade union bureaucracy and the reformist agents in our own ranks—namely, the liquidators.

The North Bohemian strike involved the following districts: Grottan, 1,600 workers out of 2,800 employed in 11 concerns, of which eight concerns were completely, and three

partly on strike; one concern took no part; Kratzan, 1,400 workers out of 3,100 struck in six concerns; Friedland, 1,900 workers in five concerns struck out of a total of 2,900 in six concerns, and the 900 workers in the remaining concern were preparing for the strike; Heinzdorf, 370 workers struck out of 2,300, and on the day of the outbreak the 1,000 odd workers employed in two other concerns decided to begin a strike; Reichenberg, the following took part in the strike: Kraus Hoffmann's, with 450 workers; Töltscher and Löwy's, with 160; the Mantner Textile Works at Grünwald, with 670 workers; Zimmermann's, of Habendorf, with 230; Preisder and Brandel's, with 210; Wagner's, with 160; only partial strikes occurred in the largest enterprises—C. Neumann's and I. Ginzkey's at Maffersdorf. Altogether, the number of workers involved in the strike on the day when the struggle broke out was 8,000 in the North Bohemian district, without Warnsdorf and Rumburg, which did not participate in the strike.

In this strike, for the first time in Czecho-Slovakia, a democratically elected strike leadership was created in all the enterprises and districts on strike, instead of the former strike committees which were composed of representatives of the bureaucracy of all the trade union organisations. The strike was carried on under the leadership of the Communist Party, in spite of the angry agitation of the whole bourgeois social-democratic press, in spite of the open organisation of strike-breakers by the reformist trade unions, and in spite of their efforts by means of corruption to induce the strikers to return to work. This strike showed the Czecho-Slovakian working class for the first time in actual practice, wherein lies the difference between reformist policy and revolutionary policy in the trade unions; it has convinced them that the Party really can and will fight.

But this strike has clearly exposed how deeply the social-democratic infection has penetrated among a section of our leading ranks, in the Party as well as in the unions. It is an unfortunate fact that the strike was very badly conducted in some of the concerns which had Communist works committees. In a number of concerns which had unitedly en-

tered upon the strike, not only the social-democratic but also some of the Communist works committee members openly opposed the strike and carried on strike-breaking activities. But the great mass of the Party membership was in favour of the strike, and the unorganised and unskilled workers threw themselves whole-heartedly into the struggle under its leadership.

The strike has also shown that the Communist Party, in spite of the great strides made towards the fundamental revision of its former wrong and opportunist policy, nevertheless still commits serious mistakes in the application of the new line. The Party did not, at the outset of the struggle, in its development of the wage movement, lay sufficient stress on the question of rationalisation. As a consequence, those demands which were directed against rationalisation were not sufficiently stressed, at the outset of the movement, as compared with the demands for a general wage increase and for the equalisation of wage rates (as between adult male workers and women and young workers). They were only used for agitational purposes, and therefore the real mobilisation for struggle was insufficient precisely among those classes of workers which were most severely exploited by rationalisation. No doubt the fact which we have already mentioned, that the leading ranks of the Party and the trade unions were based on the skilled classes of the textile proletariat and had insufficient contact with the main, unskilled mass of workers, had something to do with this. The second mistake occurred in the first phase of the preparations, when the Party, although right from the beginning of the struggle it had avoided the incorrect slogan of "Make the Leaders Fight" and had engaged in propaganda for a strong line against the social-democrats, nevertheless supported the agitation of the overwhelming majority of the officials who followed this slogan. In the North Bohemian district the leading trade union officials issued the slogan, "Compel the leaders to terminate the agreements." It is true that this was quickly abandoned, but this wrong conception of the reformist leaders enabled them more easily to stage their manoeuvres and to unite with the employers over the sectional increase. This wrong conception led also to the further fact that in the Reichenberg dis-

trict the Tenter Agreement was terminated only very late. Again, it was a mistake that the demonstrative character of the strike was insufficiently expressed. The putting forward of the demand for a general strike in the North Bohemian textile industry did not correspond to the stage of development of the struggle reached at that time. The insufficient experience of the Party in the carrying on of economic struggles on the basis of the new line also contributed to the fact that an error was committed in the ending of the struggle. This error becomes more obvious when we consider that, after the calling off of the fight, nearly 2,000 workers remained on strike for a further period of two or three weeks.

But in spite of these mistakes the North Bohemian strike provided the first proof of the actual putting into practice of the new revolutionary line of the Party and the trade unions in the field of economic struggle. It was therefore a step forward in the development of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia.

Even after the beginning of the actual fight the liquidation elements in the textile section, as well as in the chemical section, did their utmost to sabotage the struggle and to slander it after it had closed. In common with the social-democratic and bourgeois press they openly characterised it as a "putsch," which had "irresponsibly driven thousands of workers into striking." In order to justify their sabotage and treachery they explained that no strike situation existed, and that the North Bohemian struggle was a severe defeat, a second "Red Day." The Congress of the Czecho-Slovakian Communist Party, which took place immediately after the North Bohemian struggle, gave a definite answer to this. The Congress declared that while the "Red Day" exposed the error of the Party line and the isolation of the Party from the masses, and exposed the serious crisis in the C.P., the North Bohemian strike had proved the correctness of the Party line, and had demonstrated the growing connection between the Party and the masses. The North Bohemian struggle is an incentive to further fights, and, above all, to the wider development of the textile workers' struggle. The new Party leadership has shown in this

struggle its determination to carry out the line of the Fourth Congress of the R.I.L.U. and the Sixth World Congress in the face of all obstacles, even if some errors may be made in the other practical carrying out of this line. The history of the strike itself unanswerably rebuts the cry of the liquidators that no strike situation existed in North Bohemia.

The attitude which the North Bohemian textile workers adopted towards the campaign of slander of the social-democrats and liquidators is shown by the second general secretary of the textile section, comrade Franz Mai: "The strike did not produce any special organisational damage; with the exception of five concerns, it was possible everywhere to rebuild our apparatus after the end of the strike, in spite of the fact that officials remained outside. We had to rid the organisation of strike-breaking elements. Out of a number of cases, we can instance Jute's at Weigdorf, where 900 out of 1,000 workers came out, of whom only 350 were organised, and where after the strike about 300 of the unorganised workers were won for the organisation. At the Eisenschimmel Company there were 34 unorganised workers at the outbreak of the strike, of whom 26 have joined up. At Simon's in Heindorf 41 have joined out of 60; in the Reichenberg district members were lost in only one concern, while during the struggle we had to accept new entrants, even in concerns which were not participating in the strike, as well as members transferring from the reformist organisation. Similarly there is no fall in membership to announce in the Krazau and Grottau districts; the comrades there have also reported gains; but I cannot yet give the figures for this district. We have also to report an increase of membership, due to the strike, in the Niederland district (Warnsdorf and Rumburg), where no strike took place."

The campaign of slander was carried on by the liquidators with the object, above all, of ending the textile workers' struggle, of capitulating to the employers, and of subscribing to the treacherous social-democratic agreement over the sectional increase. And on the very day after the North Bohemian struggle these agents of the reformists completed their work.

While 2,000 North Bohemian workers were actually engaged in the struggle, Sikora stabbed them in the back for the second time and signed the agreement along with the reformists.

When the Party took up the fight with the utmost energy against this new betrayal, when the broadest masses of the textile workers had revolted against it, and when the liquidators were being driven more and more into a corner, they came out in open rebellion. Sikora issued a leaflet against the majority of the textile section, against the leadership of the I.L.F. and against the Communist Party, in which he declared that the North Bohemian strike was a misfortune because it had interrupted the growing approach towards unity between the Red textile organisation and the reformist trade union.

The Brünn Conference of Textile Workers, which took place three days after the ending of the strike, showed Sikora that his position was growing weaker and weaker, and that he was becoming more and more isolated in the textile section.

For this reason the liquidation elements in the textile section at once linked up with those of the chemical section in order to carry through the splitting of the I.L.F. as quickly as possible. Not only Sikora but also the followers of Hais, Nadvornik and Halik saw that the next Congress of the I.L.F., as well as the separate Sectional Congresses of the C.P. of Czecho-Slovakia, were producing an overwhelming majority, and that they would represent only a dwindling minority at these Congresses. The result of the Party Congress showed them also that any speculations based on the breaking up of the Communist Party, which was proclaimed by the whole bourgeois press, were hopeless. The Fifth Congress of the Communist Party of Czecho-Slovakia demonstrated the united adoption by the Party of the Comintern line. It was a manifestation of the unity and determination with which the Party, after heavy setbacks, was pursuing the whole process of regeneration.

Ever since October the liquidators in the I.L.F. had been making preparations for a split. But in November they had accepted a temporary compromise which had postponed

the split for a short time. None the less they prepared with all their strength for a definite break-away from the C.P. and from the Red unions. As the liquidationist secretary of the textile workers, Pocta, had alone declared, at a meeting of workers in Königgratz, the disruptionist activity of the liquidators was financed by the Trotskyist Kowanda-Ecer liquidation group in Brünn, which had been excluded from the Party three years ago. Immediately after the close of the textile workers' struggle in North Bohemia, Sikora sent a circular to the textile organisations in which he asked the membership to subscribe to the Brünn organ of the liquidators and to enter into "brotherly" relations with this group. To-day it is a well-known fact that on 10th of March, the very day on which Hais's followers carried out their revolt in the I.L.F., a conference took place in Prague of the excluded renegades, who reserved eleven seats for Hais's followers on the new executive.

It is known from the daily papers how the revolt was realised. But one thing must be stressed here. Although the loyal elements on the executive of the I.L.F. had an absolute majority, neither the leadership as a whole nor yet the Party leaders took advantage of all measures to deprive the renegade Hais of the constitutional rights which he still possessed after his removal from the leadership of the I.L.F. This was an error which made it possible for the renegade to capture the machinery of the I.L.F.

It is owing to great educational work of the Party which was carried on prior to Congress during the first practical application of the new Party line, that the revolutionary working class completely avoided the danger caused by the liquidators. An activity never before existent in the Party has been brought to light among the membership. A powerful wave of resistance overwhelmed the revolt of the renegades. Throughout the whole republic there took place great mass meetings which demonstrated their complete solidarity with the whole leadership and with the new C.C. of the C.P. of Czecho-Slovakia. As reported in the "Rude Pravo" of the 20th of the month, the great majority of organisations in the chemical section, formerly the stronghold of the liquidators, placed them-

selves in opposition to the renegades. It can be seen that, during the course of the Congress campaign Hais's followers became isolated even in this section.

On the very first day of their offensive the liquidators openly revealed their character. They chose as their organ of publication the fascist Masaryk paper, "Lidorve Noviny." On the 15th of the month the Hais group declared in a communication to this paper: "The trade unionists who have seized the I.L.F. are also striving for the complete separation of the trade union movement from the Polbureau of the C.P. of Czecho-Slovakia, and wish to place the whole Communist trade union movement on a more real foundation, so that it may not be led yet further astray by the irresponsible politicians of the C.P.

"The Executive of the I.L.F. declares that even to-day in the ranks of the Communists there are hundreds of disappointed workers who curse the political leadership of the Party because they have allowed themselves to be misled into various strikes and demonstrations. The new leadership declares its task to be to get rid of all this michievous activity." The leading slogans of the liquidation group are as follows: "Away from the Communist Party"; "Long Live the Independent Unions"; "Down with Politics in the Economic Struggle." Hais declared to the workers, after the revolt, that the situation was such that the unions must have at least two years' rest from strikes. The renegades state in their manifesto: "It is necessary that the policy and tactics of our organisation should be based on existing possibilities and on the actual circumstances, that we should come down from super-terrestrial heights to the bedrock of actual facts, in accordance with the fundamentals of strategy and tactics as taught by Lenin, above all in times of reaction, for the working class must reckon up the existing possibilities and its own resources as well as those of the enemy." The meaning of this renegade twaddle is clear—the complete liquidation of the class struggle. But it is worth noting that these renegades, like all the other deserters from the Party, claim to be the true "Leninists."

The liquidators' attack clearly revealed the true features of all opporunist elements in the

Communist Party of Czecho-Slovakia. Comrade Bolen, of the Yilek Group, who was the leader of the agricultural workers' section, came out in opposition to the Communist Party at this critical time and declared his neutrality in the struggle against the liquidators. He did not fight against the renegades by so much as a single word, but began a struggle against the new Party centre, and, two weeks after Party congress demanded the calling of a new congress. In his declaration he strongly opposed Hais and his followers being termed liquidators and renegades, and the calling of the congress of the I.L.F. over the heads of Hais and Sikora. The "Rude Pravo" of the 22nd of the month reports that an overwhelming majority of the organisations in the agricultural workers' section objected strongly to the support given to the liquidators by Bolen.

The renegades are travelling over to the reformist camp. The close connection between the Hais group and the police is merely the outward sign of the united front of the liquidators with the capitalist State, the employers and the reformists. The sharper the confrontation of classes becomes in Czecho-Slovakia, the more clearly will the renegades reveal their true character.

The intensification of the whole capitalist crisis in Czecho-Slovakia, the terrific sharpening of the class war in town and country, the great development of rationalisation and the disillusionment of the masses are driving the Czecho-Slovakian capitalists ever further from the bourgeois-democratic over to the fascist method of government. This transition has

brought with it also new methods in the handling by the capitalists of the economic struggles of the working class. The last textile strike was remarkable for the drastic interference on the part of the State, which broke up meetings of workers without provocation, dissolved strike committees and resorted to great activity in order to protect strike-breakers. The reformist agents of the bourgeoisie, during the last strike, while propagating ideas of economic struggle, resorted to such open forms of strike-breaking as can but seldom be found in recent years in the annals of the Czecho-Slovakian class struggle. Whereas formerly the reformists in carrying on their strike-breaking tactics always took the trouble to disguise these by abuse of the employers, in the last textile strike they threw off all disguises. The tactics of the liquidation group did not differ by the least shade from those of the reformists.

Heavy tasks at present confront the C.P. of Czecho-Slovakia. The Party stands firmly against the liquidators under the leadership of the new Central Committee. The main tasks of the Centre now, are to achieve the ideological and organisational consolidation of the Party, to complete the isolation of the liquidation group, to bring about the mobilisation of the widest possible proletarian united front from below in the coming big political and economic struggles, and to initiate a new revolutionary period in the history of the Czecho-Slovakian proletariat. We are certain that the C.P. of Czecho-Slovakia will justify the hopes of the C.I., expressed in the second Open Letter to the Fifth Party Congress.

After the Fifth Party Congress of the C.P. of Czecho-Slovakia

THE Fifth Party Congress of the Czecho-Slovakian Party, held from February 17 to 24 of this year, met after serious defeats. Its task was to overcome the crisis within the Party and to lay the foundation for future Party work, to open up a new period in its development.

The crisis within the Czech Party is one of the most severe in the recent history of any Party in the Comintern. "Red Day" indicated the great passivity of the Party, its failure to keep up with events, its inability, due to the passivity and opportunist political direction of the Party, to win over the masses and place itself at their head.

The Open Letter of the Comintern sent to the Party after the Sixth World Congress, pointing out the way in which this crisis could be overcome, led to a discussion which was at first concentrated mainly on an examination of the causes leading to the defeat of the "Red Day," but afterwards included all phases of Party policy and laid the basis for its organisational and ideological improvement. The great defect of this discussion was that it did not penetrate the mass of the Party membership sufficiently. Nevertheless, the Party Centre, the great majority of which after the Sixth World Congress accepted the policy of the Open Letter, and in which the left opposition obtained the leadership, succeeded in taking the first practical steps to apply the decisions of the Fourth R.I.L.U. Congress and the Sixth C.I. Congress. The Party Congress was, therefore, able to draw lessons both from its defeats and from the experiences of its first application of the new Party line to practical politics.

The Party Congress had to revise thoroughly the previous policy of the Czech C.P. It had to make a complete break with these social-democratic ideas which were expressed so glaringly in the decisions of the First Party Congress in 1923. The Fifth C.I. Congress and the Second Czech Party Congress,

effected great ideological changes in the Party and rejected the policy of the First Congress, although the ideas of the First Congress were only insufficiently refuted. This explains why social-democratic traditions became so prominent on the breakdown of Red Day. This explains why, on most important questions, the policy of the Party so obviously contradicted the decisions and policy of the International.

THE PARTY AND THE TRADE UNIONS

The article on the "Liquidators in the Red Trade Unions of Czecho-Slovakia," dealt exhaustively with the opportunism of Party policy in industrial disputes and in the trade unions. This opportunism was equally evident in the Party policy with regard to the peasants, the national question, the co-operatives, and, above all, in an incorrect appreciation of the role of the Czech State and the third post-war period in Czecho-Slovakia.

The Fifth Party Congress had to make the position on all these important problems quite clear. The First Congress had defined the role of the Czecho-Slovakian State as follows (Resolution on the Versailles Treaty) :

"The advance of the French Army into the Ruhr, the economic separation of the Rhineland and the Ruhr district from Germany and the consequent practical annexation of these areas by France mean . . . in their effects, the annulment of the Versailles Peace Treaty . . . But the greatest dangers, economic and political, for small nations and particularly for Czecho-Slovakia, lie in the offensive of French capitalism, insatiably greedy for power. It has always been the fate of the small European nation to be a pawn in the game of the great imperialist Powers. The object of the Versailles Peace Treaty in this respect is so to organise the small nations that they shall become colonial spheres for the imperialist

robbers. . . . The destiny of the Czecho-Slovakian nation was bound for life and death to that of French imperialism, and any change in the relative positions of the European Powers places the very existence of the nation at stake again."

In its essence, the first Congress declared that Czecho-Slovakia is a colony of West European imperialism (in this case of France) that France is a danger to the "Czecho-Slovakian nation" because it ignores the Versailles Treaty, and finally that any change in the European balance of power places the existence of the Czecho-Slovakian nation at stake. This false appreciation of the role of the Czecho-Slovakian State, this confusion with regard to its subordinate position to the European Powers and its so-called colonial dependence, this complete misunderstanding of the inner class relations of the State, has left a strong impress on the practical work of the Czecho-Slovakian C.P., and explains why the imperialist war danger, the fight against the capitalist war threatening the Soviet Union, against the arming of the Czech State and against its active participation in the anti-Soviet front has been so greatly misunderstood by the Party. The Czecho-Slovakian Communists necessarily underestimated the imperialist character of the Czech State and its preparations for war against the Soviet Union when they maintained that the greatest enemy of the Czech bourgeoisie was French imperialism and that Czecho-Slovakia was a colony.

The same idea was repeated at the Fourth Congress in 1927. In the political resolution the Congress declared:

"The greater the accentuation of the international imperialist crisis, the greater the Great Powers' feeling of danger in face of the rebellions of the colonial and semi-colonial peoples, and the sharper the competitive struggle among the imperialist States for the continually decreasing spheres of exploitation, the greater is the danger threatening the economy and the very existence of the small States. They become the battleground of the Great Powers. They are but single pawns in the game of imperialism and trust capital. In particular the small States of central, east and south Europe are threatened by British imperialism."

As we can see, the Fourth Congress repeated the mistakes of the First Congress on the question of the Czecho-Slovakian State, but with this difference, that England has taken the place of France as the greatest enemy of the Czech State. As for future prospects, the Fourth Congress declared that the policy of the bourgeoisie would be directed towards slowing down industry and "as far as possible depriving the State of its industrial character." But in order to explain the war preparations of the Czech bourgeoisie against the Soviet Union, the political resolution of the same congress stated that the aggressiveness of the Czecho-Slovakian State towards the Soviet Republics was not a result of the development and interests of Czech capitalism, but only the result of the incorrect foreign policy of the bourgeoisie who

"have bound up the fate of Czecho-Slovakia with western imperialism, now in a state of decay and concerned only with its own salvation, and recently with England particularly."

INDUSTRY AND STABILISATION

This incorrect idea is closely associated with the false estimation of the development of capitalist stabilisation in Czecho-Slovakia and with opportunist conceptions of imperialism. The Congress statement that capitalist efforts will be directed towards "depriving the State of its industrial character," was based on the fact that at that time the capitalists in Slovakia and the Carpathian Ukraine were closing down many factories. But the authors of the resolution failed to take into consideration the most important fact that these concerns were re-established in other parts of Czecho-Slovakia, and in Hungary and other countries. They also overlooked the fact that this closing-down was one of the stabilisation measures adopted by the bourgeoisie who were anxious, apart from ousting the Magyar capitalists from their predominant industrial position in Slovakia, to establish the greatest possible concentration of industry in order that the machinery of production could be more profitably utilised.

It is of interest that the summing up of the situation in the Fourth Congress resolution to a certain extent contradicts the report made at

that time on the same subject, by comrade Hacken, who said:

"Czecho-Slovakian industry, even taking into account the decline in internal consumption, is increasingly directed to export. Taking the situation as a whole, the following contradictions are apparent . . . relative industrial over-production, fall in home consumption, rationalisation, the formation of cartels, trustification as the capitalist reply to the crisis, and the fall in prices (e.g., the European steel trust), great accumulation of capital in the banks, and the impossibility of procuring cheap credits."

The Czecho-Slovakian State therefore is characterised, not by the capitalists' renunciation of industrial expansion, but by their increasing anxiety to win new markets.

The resolution of the Mährisch-Ostrau District Committee, who supported the Yilek-Bolen group platform, repeats the same error of the colonial character of the Czecho-Slovakian State. These opportunist ideas on the capitalist State and its imperialist role, being insufficiently refuted, have resulted in pacifist and, to some extent, nationalist ideas being held in the Party, which became very obvious during the Party discussion on the Mährisch-Ostrau resolution. The incorrectness of the ideas contained in that resolution is closely connected with an equally incorrect understanding on the part of that group of the "third period" in Czecho-Slovakia. The Mährisch resolution and the first resolutions from Iglau and Prague maintained that "reconstruction is accompanied by very favourable economic and marketing conditions," and that, further, the third period means "the strengthening of capitalism, which is, however, not more stabilised than in the second period." Comrade Yilek spoke in the same strain at the Fifth Party Congress. In his article written two or three weeks before the Congress, he said:

"If the capitalist crisis were really to grow more acute, one would not be able to speak of the increasing depression of capitalism, for this depression is conditioned, on the one hand by the strengthening of capitalism, and on the other by the growth in its contradictions."

In this somewhat confused statement, com-

rade Yilek sticks closely to his earlier conception of the third period in Czecho-Slovakia. The same idea is expressed in the Yilek group's well known theory on the passivity of the masses. A mistake made in the early stages of Party discussion was that the struggle against this theory was not sufficiently connected with the struggle against the incorrect analysis of the general situation. The Fifth Congress utterly rejected the theory, and in doing so referred to the fact that in Czecho-Slovakia, as well as internationally, stabilisation is at present rather insecure, unstable, and fundamentally unsound, and that the future development of the capitalist crisis will give rise to greater and more bitter disputes. The Congress pointed out that both the internal and external contradictions are being accentuated, that class contradictions are coming to a head, that, as it were, a process of polarisation is taking place, rallying to the one side the bourgeoisie of all the nationalities in Czecho-Slovakia, under the leadership of Czech finance capital, and to the other all the forces of the working masses under the leadership of the C.P. Spontaneous strikes in various industries and the great discontent in agricultural areas prove that the masses are becoming more radical. That this radicalisation process was not expressed in any great mass movement was due not to the passivity of the masses, but to the passivity of the Communist Party of Czecho-Slovakia.

MISTAKES IN LAND POLICY

A further consequence of the incorrect appreciation of the Czecho-Slovakian situation was the opportunist agricultural policy of the Party, which went so far that the same phenomena could be observed among the peasants as were referred to in the articles on the "Liquidators" about the town workers. In many cases the Communist policy in the villages did not differ greatly from that of the Agrarian Party. The previous Party centre ignored the process of differentiation going on in all parts of Czecho-Slovakia, and consequently the Party slogans expressed the Party attitude to the "whole countryside," overlooking the growing class struggle in the villages. The Fifth Party Congress rejected the incorrect slogans of "a just land reform"

and "compulsory leasing of all manorial and ecclesiastical lands to the peasants."

The Party demanded that the State agricultural council should institute elections for peasant committees on a general franchise, and that these committees, in collaboration with the large landowners and the State, should deal with the distribution of land and the height of rents. The Committees were to represent the whole of the village, that is, including the rich peasants, as against the State and the large landowners. In practice that would have meant that the mass of poor peasants would come under the political leadership of the rich peasants, and the committees would be a means of reconciliation with the capitalist State, and not an instrument whereby to revolutionise the peasant masses and to organise agricultural labourers and poor and middle peasants against the large landowners and the rich peasants. Both slogans, in practice, contradict the Communist slogan of expropriation of the large landowners without compensation. The former Party centre also put forward this demand in connection with the government's plan to nationalise forests:

"Expropriation without compensation of the forests of the large landowners and their transference to the State, county and parish in such a way as will ensure free access to the community and cheap wood and fuel for the poorer sections of the population."

This slogan was defended up to and during the congress by comrade Bolen. It is purely opportunist. The government brought in a bill for the nationalisation of forests, which are situated mostly in the border provinces, first from strategical interests, and secondly in accordance with its imperialist efforts to increase Czech strength in those areas. In such circumstances the Party should have exposed the imperialist basis of such nationalisation and should have demanded the transference of forests to the peasantry.

The same attitude was apparent in the former Executive's policy on fiscal questions. Comrade Bolen, in the program which he submitted to the centre before the Congress, suggested that the Party should demand the abolition of all direct and indirect taxes and their replacement by a single progressive in-

come tax. In such a form the slogan is unacceptable. It can be interpreted in an opportunist sense as an effort to find means whereby to establish the finances of the capitalist State on a sound basis, (efforts being made by the social-democrats). The Party should issue an unequivocal slogan for the complete freedom of the workers and poor peasants from any taxation.

It is no wonder that after the last local elections campaign various Party organisations began an agitation in favour of the peasant masses demanding the fulfilment of election promises from the Agrarian Party. The adoption of this peculiar cry of "Keep them to their word," was due to the fact that the comrades accepted the Agrarians' slogans as generally correct, that the difference they saw between the Communist and the Agrarian Parties consisted in this, that the Communists really want to put them into practice, while the others had neither the desire nor the intention of doing so.

The dangerous character of all these slogans is particularly clear in the present period of an intensified Fascist offensive in Czecho-Slovakia. The Party Congress emphasised this fact and declared that our job is not to send the peasants to the Agrarians with a demand for the fulfilment of election promises, but to expose the fascist character of their slogans, which must be met by revolutionary Communist slogans, expropriation of all manorial and ecclesiastical lands without compensation. The lying slogans of "community of interests," of "the solidarity of the whole village, including the large landowners and rich peasants," must be answered by the Communists with the call for a struggle of agricultural labourers, poor and middle peasants in alliance with the proletariat, against the capitalists, the large landowners and the rich peasants. Although the Congress thoroughly revised the opportunist agricultural policy of the Party, it failed to lay down with sufficient practical clarity our future work in this sphere. This work must be carried out by the new executive as soon as possible.

The Party's policy on the national question also showed that it had under-estimated the intensification of class contradictions, the

process of polarisation. In Slovakia, as in the Carpathian Ukraine, the comrades did not pay sufficient attention in their practical work to the differentiation proceeding in the country.

CLASS AGAINST CLASS

Based on capitalist stabilisation, the economic and political consolidation of the capitalists, large landowners and rich peasants of all nationalities, is proceeding apace. On one side are grouped, led by the Czech capitalists, the possessing classes of all nationalities, together with the wealthier peasants and the urban middle classes, and on the other the working masses of town and country, undergoing a process of radicalisation, led by the Communist Party. The consolidation referred to is particularly evident in the bourgeois camp in the strengthening of "activist tendencies" among the capitalists and the upper middle classes of the subject peoples, in their participation in the Government under the leadership of the Czech bourgeoisie.

The Party had not clearly grasped this, and consequently Party organisations in the "nationality" areas put forward slogans which directly contradict the Leninist policy on national questions. For example, in December, 1928, the Party in the Carpathian Ukraine adopted the slogans of "Carrying out the St. Germain Treaty" and "territorial autonomy." These same slogans were adopted during the local elections by all the petty bourgeois Ukrainian parties. The fact that it was possible for the Party to adopt such slogans after the Sixth World Congress is explained not only by its failure to understand the intensification of class contradictions, but to a greater extent by the fact that the attitude on this question maintained at the First Congress was not thoroughly rejected by the 1925 Congress.

The First Congress resolutions, particularly on the national question, were merely repetitions of the old social-democratic programme. Their basis was the so-called uniformity of "a Czecho-Slovakian nation," the fight against the irredentist national movement, and the demand for the utmost centralisation of the Czecho-Slovakian States with the exception of the Carpathian Ukraine, for whom the Congress demanded territorial autonomy. For

example the First Congress, referring to Slovakia, declared:

"The policy of the present rulers of the Republic towards Slovakia and the national minorities is also dangerous from the point of view of foreign policy. . . . A policy of suppressing the minorities is . . . likely to arouse and stimulate irredentist tendencies. Particularly dangerous, from the point of view of foreign policy, is the regime of the Czech rulers in Slovakia, where it loosens and weakens the associations uniting the Czech and Slovakian peoples, and promotes efforts at secession which, in critical situations might spread over the whole Czecho-Slovakian nation, particularly as Hungary, that centre of European counter-revolution, must be considered in this connection as a neighbouring State."

The resolution previously referred to on the Versailles Treaty also expresses the same idea:

". . . to win the workers of the national minorities by rejecting any policy of national oppression and by drawing them into the work of rebuilding the State, by forming a revolutionary alliance of all workers in all nations of the republic. . . .

". . . the exertion of all revolutionary forces of the working masses in Czecho-Slovakia and arousing the revolutionary spirit of the Czecho-Slovakian nation with the slogans of the political and socialist republic, put forward in the national revolution."

The main idea in these demands was to win the workers of the national minorities into working for the reconstruction of the State. This incorrect theory of "national community of interests" which was not thoroughly exposed, was responsible for the slogan put forward as recently as August, 1928, by the Party on the occasion of the Tenth Anniversary of the foundation of the Czecho-Slovakian Republic, the slogan that "the independence of the Czecho-Slovakian nation is threatened by the capitalist participation in imperialist policy."

The real importance of the Fifth Party Congress was its final and complete break with these social-democratic ideas. The Congress declared that the "autonomy" slogan will remain the most important method of treachery

in the hands of the Slovakian, German and Ukrainian bourgeoisie within the Republic. The greater the consolidation among the capitalists of all nationalities, the more rapid the process of radicalisation among the workers, the more complicated is the treachery, the more deceitful the slogans put forward by the bourgeois and petty bourgeois parties. The Congress emphasised particularly that the slogan of autonomy means propaganda in favour of the unity of the Czecho-Slovakian, the capitalist State, and the denial of the revolutionary principle of self-determination of peoples even to the point of secession. The autonomy slogan opposes the interests of all nationalities in Czecho-Slovakia. The subject peoples' revolutionary struggle for emancipation is one part of the workers' revolutionary struggle for the destruction of the capitalist State, and the dictatorship of the proletariat. As in the villages, so in the struggle for national emancipation, there are two hostile camps; in one, the capitalists, the landowners and rich peasants; in the other, the workers, the agricultural labourers, the poorer peasants.

THE FASCIST OFFENSIVE

Correct understanding of the third post-war period and the relation of classes in Czecho-Slovakia enabled the Party to form a true estimate of the dangers threatening the Czecho-Slovakian workers from the united front of the capitalists of all nationalities in Czecho-Slovakia, who are fully aware of the growth of internal and external contradictions, of the accentuation of the class struggle and the general crisis in Czecho-Slovakian capitalism. They are, therefore, intensifying the exploitation of the worker in town and country; they are, therefore, intensifying the fascist offensive against the working people. The fascist offensive, the rallying of fascist forces in Czecho-Slovakia—these were facts which the Congress had to consider most seriously in its formulation of Party policy. The State machine is being used in a fascist manner to an increasing extent. The capitalist attack on the political rights of the workers and peasants is growing from day to day, as is also the persecution of the Communist Party. The capitalists are mobilising large

numbers of the petty bourgeoisie into their military-fascist organisations; they are rallying their forces for a decisive blow against the workers, for the imperialist war on the Soviet Union. As class contradictions develop, as the war on the Soviet Union approaches nearer, so the possibility of a fascist coup d'etat grows more likely.

The Party Congress decisively rejected the opportunist idea that such a coup d'etat would mean the attack of the "right wing" of the bourgeoisie, the agrarians, on the "left wing" represented by Masaryk. The Congress also referred to the development in the process of the consolidation of the Czecho-Slovakian bourgeoisie, and to the growing domination of the entire national economy by finance capital. Finance capital, which directs the agrarian party, is coming more and more to support Masaryk, leaving it to him to organise and direct the fascist offensive and prepare for the fascist coup d'etat, which cannot, therefore be considered as expressing a process of differentiation within the bourgeoisie, but rather as an indication of their consolidation.

OPPORTUNISM IN THE PARTY

The logical result of these wrong ideas on almost all important questions, was the opportunist policy of the Party towards the social-democrats. This was most apparent in industrial struggles and local government matters. Before the Congress, there existed in most local government bodies so-called "socialist blocs," in which the Communists were in the position of reformist appendages. The Congress put an end to this fatal policy, and to the incorrect opinion, which was widely held in the Party, that reformists should be voted for in local governing bodies so long as they are workers.

Opportunist ideas as to the role of social-democracy, represented chiefly by comrade Neurath's group, were decisively rejected by the Congress, and, arising from this, the Congress demonstrated the falsity of the opinion that Trotskyism represents a left tendency in the Communist movement.

The Party decided its tactics on the basis of the Fourth R.I.L.U. and Sixth C.I. Congresses and drew up a detailed programme of action.

The Fifth Congress was a great step forward in the development of the Czecho-Slovakian Party. The members demonstrated their unanimous desire to overcome social-democratic ideas and traditions, and to carry out the Comintern policy. The new executive elected at the Congress is composed of the most progressive working class elements in the Party.

THE TASK BEFORE THE PARTY

The new executive, consisting mainly of fresh and young elements, took over the leadership of the Party in very difficult circumstances. During the Party discussion before the Congress, and at the Congress itself, the opportunist groups in the Party, the rights and the Trotskyists, who had formerly played a leading part in the Central Executive, were utterly defeated. But when one considers that discussion was not sufficiently widespread and deep among the membership, it is obvious that the consolidation of the Party, both in ideas and organisation, is the chief task awaiting the new leadership in the immediate future.

The extreme right elements in the Party, as was shown in the article on "Liquidators in the Red Trade Unions," have been stirring up rebellion against the Party and the new leadership in the red trade unions. The struggle against these liquidators has recently brought to light a new fact. That the two opportunist groups in the Party—led by Yilek and Neurath, which were completely isolated during the Party discussion, placed themselves at the head of this rebellion. This

action on their part confirms the Congress' condemnation of them as opportunist.

The Czecho-Slovakian Party is faced with great difficulties. The process of clarification encounters many obstacles from the officials (e.g., the adherence of a large number of members of Parliament to the liquidators' group). The quicker the Party carries out this process of Bolshevisation, the better for the development of the revolutionary movement in Czecho-Slovakia, the greater the chance of the Party standing firm in the case of an imperialist war.

The Party is being regenerated. Besides getting rid of its old social-democratic traditions, the Party must reform its organisation on the basis of factory groups, and change the officials in the Party as in the red trade unions—these tasks are of first class importance, and must be accomplished as quickly as possible. The new Central Committee will only be able to do this by drawing the whole Party membership into the work, by activating them, by consolidating their ideas and organisation.

In opposition to the Party there is the united bloc of all opportunist elements, from Hais and company, the liquidators, to Yilek, Bolen and Neurath, and the extremist Muna.

The unexampled activity and unanimity of the Party and the Red Trade Unions in their struggle against the splitting tactics of the liquidators and their followers, as shown in the decisions of the national and local conferences, are a guarantee that the Czecho-Slovakian Communist Party will fulfil the hopes placed in it by the Communist International.

Trotsky at the Tribune of Chamberlain

A. Martinov

WHEN it became known that the Soviet Government had decided to exile Trotsky from Russia for his anti-Soviet activities, innumerable meetings of Party and non-Party workers in the U.S.S.R. expressed their sympathy with this measure against Trotsky and demanded the most repressive steps in regard to the Trotskyists. However, certain comrades doubted the expediency of exile in particular, fearing that on finding himself outside Soviet Russia Trotsky would succeed at least for a time in developing schismatic work in the sections of the Comintern. Not a month passed before it became evident that the Soviet Government was more farseeing than the doubting comrades, that it had more correctly estimated the depth of Trotsky's fall and the degree to which this former revolutionary, who had earned himself the laurels of exile from the land of the dictatorship of the proletariat, had compromised himself in the eyes of the masses.

When the "left wing Communist" Trotsky found himself on the territory of a capitalist State, he began, not by consolidating his own "left wingers," not by an appeal to the proletariat against the right wing elements of the Communist Parties, but by an appeal to the bourgeoisie against the Soviet Government. When he appeared in Constantinople his first step was to declare to "His Excellency, Mr. President of the Turkish Republic," Kemal Pasha, that "At the gates of Constantinople I have the honour to inform you that it is not by my own choice that I have arrived at the Turkish frontier, and that I am crossing that frontier only by yielding to force. Please to receive my feelings of respect, Mr. President." His second step was to place a series of articles in the reactionary bourgeois press: in the British Conservative organ the "Daily Express," in the American capitalists' organ the "New York Times," and in other similar news-

papers—articles in which Trotsky told the readers of these reactionary papers how he was exiled from the U.S.S.R. and how he had been insulted by the "degenerate officialdom" of the Soviet Government.

When Trotsky was exiled from the U.S.S.R., the Party and non-Party workers of the Soviet Republic acclaimed the Soviet Government. When Trotsky crossed the frontier, the capitalist and social-democratic newspapers were crammed to overflowing with acclamation of Trotsky. Over Trotsky's exile two opposing fronts were drawn up; the proletariat and the Soviet regime on the one hand, and capitalist and social-democratic press and Trotsky on the other. It would have been difficult to find a worse punishment for Trotsky than to give him complete freedom to unmask himself. When he stood as nature made him before the world abroad, his true exchange value was at once established.

When Trotsky was still a revolutionary and in the ranks of the Bolshevik Party in 1920, he wrote:

"We are at war. We are fighting, not for life, but for death.

"The press is the weapon not of an abstract society, but of two irreconcilable, armed and battling camps. We destroy the press of the counter-revolution just as we destroy its consolidated positions, its stores, its communications, its reconaissance. Do we deprive ourselves of the Cadet-Menshevik accusations of the corruption of the working class? Yet on the other hand we triumphantly destroy the bases of capitalist corruption." ("Terrorism and Communism.")

Now that Trotsky has been released from the control of the Bolshevik Party, now that he finds himself in "freedom," he is hastening to exploit that same press of the counter-revolution in order to "accuse the corruption" of the Soviet regime. On the pages of the Conservative organ he cites his letter to the

Presidium of the Comintern, in which, in answer to the demand to cease his "political activity" (i.e. his anti-Soviet activity), he said: "If you have decided to continue along the road of governing an indignant people by violence, we can and we will continue to do our duty to the end." Thus, in the pages of a doubly reactionary Conservative newspaper, Trotsky lies about and slanders the Soviet Republic, representing the situation as though the people in that republic were indignant with a dominating regime of violence.

Chamberlain can shake Trotsky's hand now. "We are with you, sir. On the most vital question of the day we are of one mind, although we have a different way of expressing ourselves."

When Trotsky was still in the ranks of the Comintern, in his report to the Fourth Congress he spoke against the opportunist elements of the French Communist Party who were co-operating in the bourgeois press, and defended the E.C.C.I. resolution on the control of the press: "It is necessary, once and for all, to put an end to the conception of the press as the means for the exercise of journalistic talent. It is excellent when a journalist has talent, but the press is nothing other than a weapon of struggle. Take the resolutions (those of the E.C.C.I.)—which of them threatened the Party? Possibly the resolution on the control of the press, adopted on account of Fabre and Brisson, who have exploited the authority of their Party membership in order to further their own personal ends, so compromising the Party? Is it not high time to cease this habit of contributing to bourgeois newspapers which poison the masses?" Now that Trotsky has found himself outside the ranks of the Comintern and freed from its restrictive control, he is himself pursuing his purely "personal ends," publishing articles in the bourgeois press in exchange for dollars of true mintage, in a press "poisoning the masses," and at that not in the bourgeois-democratic mass newspapers, as Fabre and Brisson did, but in doubly reactionary newspapers. And in these articles: "On my Exile," he describes himself and poses before a bourgeois audience, telling how he, a

"fettered prisoner," in Alma-Ata, wanted to hunt tigers, but did not succeed, as "high-power radio-stations sent inquiries across the ether as to Trotsky's whereabouts, whilst he was forced to amuse himself with playing chess with his son; how his dogs, Trotsky's pointers, were uneasy at the sight of so many strange people, the G.P.U. workers, and so on*"

Trotsky's friends and adherents write in the "Fahne des Kommunismus" that "Trotsky's exile is equivalent to the execution of Robespierre and the ninth of Thermidor." But the "executed Robespierre" occupied himself with sport in Alma-Ata, is now comfortably writing feuilletons and boosting himself in the yellow bourgeois press, to the applause of all the social-democratic lackeys of the bourgeoisie, who are outvying one another in declaring: "You are ours now, you're our Trotsky now, although you're not ready to admit it yet!" What a miserable tragi-comic end to an apostate from the Communist Party!

*When I wrote the present article, I had read only the first article published by Trotsky in the bourgeois press. In the following three articles he gives an up-to-date history of our party, written in the contemptible style of the sensational gutter-press. Of this party, numbering a million, which in ideological level and revolutionary experience stands higher than any other party in the world, of its struggles, of its intellectual life there is not one word in this "history"—save the mark! For Mr. Trotsky these things simply do not exist. For him the party is a crowd of dumb and mindless pawns, which can be put out as one likes. Why it should have happened that he, Trotsky, was unsuccessful in putting them out as he wished, why it should have been that they "put him out," remains untold. All his "history" amounts to a story of superficial combinations of alleged intrigues of Stalin and his innumerable agents against the talents of Trotsky, who was called to take the place of Lenin. After Lenin's illness, all the history of the party is for him summed up as the story of a widely ramified conspiracy against the hero Trotsky.

Tartarin of Tarascon, Ivan Alexandrovitch Khlestakov, and Popreshchin, from "Memoirs of a Lunatic," have been resurrected and reincarnated in the single personality of Leo Davidovitch Trotsky. Immortal Trinity!

THE REVOLUTIONARY WAVE.

How was it possible? For there was a time when Trotsky's name was coupled with that of Lenin in every language under the sun. Yes, there was such a time. But even at that time an immense abyss separated the characters of the two men. One has but to point to one tiny feature, in which, as in a drop of water, all that chasm was reflected. Lenin always said: "we" estimated the situation thus and thus, "we" had put forward such and such a slogan, "we" had laid down a certain line of strategy. Lenin coined all his intellectual genius, all his unbridled energy, all his revolutionary enthusiasm without reserve into capital for his Party, for the revolutionary advance guard of the working class. Trotsky always said "I." For him the Party served merely as a pedestal, on which was raised his egotistic "I." Lenin was a great proletarian leader, Trotsky was an egotistical petty-bourgeois revolutionary, a temporary travelling companion of the proletariat.

When after the ebb of the revolutionary wave in 1848 the "left Communist" faction of Willich and Schapper split off from the Communist League, Marx wrote of these "left wing Communists": "The Communist League was no conspiratorial society, but a society which was secretly occupied with the organisation of a proletarian Party. . . . It goes without saying that such a secret society . . . presents little attraction to those gentlemen who on the one hand conceal their insignificance beneath the theatrical mantle of conspiracy, and on the other satisfy their limited ambition during the first day of the nearest revolution, for whom the matter of prime importance is to play a role at the given moment, to receive a share of the demagogic reward, and to be acclaimed by the democratic street-corner bawlers." (Marx: "Revelations of the Communist Trial in Cologne"; translated from the Russian text.) These words fit Trotsky when he drapes himself in the toga of a left wing Communist, as though they had been specially written of him.

Trotsky never occupied himself with the organisation of a Communist Party. He was brought to the surface on the crest of a revo-

lutionary wave, and fell together when that wave subsided, hastening to free himself from the party methods of "barrack-room discipline" and "satisfying his limited ambition during the first day of the nearest revolution." So was it in 1905, when, having for a brief moment headed the Petersburg Soviet of Workers' Deputies, after the defeat of the revolution he plunged into the bog of the "liquidators." [Those who wished to "liquidate" the underground revolutionary work of the Party—Tr.]

So it was in the period of the October revolution also, when, having headed the Red Army during the civil war, his light very swiftly began to flicker and to smoke, when the brilliant period of the civil war which had brought him laurels was replaced by the N.E.P. period with its absence of any effects, when millions of nameless heroic proletarians began to struggle with hunger and ruin to construct socialism, restoring the demolished production brick by brick. When the revolutionary wave of 1917-21 began to ebb, distrust and pessimism crept into Trotsky's spirit more and more, and beginning from 1923, from the "scissors crisis," Trotsky never ceased croaking about the direct destruction of the revolution. And it is extraordinarily significant of Trotsky that his permanent revolt against the Party began, not with an appeal to the proletariat against an allegedly unendurable Party regime, but with an appeal to the student youth, the enormous majority of whom, at that time, were suburban intellectuals.

TROTSKY AND THERMIDOR.

In his introduction to "Socialism, Utopian and Scientific," Friedrich Engels established as "one of the laws of the development of bourgeois society" that the revolution has to be carried considerably beyond its immediate, direct, matured, and entirely bourgeois aims in order to ensure the real achievement of those aims, in order irrevocably to consolidate the minimum bourgeois conquests. In other words, "one of the laws of bourgeois society" is that every great bourgeois revolution directly ends in counter-revolution, which

takes back part of the revolutionary conquests. The October revolution did not submit to this law of the replacement of revolution by counter-revolution, but did not do so for the reason that it was not a bourgeois but a proletarian revolution, for the reason that it not only passed beyond the historically restricted bounds of a bourgeois revolution (that was temporarily achieved by other revolutions also), but that it also established the dictatorship of the proletariat, thus creating a stable basis for the construction of socialism.

From this it by no means follows that there are no Thermidor elements in the Soviet republic, that it is not threatened with the danger of a Thermidor degeneration and restoration. That danger will remain as long as it finds itself in a capitalist environment and as long as the roots of capitalism are not completely eradicated from the Soviet republic itself. But the difference between the October revolution and the great bourgeois revolutions consists in the fact that inasmuch as the dictatorship of the proletariat has been established in the Soviet republic, given a correct leadership it had, still has, and will continue to have sufficient power to enable it to overcome the Thermidor elements which are nourished by the petty bourgeois factors.

In order successfully to overcome these elements, it is necessary first and foremost from time to time to determine definitely who is the carrier of Thermidorism. On this very question the Trotskyists proved to be in a most miserable, a most ludicrous, a most comic situation. They are the loudest in shouting and bawling of Thermidor, they are everywhere rummaging and searching for Thermidor, and fail to realise that the most typical expression of Thermidor is themselves. They do not realise that if owing to any faulty leadership Thermidor had really arrived in the Soviet republic, the most appropriate figure to head it would have been Leo Trotsky. This is just because he has never been organically connected with the Party organisation, which he has arrogantly regarded as a collection of inarticulate officials, because in its time the revolutionary wave lifted him so high, making him a "hero

of the revolution," and because, feeling no obligation to Party discipline, he has so easily fallen when the revolutionary wave subsided. In reality, if one wishes to ascertain where the bacillus of Thermidorism has been nourished of recent years, one has but to compare what the C.P.S.U. is now doing with what the fragments of the Trotskyist opposition (which the Party shattered at the Fifteenth Congress) are now doing.

Basing itself on the vast majority of the working class of the Soviet republic, the C.P.S.U., with the greatest intensity of effort, is overcoming difficulties, industrialising the country, raising agriculture, developing collectivism in the villages, struggling with capitalist elements in urban and rural areas, struggling in the most determined fashion against all opportunist elements inside the Party, and first and foremost against the right-wingers and conciliators, who are prepared to make concessions to the kulaks and Nepmen, maintaining a similar struggle against the right-wing elements in all sections of the Comintern. And what are the Trotskyists doing? To the workers, who with great exertions are building socialism, they say: "You haven't the strength to finish the job. Your task is hopeless, or almost hopeless." Trotsky laments that the U.S.S.R. is now experiencing "Kerenskyism inside out," that the power in the Soviet republic is now slipping out of the hands of the proletariat and gradually passing into those of the bourgeoisie. And the German Trotskyists not only assert this "fact," but also supply a corresponding direct instruction. The manifesto issued by the Ruth-Fischer-Urbahns group on the eleventh anniversary of the Soviet republic reads: "It is necessary to retreat in full order. Lenin also had this possibility in mind. He noticed every embellishment, and in every situation found an unembellished balance. The retreat has to be in the direction of democratic dictatorship. If it is not executed in planned order, the counter-revolutionary influence will get the upper hand and destroy all the conquests of

1917." Is that not the purest of Thermidor programmes? We can congratulate the German Trotskyists. They literally say the same as Friedrich Adler. "As October has suffered bankruptcy, it is necessary at least to save February." And what are the Russian Trotskyists doing? They are striving to carry out this instruction in practice, they are appealing to the petty bourgeois intelligentsia and to the most backward elements of the proletariat, who have only just left the villages and have not yet been successfully educated in the factories and so are permeated with craft egotism and consumers' moods. They are calling upon the workers to strike, thus undermining socialist construction, and are suggesting that they should demand the introduction of secret voting, i.e., the application of the methods of bourgeois parliamentarism to the country of the proletarian dictatorship. Is this not an openly practical preparation for Thermidor? And is it not clear that Mr. Leo Trotsky, who is at the

head of all this honest campaign of the renegades, would have been the most suitable candidate for the Russian Buonaparte, if he had not lost his October aureole long since?

To the everlasting woe of Trotsky, he could not and cannot pass out of this "candidate stage," for the Soviet Government keenly watches all the machinations of its past and present petty bourgeois travelling companions and puts a timely end to this weed, clearing it to the side of its high road. Because of this, Trotsky has possibly acted more intelligently in ignoring his friends the ultra-left renegades of Communism since he found himself abroad, scorning their petty news-sheets, such as "Volkswille" and "Die Fahne des Kommunismus," and has knocked directly at the window of the great bourgeoisie, choosing the great capitalist press for his tribune. The dead rot swiftly. With such a swift evolution, Trotsky can reckon very soon on Hilferding interceding for him to be given the post of minister without portfolio.

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The Imperialists are Arming

THE war of 1914 to 1918 was carried on to the very last under slogans whose monstrous hypocrisy has never been equalled in all the world's history. The Fourteen Points, announced by the American President as a basis for the conclusion of the Armistice, provided a foundation on which was piled a repulsive edifice of pacifist demagogy, of delusion of the workers, of all the pseudo-peaceable policy of post-war imperialism. Confronted after the war with the fact of intense revolutionary activity among the proletariat, the capitalist governments were compelled to take into account the proletarian masses' sympathy for the Soviet State and their much greater energy and resourcefulness, and sought ways and means of hiding the true aims of their politics from the vast masses. Consequently the post-war period is marked by a particular development of extremely varied forms of false peaceful co-

operation among capitalist States. The culminating moment in the extension of the illusion that it was possible to achieve a peaceful regulation of the antagonisms rending the capitalist world, and post-war Europe in particular, came at the end of 1924 and the beginning of 1925, when the adoption of the Dawes Plan and the conclusion of the Locarno treaties were glorified by the bourgeois press as the beginning of a new peaceful era in the life of the European peoples.

During the last few years there has been an accentuation of the armed rivalry between the largest imperialist States, a deepening of the internal antagonisms in post-Versailles Europe, and parallel with these a perceptible rise in the workers' movement of recent times.

Together with these factors there has been an acceleration in the process of overcoming pacifist illusions among the working class. The Locarno treaties, the League of Nations,

economic co-operation, disarmament, which have all been persistently propagated by the social traitors of all countries, are beginning to fade before the harsh reality. The last session of the Geneva Preparatory Commission for Disarmament marks an essential stage in the development of this process.

The sixth session of the Preparatory Commission was a final revelation of the extent to which the capitalist governments are unable, even ostensibly, even temporarily, even partially, to effect anything whatever in the direction of a reduction of armaments. On the other hand, the work of the sixth session once more demonstrated and confirmed the soundness of the tactics adopted by the Soviet Union in agreeing to participate in the labours of the Geneva Commission. By the sound and consistent tactics of its representatives in the Commission the Soviet Union has been able to demonstrate to all the world the utter hypocrisy of the bourgeois politicians and the consistently peaceful character of the foreign policy of the Soviet State.

When the fourth session of the Preparatory Commission rejected the Soviet proposals for universal, complete and immediate disarmament, the social-democratic apostles of international co-operation argued that the non-acceptance of the Soviet proposals only indicated that the Geneva peace-makers had a practical approach to the business of disarmament and considered the Soviet project utopian. The results of the sixth session of the Preparatory Commission knock their last weapon out of the hands of these deceivers of the working class. The League of Nations Commission not only did not accept the Soviet proposal for a reduction of armaments, but absolutely refused to allow the problem of a reduction in armaments to be brought up for consideration. The Soviet delegation's tactics consisted in forcing the bourgeois participants in the Commission to answer the question of what they understood to be the tasks of the Commission, so that all the world should hear. The U.S.S.R. delegation put forward three points for consideration, the first of which raised the question of principle as to whether the League of Nations Commission had any intention at all of occupying itself with the problem of a reduction in armaments. We

need not go into a detailed examination of the sophistic and equivocal answer given by the Presidium of the Commission and confirmed by the General Commission without voting. It is only necessary to say that the Preparatory Commission for Disarmament, firstly, could not make up its mind to announce that the governments represented on the Commission were agreed to effect a practical reduction of their armed forces, and, secondly, refused to adopt any objective method of reducing armaments as a basis for its labours.

If the publicists of the Second International now attempt to make further hypocritical speeches concerning the intelligent gradualness, the practical expediency and the other qualities of the League of Nations disarmament programme, any worker can remind them of the decisions which the Preparatory Commission came to at its sixth session. That session has put an end once for all to the talk that the League of Nations, its institutions, and the capitalist governments which are members of them, together with the socialist talking shops, are able, or even willing, to place the least check on the mad growth of armaments, not to mention any attempt at restriction. For that reason one can consider the sixth session of the Disarmament Commission an important stage in the elimination of pacifist illusions among the working class.

* * * *

BUT the labours of the Disarmament Commission are significant not only because they reveal the unwillingness of the capitalist governments to effect any restriction of armaments. As the Commission continues its labours the main points in the armaments programme of the various capitalist States are revealed. The position of the various bourgeois governments deserves a somewhat more detailed analysis from this aspect.

When preparations were being made for summoning the sixth session, the directors of the League of Nations apparatus and the chairman of the Commission, the Dutch diplomat, Loudon, travelled through the European capitals in order to work out an agenda for the session. According to the press, this question was also a subject of discussion during Chamberlain's interview with Mussolini.

It transpired that the capitalist governments were united on only one issue: that of rejecting the Soviet proposals. No unanimity whatever was achieved during the preliminary negotiations between individual governments on any other item proposed for the agenda. The problem of land armaments could not even be raised for formal consideration, especially in view of the definite disagreement as to the inclusion of army reserves which exists between France and other States. And so far as naval disarmament is concerned, the very mention of it in relation to the Anglo-American dispute would involve the necessity of bringing that session of the Disarmament Commission to a hasty end. In consequence the chairman of the Commission had to propose that the agenda should be drawn up after the session was opened. Animated discussions developed over the problem of the Soviet project, or to be more exact, over the methods of its rejection. We shall not stop to expound the essence of these discussions; the result is known to all. Driven into a corner by the accusatory speeches of the chairman of the Soviet delegation, comrade Litvinov, the members of the Geneva Commission turned down the principles of the Soviet proposals without voting on them.

The proposals brought forward for the consideration of the sixth session deserve especial attention. We must begin by mentioning that a delegation of the Second International put in an appearance specially in order to induce the imperialist governments to disarm. The entry of the heroes of the Second International into the Geneva arena is one of the most shameful political farces ever played by the reformists. *Vorwaerts* could find nothing better to say than to communicate that the petitions handed in by the Second International caused a panic in the League of Nations! The bourgeois journalists at Geneva openly reported that the appearance of the Second International delegation with De Brouckère at their head evoked a frankly ironical attitude in the members of the Commission and the rest of the Geneva public. As is well known, the "socialist" De Brouckère was himself, as representative of the Belgian Government, a member of this same Commission only recently, and sought

together with the representatives of the other capitalist countries, for methods of sabotaging disarmament. This one circumstance alone made a scandal of the petitioners' intervention.

De Brouckère made a gesture in the direction of the Soviet proposal, declaring that it ought not to be turned down so long as no better plan is worked out. Meantime the esteemed social-imperialist could not but know that the Commission had not and would not work out any project for practical disarmament. By the confession of the bourgeois politicians themselves the draft convention of the League of Nations, which is preserved in the Commission's archives, contains no regulations whatever which are conducive to disarmament. The characteristic feature of the new proposals introduced by the sixth session is that, like all the previous projects, excluding the Soviet plan, they are in reality devoted not to a reduction, but to an increase in armaments.

FOUR new proposals were introduced at the Preparatory Commission: the German, the Turkish, the Persian, and the Chinese proposals. All four belong to the "injured" States, to those who have been left behind the other Powers in the race for armaments. The social-democratic government of Germany drew up a memorandum of which the distinctive feature is its utter loyalty to the traditions of the Preparatory Commission and the useless, empty draft convention worked out by it. The basic political idea of the German memorandum was the demand for equality of armaments. In complete correspondence with their home policy on the issue of arming German imperialism, in their foreign policy also the social democrats act as the standard bearers of the latest German militarism. The aim and object of the German memorandum is not the achievement of disarmament, but the establishment of Germany's right to further armaments. It was no accident that the German delegation failed to vote for the resolution proposed by the Soviet delegation. Thus the social-democrats once more justified the trust reposed in them by the German bourgeoisie. The social-democratic ministers vote credits for the construction of a cruiser, in obedience

to the Centrist leader, the Catholic prelate, Dr. Kaas; the social-democratic parliamentarians refrain even from demonstrative gestures against the construction of the cruiser; and the official representatives of the social-democratic government in Geneva demand that Germany should be allowed to continue her further naval construction on a legal basis. Not for nothing did the official organ of the German Foreign Office, the *Diplomatisch Politische Korrespondenz* take the social-democratic armaments program under its protection, arguing that this programme embodied social-democracy's recognition of the justice of the German armaments programme.

The Turkish proposal was constructed on the principle of "an equal restriction of the armaments of all States to the definite maximum necessary to a great State for its lawful defence." This proposal signifies nothing but the legalisation of the existing armaments, and a demand that the weaker States should be afforded the possibility, within the measure of their powers, of equality with the militarist programmes of the larger imperialist countries.

The Persian proposal contained a direct request that the countries which possess insignificant armaments and small munitions capacity should be allowed to bring their armaments "into correspondence with the needs of defence." The Kuomintang government, in whose country the system of mercenary armies exists, and to which the imperialists send their mercenary armies, proposed in its turn that compulsory military service should be repealed.

The fact that, through defeated Germany, Turkey, and Persia, the weaker Powers made open demands for the right to catch up to the highly armed imperialists is, of course, no fortuitous one. The Sixth World Congress of the Comintern devoted special attention to the circumstance that the present phase of development in post-war imperialism is characterised by an intensification of the imperialists' preparations for the approaching and inevitable new war. The claim of regenerated German imperialism and of the young bourgeois countries such as Turkey and Persia to the right of arming is merely one of the elements in the general preparation of a new war.

* * * *

AN analysis of the labours of the Preparatory Commission for Disarmament and of the position of the various governments participating in the commission reflects very clearly the active work for intensifying armaments, for the preparation of a new war which is being carried on in all the capitalist countries of the world. Naturally, this work has acquired the greatest dimensions in the strongest imperialist countries, and in particular in those two countries whose rivalry is the chief element in post-war imperialism. We are, of course, referring to Britain and the U.S.A.

It is a generally recognised fact that the conflict between the U.S.A. and Britain is intensifying. The growing animosity of political relationships between Britain and the U.S.A. which developed in the autumn of last year, had by the spring of 1929 taken form in an open and ruthless rivalry in the sphere of naval armaments. As we know, the American Senate has ratified the construction of fifteen large cruisers; according to the British press the budget of the American Admiralty exceeds that of the British budget by £16,000,000. Meantime, according to Lloyd George's estimate, as given in one of his March speeches, the British war budget exceeds the war budget of the year previous to the war by £42,000,000. But even the present situation does not satisfy the British First Lord of the Admiralty. About a month before the summoning of the Disarmament Commission, Bridgeman expressed extreme disquiet on account of the fact that, with an annual construction of three cruisers, by 1940 only fifty out of fifty-two cruisers will be less than twelve years old. Bridgeman demanded an increase in the programme of naval construction. France in turn is not lagging behind in this respect. Like the British House of Commons, about a month before the summoning of the sixth session of the Commission the French Senate decided by an overwhelming majority to embark on the construction of the sixteen war vessels provided for in the second section of the naval construction programme.

TOGETHER with an increase in armaments, an essential element in the direct preparation of a new war in the United States' policy is greater pressure on Great Britain in the matter of regulation of sea trade and the struggle for control of the sea-routes. The demand for the freedom of the seas put forward by the chairman of the Commission on foreign affairs, Senator Borah, is closely connected with American imperialism's programme of economic expansion.

Moreover Borah closely connects the question of economic expansion, the juridical problem of the freedom of the seas, and the programme of naval construction. In an article on the freedom of the seas published in March, Borah speaks quite definitely: "No argument in the world can oppose the first necessity of defence of our trade. We may preserve it without constructing a fleet, but if we cannot, then we shall surely build that fleet. . . . But if we begin to build a fleet for the defence of our trade, we shall have to build in the light not only of Britain's forces, but of any naval combination which she may be able to organise. And if this happens, I see nothing in the future except a terrible weight of taxes burdening the American people, and the possibility of a fresh cataclysm, similar to the catastrophe of 1914." (*Re-translated.—Ed.*) As there is no doubt that development will take the road which Borah marked out, one has to regard his declaration as a confirmation by a prominent publicist of American imperialism, of the fact of an energetic and deliberate preparation of war with Great Britain.

It has to be remembered that during his period as Minister of Commerce, Hoover more than once declared himself to be an ardent advocate of struggle against world (non-American) monopolies and of definitely assuring the world sources of raw materials to the United

States. In 1926 Hoover, jointly with the Secretary for Foreign Affairs and the war and naval ministers, presented a memorandum to Coolidge which pointed out the impermissibility of any situation in which "alien nations" controlled the regions of rubber, nitrate, potassium, oil and other raw material production. Hoover was an advocate of the policy which led to the repeal of the Stevenson scheme, with the aid of which the British regulated the disposal and the price of rubber on the world market. It is worth noting that the present State Secretary for Foreign Affairs, Stimson, was Governor General in the Phillipines, which are a most important area of new rubber plantations. And finally we note that one of the more important acts of Hoover's presidential activities has been his refusal to permit an agreement between the Standard Oil concern and the Anglo-Dutch trusts on a reduction of oil output. The consequence of this refusal has been a further ruthless struggle between the oil concerns for the oil market on the one hand, and the acquisition of Soviet oil on the other.

TOGETHER with the programme for naval armaments, the struggle for the hegemony of the seas and the world monopoly of the sources of raw materials, the United States government is putting forward one further idea which is in complete correspondence with the United States' intensified imperialist expansion. That is the new interpretation of the old Monroe doctrine. The Monroe doctrine took up the position of America for the Americans, and so justified the intervention of the United States in the internal affairs of the Latin American countries, and at the same time complicated relations between the United States and those countries. To-day the Monroe doctrine has to

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be divided into two principles. One principle is to have application to the countries of Central America; in this case the Monroe doctrine will signify that the United States enjoys unlimited influence in Central America. As we know, Panama and Nicaragua have long since become the appanages of American capital; today the United States desires formally to lay its hands on all Central America. But in application to the countries of South America the Monroe principle has to be interpreted in a "defensive sense"; in order to soothe the bourgeois nationalists in those countries the United States declares the absence of any aggressive intentions on its part towards South America, but reserves to itself the right of defending its economic positions in that continent. It is easy to guess that the defence is directed in the first instance against Britain, which still holds quite a strong position in Latin America. A curious detail, one which is characteristic of the relations between Britain and the United States in this sphere, is the fact that the new American ambassador to London, Dawes, delayed his departure for England owing to being occupied with drawing up a Dawes Plan for Bolivia.

The intensified, cruel and implacable rivalry between British and American imperialism not only does not permit any possibility of agreement between them on the question of limitation of armaments, but renders difficult the realisation of the most cautious attempts in that direction. About the time of the opening of the Preparatory Commission's sixth session, the British press spread the report that there were to be negotiations between the American delegate, Gibson, and the head of the British delegation, Lord Cushendun, in regard to the calling of a new conference on naval disarmament. On this report Hoover announced to press representatives in Washington that the government had not charged Gibson with any such commission: the instructions to Gibson concerned exclusively technical details. Even if any backstairs negotiations were carried on at Geneva one can be sure that they can have no definite consequences. During the two years which have elapsed since the 1927 conference the economic antagonisms between Britain and the United States have increased, while, of course, the

military and technical antagonisms have not decreased. Meantime it is worth recalling that the disagreements at the 1927 naval conference concerned not only the methods of regulating naval armaments, but also the tonnage of the larger ships and auxiliary fleets and even the calibre of the cruiser armaments. It is difficult to imagine that the navy men of the United States or Britain who are concerned with bringing into force a programme of increased armaments, can agree even to meet each other half-way on the subject of the extent of those armaments.

THIS is the situation with regard to the war preparations of the two largest imperialist States in the world. The medium-sized and small States are no less active in their labours. The network of military alliances which covers Europe is being strengthened and extended continually. There have recently been disclosures in the European press in regard to the Franco-Belgian alliance and auxiliary military agreements between Poland and Roumania.

Simultaneously considerable practical activities are going on for the war supply of States bordering on the U.S.S.R. On this matter two facts which preceded the Geneva Disarmament Commission are worthy of notice. In March this year several protocols were signed between Yugo-Slavia and Greece concerning the exploitation of the port of Salonika, and in particular dealing with a Yugo-Slavian free zone in that port. Also the question of the exploitation of the railway line from Salonika to Gjevgeli, on the Yugo-Slavian frontier, was settled. There is no reason to doubt that the settlement of the question of exploiting the port of Salonika connotes also a settlement of the question of the supply of military stores through that port to the Balkan States and their allies. There is no doubt that this circumstance was one of the causes of the actively sympathetic attitude adopted by governmental circles in France and the French press to the Greco-Yugo-Slavian agreement.

At the same time a very active supply of war materials is being maintained in another corner of Europe bordering the north-west frontiers of Soviet Russia. Two recent events should be noted in this connection. The

French General, Lerond, whose speciality is the organisation and co-ordination of the war plans of the Soviet Union's nearest neighbours, has been appointed director of the Dantzig dockyards, which are of direct war importance, and are executing the orders of the Polish government. Lerond was elected chairman of the Supervisory Council of the Dantzig dockyards by the majority votes of Britain, France and Poland.

It is utterly beyond dispute that the appointment of General Lerond signifies that the group preparing for war intervention in the U.S.S.R. has decided to extend the output of the Dantzig dockyards. Simultaneously war reserves are systematically arriving to the Dantzig port for Poland. In March several vessels arrived with war supplies, and the import of military reserves has reached such extensive dimensions that it has been reflected in the commercial activity of the Dantzig port. To this information has to be added the news that in the summer of 1929 a British squadron is proposing to visit Dantzig, the Polish port of Gdynia near by, and also Riga, Reval, and Helsingfors.

THE collapse of the labours of the Preparatory Commission for Disarmament, the naval rivalry of the United States and Britain, the consolidation of the system of military alliances in Europe, the concentration of war forces in Poland and Roumania all bear witness to the fact that the present phase of comparative stabilisation of capitalism is accompanied by a severe and definite intensifi-

cation of preparations for fresh cataclysms, fresh wars. A transient decline in the immediate war menace, and various momentary fluctuations in the intensity of the danger cannot in the least detract from the importance of the fact that post-war capitalism is approaching a new war at a swift pace. Not for one moment must the Communist Parties lose sight of the fact that the bourgeoisie is unswervingly and persistently preparing for a new war. The period of pacifist illusions is coming to its close; the open naval rivalry between the capitalist States is emerging more and more clearly. The proletariat is confronted with the necessity of mobilising its forces with fresh energy against the war plans of the bourgeoisie. The Communist Parties must take these circumstances into account in their every-day work. The slogan of struggle against the war danger must occupy a more important place in the Parties' activities, especially as the International Red Day against imperialist war draws nearer.

An essential element in the preparations for the International Red Day must be the further disclosure of the hypocrisy of bourgeois pacifism and social-democratic deception. Together with this, in order to demonstrate the importance of the Red Day, it is necessary to exploit all the innumerable facts relating to the active arming of the capitalist countries, facts which increase in number with every passing day. The struggle against imperialist war has constituted and must in the future constitute, one of the chief tasks of the revolutionary vanguard of the international proletariat.

On the International Situation*

C. Lapinsky's Report for the Forthcoming Plenum of the E.C.C.I.

THE purpose of my report is to describe the international political situation. This predetermines the framework of my report. Consequently I shall not deal in detail with the growing severity of class inter-relationships in the third period. Still I cannot but touch upon the economic situation, for without it the chief roads of development in world policy would remain quite incomprehensible. This will also assist us to see our way clearly on the question of the nature of the third period. It is all the more necessary since in certain groups of the Comintern certain false conceptions are in circulation of what the Sixth Congress had in mind when it noted the arrival of a new, third period.

What is this third period, which has already succeeded in evoking disputes and distorted interpretations? It is clear that we are confronted with what the Germans call "Zweckbegriff," *i.e.*, a conception which is interpreted for definite ends. But we are not Pythagoreans, and *z*—the third period—is not yet a theoretical term in itself. We have to get a clear conception of why we speak of the arrival of a third period, *i.e.*, of the arrival of a certain new period which in some way is distinguished from its predecessor. The only purpose of such arithmetical, chronological designations is to get nearer to the reality which sets the conditions in which we are struggling for definite objects. The designation "third period" implies the fact that we are confronted with some new qualitative, or at the very least quantitative relationship in the world situation. Consequently, the question we have to face is essentially the question of what is the new element, what impels us, what

* With a view to greater definiteness of exposition, in its revised press form this report has been enlarged by the addition of certain statistics and citations. The most essential parts of the reporter's closing speech have also been included.

compelled the Sixth Congress (by no means accidentally) to use the term the "third period" in post war development?

In asking ourselves as Marxists, as revolutionary politicians, "what is there new" in the situation, we are *a priori* bound to seek the new antagonistic elements in the whole picture of development. We shall seek the new contradictions, and instances of a further intensification of contradictions. For us the practical question is: what is there new in this sphere, with what newly or renewedly intensifying contradictions have we to deal?

But if none the less we stop to consider not only the antagonistic, the centrifugal tendencies of modern capitalism, but also its positive (from the capitalist aspect), its centripetal tendencies, we do so because we have to take in the entire picture of what is going on, and taken out of relation to these manifestations of "consolidation" the antagonistic elements of development, which we consider the decisive elements, would remain incomprehensible in many respects. Consequently, in giving an analysis of the economic situation, I want to begin by briefly stopping to consider those phenomena which express a development of the forces and resources of capitalist economy.

THE CRISIS IN CAPITALIST ECONOMY: THE "THIRD PERIOD"

As more than sixth months have passed since the Sixth Congress, six months which have been crammed with events, it is possible that one can formulate certain facts somewhat more definitely than was possible in July or August last year.

It seems to me that we cannot be satisfied with mere statistics as symptomatic of the new period. The recognition that the development of the production of the capitalist world has now surpassed the pre-war level does not of itself provide sufficient material for a compari-

son of the present with the preceding period. The reason why this criterion was raised to an honourable place in such a general form at the congress is obvious. The analogy with the development of the Soviet Union came into play. But in making this analogy it is necessary to take into account the fact that the Soviet Union has restored its economy in its own country on a radically different basis. The restoration of production in the U.S.S.R. demanded an infinitely greater exertion of effort than the corresponding process in capitalist countries. And our successes are undoubtedly an infinitely greater achievement and a much more eloquent demonstration of the vitality of our stabilisation, than the surpassing of the pre-war production output could be for the capitalist world and its stabilisation.

But even purely historically, in this altogether too wholesale form, the above-mentioned criterion cannot satisfy us either. It needs to be given a more exact definition. For the surpassing of the pre-war level of production was a characteristic of even the first period of comparative stabilisation. It became a fact on the very threshold of that period, in 1923. And 1924 and especially 1925 brought with them a genuine break, particularly in Europe.

It is equally difficult to recognise the successes of technique, of rationalisation, the development of monopolies, as the most distinctive feature of the new period. For all these constituted an inseparable symptom of the previous period also, of the first period of comparative stabilisation—if one is not to reduce all the achievements in this period to those of effecting order in the sphere of currency, of overcoming inflation and restoring the currency-credit system. Undoubtedly the process of "stabilisation" took its early form from the necessity of overcoming the inflation disintegration, but it swiftly transferred itself to the realm of technique, of "rationalisation," and so on.

In that case what is left? It seems to us that the chief distinctive symptoms of the new period are to be found in the sphere of antagonisms; in the sphere of capitalism's achievements we can in the main observe not qualitatively new phenomena so much as quantitative phenomena, *i.e.*, principally the continuation and further development, and in

part the consummation of the tendencies observed in the previous period. If, avoiding any pedantic sophistry, but striving definitely to grasp events, we remain on the whole satisfied with this formula and add to it the separate definite phenomena, separate new features, which have emerged particularly clearly in recent times, our task will be accomplished.

We shall deal then with the question of the continuation and further development of tendencies which have marked the whole period of the comparative stabilisation of post-war capitalism.

THE INCREASE IN PRODUCTION AND PRODUCTIVE CAPACITY

In the sphere of production, to which the Sixth Congress turned its attention, we undoubtedly have to admit further successes. Here the degree to which the pre-war level has been surpassed is of interest. In comrade Varga's article in No. 6 of the *Bolshevik*, you will find the very latest statistical information. If the increase in production concerned only electrical energy, the exploitation of water power or of such kinds of raw material and industry as oil, rubber, and copper, all the so-called heavy chemical production, the production of artificial silk, etc., this rise would in itself indicate relatively very little, because a number of the "new" industries are, as we know, living through their own especial evolution, and the flourishing state of these spheres of production is not characteristic of the whole picture. Of course the increased production by 60 per cent. of such an essential industrial raw material as copper, for instance, is a fact worthy of attention, but none the less it is more important to recognise that even those spheres of "old" production which suffered more than any other from the post-war crisis can also at the present time boast of an imposing rise in production. Thus, for instance, coal output, an industry in which the crisis is at its greatest, has surpassed the pre-war output by 10 per cent. (despite the increasing replacement of coal by other sources of energy, such as oil, electricity, etc.). The production of iron ore has also increased by 10 per cent. and—what is possibly the most essential of all—the production of steel has gone up 20

per cent. (The figures are taken from the *American Commerce Year Book*, 1928.)

These at first sight imposing quantitative modifications, however, are not so highly characteristic of the latest period. For even in 1925 the world production of steel exceeded the pre-war level by 19 per cent., and even in 1924 (which can be regarded as the first year of "stabilisation") the production of all metals, with the exception of cast iron, exceeded that of 1913 (according to the statistics published in 1926 by the League of Nations *Reports on Production and Commerce*.) So that by comparison with the preceding period the progress is not so extraordinary, and one might even speak of a certain stagnation in development.

Passing to technique and the extension of monopolistic formations, of trusts and syndicates, we have to recognise the considerable nature of the quantitative changes, *i.e.*, an acceleration of development. In this sphere the process is in full swing. This means that the potential productive possibilities are growing out of all proportion and that the control over them is passing more and more into the hands of the monopolistic organisations of a high category. Production is openly lagging behind the rise in production possibilities, and as we shall see this circumstance sets its impress on all the economy of our time. From the statistical aspect we can partially measure the considerable extent of the technical achievements by the colossal increase in the productivity of labour. During a two years' period closing at the end of 1927 (*i.e.*, by comparison with 1925) the rise in the productivity of labour in steel production in Germany was 40 per cent., in the more complex machine-building industry it was 45 per cent. (Figures taken from the *Reichskreditgesellschaft*.) This demonstrates the spasmodic nature of the development of productive possibilities, with which neither production, far less distribution, is able to keep pace.

It is on this new technical basis, the importance of which is increased by the enormous increase in the intensity of labour, that the private capitalist monopolies are assuring their hegemony. And this process of monopolisation and trustification is going on at an accelerated rate on both a national and an

international scale, embracing all countries and all spheres of production and circulation, industry, commerce, transport, and the banks. In France, which in this regard is still comparatively backward, we already have enterprises employing 35,000 workers. In the English textile industry a trust is being formed which "by way of beginning" will cover a larger number of spindles than the total number of spindles in such countries as Germany or France. In the United States, that metropolis of trusts, in which one would have thought this process had already achieved its greatest development, and where there already exist such enterprises as General Motors, the annual profit of which is reckoned at a figure close to 300,000,000 dollars (276,000,000 in 1928) the last few years and even the last few days have brought a new wave of monopolist development. Just recently America has become the pioneer in a new sphere, the sphere of the monopolistic organisation of export. On the basis of special legislation which repeals the old restrictions placed on export by the Sherman laws, some fifty monopolistic federations aiming at the conquest of the world market have already developed.

And with it all we are still only on the threshold of development even in the United States. From this aspect it is very instructive to note the statistics for the receipts of the various enterprises. These figures reveal a serious inequality in profits. Even taking the record years of 1925 and 1926, in the first year 41 per cent., and in the second 43 per cent. of the companies did not announce any profits whatever. This in the classic country of prosperity! Of course one has to approach this class of statistics with all due scepticism. None the less a comparison of the various groups of enterprises reveals clearly that the profitless or even deficit-showing enterprises "are principally the smaller enterprises, struggling for existence on the outskirts of the various spheres of business." (We quote from the January survey of the *National City Bank*.) It is clear that thousands and tens of thousands of these enterprises must somehow or other go to nourish the monopolist leviathans.

The process of concentration has assumed

violent forms of development, but it is still not finished. As we know, this enables various bourgeois scientists to speak of the final transference of capitalist economy from the competitive forms to "closed economy," which they are ready to identify with socialism. "What is it we are passing through if not the realisation of the predictions of the great socialist Marx? It is his conception of the economy of the future being consummated before our eyes," says Schmalenbach. (*Zeitschrift für Handelswirtschaftliche Forschung*, June, 1928.)

Nevertheless, this whole complex and highly variegated process which we have come to call rationalisation, is proceeding very unequally in the various countries; its violent stage is evidently approaching its close in certain of the large countries, and is yielding to a less vigorous development. Such is the state of affairs in Germany, and in part in France also. But this temporary accomplishment of the violent stage of the process enables us to measure its economic consequences. It helps us to foresee the consequences in those countries, such as Britain, where this process of accelerated rationalisation is only in its inception. We shall see that the accomplishment of this first, violent stage of rationalisation has led only to an intensification of universal rivalry on the world market.

THE MENACE OF FINANCE CAPITAL

Finally, we must stop to consider the role of finance capital in somewhat greater detail. Here there has been considerable change by comparison both with the pre-war period and the first post-war period. This is deserving of all the more attention since the latest epoch of capitalism is, more than ever before, the epoch of finance capital, and since, judging by a number of symptoms, the menace of new large economic disturbances is approaching from the direction of the finance market. We shall note the more important phenomena and tendencies, albeit in the most hurried fashion.

Only stabilisation ensured to finance capitalism the gradual return to what is, in a sense, normal for the whole period of imperialism, firstly by the elimination of the distinctive "split" between industrial and banking

capital which was characteristic of the period of inflation and the interruption of international connections. As we know, that period inflicted heavy blows on currency-credit circulation, and in a number of countries led to a distinctive type of disintegration of bank capital, to an unprecedented weakening of international credit ties, to a degeneration in all credit business, to a reduction and an almost complete disappearance of all the old rentier wealth. All these factors in the aggregate could not but change the features, the entire structure of modern capitalism. This makes the speed with which finance capital restored its position, rising to a higher stage of development in a situation involving partially new phenomena, all the more striking.

The inflationist "split," the period of weakened links between industrial and bank capital, the epoch of the "hegemony of real values": all this is now left behind. Instead we are faced with the highest degree of interlocking and fusion of industrial and finance capital. As soon as the restoration of currencies and international credit relationships was effected, bank capital swiftly took its revenge. Becoming the middleman between countries exporting capital and the national economy of countries which had passed through a period of inflation, the banks, with the aid of high, and in part usurious interest, swiftly restored their old position. In such countries as Britain and France, where previously the fusion between the banks and industry had not gone so far as in Germany or the United States, there are now unmistakable signs of their progressive interlocking and fusion. In France the so-called "banques d'affaires" have for many years been deprived of the possibility of issuing foreign loans, and have been compelled to concentrate their activities on the financing of the swiftly developing home industry. In Britain the traditional refusal of the deposit banks to enter into any direct connection with industry still remains in force on the whole, but here also we observe a number of open retreats from this principle. The first post-war boom led to imprudent financing and consequently to the development of large "frozen credits," i.e., credits which industry was unable to pay back and which created a protracted, involuntary link between banks and

industry. We also see the directors of one of the largest banks (McKenna and Darling of the Midland Bank) systematically supporting industry against the traditional policies of the banks and the Bank of England on questions of currency, and even on the question of protective tariffs; in other words, declaring against the harsh policy of deflation and against unconditional freedom of trade. This undoubtedly testifies to the disintegration of the "united front" of the banks and to a rapprochement between at least certain of the larger banks and industry. British industry itself is persistently achieving closer "co-operation," *i.e.*, in fact fusion between the banks and industry. (At the present time the electrical industry is drawing up a memorandum on this subject.)

The concentration of bank capital is proceeding at gigantic strides in every country, including the United States. It is in this sphere of banking capital that monopolistic development has gone farthest. In the chief countries we have to deal with a kind of single "money trust," which is closely bound up with the governmental machine. The rivalry in attracting deposits (which is often referred to in Britain) and the struggle for foreign loans do not radically change the situation. In any case the figure of five or six large banks, at which bank fusion has stopped as at a kind of limit, is quite a relative figure. The regulation of further fusion (*i.e.*, the reduction of these five or six to two or three) is now predominantly a question of the banks' financial plans and internal strategy, in which political factors, including their fear of too openly disturbing public opinion, play no small part.

Parallel with all this, the banks' inter-

national control over the world money market, over the cost of credit, over the movement of prices, is growing to an unheard-of extent. As we know, this control is taking the definite form of the dictatorship of Anglo-Saxon and chiefly of American finance capital. The "international bankers," or "public financiers," as they are called in America, have acquired unprecedented power. They have become the real lords of the capitalist world. At certain times, as for instance at all the decisive stages of the reparations question (in 1924 during the formulation of the Dawes Plan, and at the present moment at the Paris conference of "experts") that power is demonstrated to the whole world. "International control" over everything human seems to the ideologists of finance capital to be the fundamental law of all modern development.* The organisation of the rule of a handful of "international bankers" (or more precisely, of the Anglo-Saxon, and still more precisely, the American bankers) is becoming the recognised militant programme of finance capital.

This hegemony of finance capital is accompanied by a number of partly new and

* In his large work entitled "The Financial Organisation of Society," Moulton writes: "The world has reached a point in the development of its organised economic activities where national boundaries are of relatively little significance, notwithstanding the numerous economic barriers that have been erected by political States. The growing interdependence of the financial systems of different countries and the development of an international financial structure give rise to the suggestion that if the financial system is effectively to perform its functions in assisting and regulating the modern economic organisation, some system of international control must ultimately be devised. (pp. 765-6.)

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antagonistic phenomena, which it is worth while studying in more detail. I shall mention only the more important.

With all the increasing interlocking of industry and the banks there is to be observed a peculiar tendency for industry to finance itself out of its own resources. This tendency is particularly noticeable in the case of young, powerful and flourishing industries (the electrical and chemical industries) and also of British industry, with its serious crisis and its low profits. (This was noted by the Colwyn Committee.)

THE CLASH OF INTERESTS

A second phenomenon somewhat connected with the one already mentioned is the existence of a considerable difference between the profitability of the banks and of the industrial enterprises. This phenomenon is particularly noticeable in Britain, where dividends in the neighbourhood of 20 per cent. have become a kind of norm for the banks (even in the years of worst economic disturbances) whilst the profit-yielding powers of the traditional and still decisive spheres of production (coal, iron and steel, cotton and ship-building) are always at an unsatisfactory level. This dual situation is in some form or other accompanied by a more or less systematic, sometimes clearly manifested difference in the designs and views of bank and rentier capital on the one hand and of industrial capital on the other, on such questions as currency-credit policy, the tempo of the deflation policy, prices policy, German reparations, and partially on international commercial policy. Here the interests of national British industry come into collision with the interests of the "international bankers," i.e., first and foremost of the American bankers, with whose policy that of the British banks is closely bound up. But we can observe certain divergences even in America itself: whilst the American Federal Reserve Bank in Chicago for instance (like a number of others) is disposed to give more consideration to "local" American interests, the dominating New York Federal Reserve Bank reflects more than the others the world interests of the American "international bankers."

In the case of French banking capital there is a particularly definite form of centrifugal tendency, drawing its strength from the large home accumulation, and directed towards the preservation of its national independence from the pretensions of British and American finance capital, associated in higher forms of "co-operation."

Finally, we have to note the phenomenon of a growing export of capital into highly developed industrial countries, Germany first and foremost. This contradicts all our pre-war conceptions of the character of capital export, which, as we know, was formerly directed mainly into agrarian and semi-agrarian countries, colonial and semi-colonial countries in the economic sense. Whilst formerly capital opened the way for an extensive export of manufactures and semi-manufactures to new or swiftly developing markets, at the present time it is feeding industrial rivals and leads to the export of industrial raw materials. Old Europe has already swallowed up more than one quarter of all American foreign investments. At the same time the three colonial continents, Asia, Africa and Australia, have in the aggregate not received one-third of what Europe has obtained (about 1,070,000,000 dollars against 3,671,000,000 dollars is the maximum estimate at the end of 1927, according to official American statistics). In a memorandum drawn up for the economic conference called by the League of Nations, Professor Cassel reckons that the export of British capital abroad, and into British colonies in particular, has been cut down to one half of its pre-war extent. "Here," writes Cassel, "we have an eloquent demonstration of the inadequate assurance of capital to the colonial world since the war." (*Neuere monopolische Tendenzen in Industrie und Handel*, p. 59.) Thus European over-production is being stimulated, while the possibilities of disposing of its products are being reduced.

All these briefly enumerated facts demonstrate the complexity and antagonistic nature of the present situation in regard to the internal mechanism of finance capital.

The restoration of the money market connotes the beginning of capitalist stabilisation. At the present time the threat of new disturbances is hanging over the delicately balanced

equilibrium which has been achieved, and the threat comes from the money market. The clouds are gathering from this direction even over American "prosperity." All signs indicate that the capitalist world is entering on a period of credit crisis. And its basic, immediate source is this great inequality of development, so extraordinarily intensified by the war, which finds expression in the fact that one of the capitalist countries—the U.S.A.—has at its disposal an incommensurable share, more than half of the world's banking resources and the world's gold. The first period of stabilisation has brought with it a universal cheapening of credit with a tendency for discount interest in the various countries to approximate to a certain average world standard. At the present moment there is a reverse wave of universal rise in the discount rate, with a tendency to a new enlargement of the gap between individual countries (one has but to mention that in France the discount rate is still maintained at $3\frac{1}{2}$ per cent., whilst on the other side of the Rhine it stands at $6\frac{1}{2}$ per cent.). What this new wave of difficulties will result in it is still perhaps too early to say, but it is indubitable that the new period has brought with it the phenomenon of a regressive development in this realm.

STOCK EXCHANGE SPECULATION

It is interesting to note that this wave of disorganisation is coming from America. Thus the very country which made it its mission to organise the world money market and which, with the aid of its resources and its methods, did really organise that market during the first stabilisation period, is now disorganising it. It is no less essential to note that in America itself disorganisation is coming from the most anarchic organ of the capital mechanism, the Stock Exchange. The speculation orgy which has now continued for some two years and has exceeded all previous bounds has attracted to itself such colossal resources, and has led to credit becoming so dear, that the entire credit mechanism of the country has been disorganised, and has in turn disorganised the credit mechanism of other countries. The mighty system of Federal Reserve Banks is openly acknowledging its impotence in face

of this speculation orgy. Thus the very banking system which proved capable of financing the great world war and which afterwards proved strong enough to organise and control the entire world money market, is now in a sense crying "Pass!" and is capitulating to the anarchic Stock Exchange element! The super-imperialist device of a planned, organised international control over the world money market has proved a fiasco in the very country of its inception: the United States. Once more capitalist anarchy has got the upper hand of the boldest of "planned designs." And I repeat that the chief source of this new victory of capitalist anarchy is the tremendous inequality in development: without the accumulation of the most colossal credit resources American speculation could not have achieved such dimensions. Now *post factum* a number of the most authoritative American bankers are admitting a kind of credit inflation in the United States: the flood of credit possibilities was bound sooner or later to burst into the Stock Exchange world and to evoke gigantic speculation.

It seems to me that we should do well to describe the third period as an era of unbridled Stock Exchange speculation. This will introduce a valuable feature, in the agitational sense, into the picture of the present domination of finance capital. For in reality Stock Exchange speculation has reached absolutely unprecedented dimensions and has acquired a more international character than ever before. The so-called brokers' loans in the United States at one time surpassed the astronomical figure of $6\frac{1}{2}$ milliard dollars. The inflation of prices for the most marketable shares, etc., exceeded all expectations. During two years the market price of the ninety chief shares rose from $17\frac{1}{2}$ milliards to 33 milliard dollars, *i.e.*, it almost doubled (according to the estimate of one of the founders of the Federal Reserve system, Paul Warburg). Never before has a speculation orgy attracted to itself such enormous resources from all corners of the inhabited world. The existence of enormous available resources in American industry, owing to the high profits and plentiful issue of bonds, which facilitates the accumulation of great credit resources, was here combined with the existence in Europe of large available re-

sources which were still avoiding long-term investment and seeking a quick turnover and large profits. And this constitutes one of the most characteristic paradoxes of the period: the smaller the extent to which accumulated capital and the existing credit resources find productive application inside each of the corresponding countries and also outside them (we know that Soviet Russia, for instance, was subjected to boycott, and we have observed a diminution in the import of capital into a number of the more important colonial countries) the more powerfully did these "free" resources flow towards the Stock Exchange of the richest of the countries (the one least needing a flow of capital from without) as towards a kind of gambling institution. Thus the very fact of a relative abundance of capital, an abundance explained only by the restricted nature of the possibilities of productive application (in its turn explained by political and profound economic causes) leads to the greatest orgies of Stock Exchange speculation, threatening, according to Warburg's recent admission, "not only final ruin to the speculators themselves, but also a general depression throughout the whole country," and in essence for all countries. This is the distinctive feature of the latest era of Stock Exchange speculation in comparison with all preceding eras: this era is not accompanied by a vigorous flourishing of capitalism; its prerequisite is a flourishing condition only in certain countries, and first and foremost in only one of them (the United States) with a diminution, and even a deliberate diminution of possibilities over the vast expanses of all the rest of the world.

Such is the picture presented by the "consolidation" of capitalism. But I repeat, in the sphere of what may be regarded as the achievements of capitalism—intensified production, the development of technique, rationalisation, the further successes of concentration, the restoration of finance capital, etc.—it is difficult to observe any sharp dividing line between the present and the preceding period. We get a much clearer and more homogeneous picture when we turn to those features which for us are the decisive ones: when we turn to a consideration of those contradictions, those antagonistic elements of capitalist development

which from our revolutionary point of view indicate the deepest significance of events.

Here also my direct task will be not so much to show you certain new phenomena with which you are still unacquainted, as to systematise and generalise all that we already know. What is the most decisive, most essential feature in the present picture of the development of capitalism? It is that all the antagonisms of capitalism are being newly intensified, and that all the most general, all the central, really decisive antagonisms of modern capitalism are coming to the foreground, partly thrusting back and partly swallowing up and subjecting to themselves all the secondary, all the local antagonisms. This predominance of the most general, all-embracing central antagonisms of modern capitalism is observable both in the economic and in the international political and in the social spheres. And we may say in advance that if we reduce it all to one short synthetic formula it is here that we shall discern the genuine, most important and most general criterion of the third period. I should like especially to emphasise this simple concept, in view of the fact that on the question of the character of the stabilisation process there have been certain tendencies to re-interpret the entire conception of the third period in a sense directly contrary to the line of the Sixth Congress. We meet with this tendency towards re-interpretation among a number of groups outside the Comintern, and also among certain groups of the various Parties. Thus in the memorandum of comrades Meyer, Ewert and others the new period is represented simply as a period of the consolidation of capitalism in the most literal sense of the words. And moreover this conception of the third period is ascribed to the Sixth Congress itself.

Thus according to the picture so drawn the most characteristic feature of our times would be the issue as to whether the positive (from the capitalist aspect) elements in the development of capitalism had again obtained a temporary predominance over the antagonistic elements; it is this very circumstance which would compel us to talk of the arrival of a new, third period. But all this system of conceptions is essentially and historically unsound. For it corresponds neither with the

facts nor with the ideas which the Sixth Congress put into the conception of the third period. The whole dialectic of the development of capitalism's post-war stabilisation goes by the board in that case, for it disposes of the central Marxist idea that it is on the very basis and within the framework of that restoration of capitalism that the old and the new, and firstly the most general, the most comprehensive antagonisms of capitalism burst through to the surface. If that conception be destroyed one has to represent the most complex and complete antagonism of the process of stabilisation as a simple consolidation of the old regime in the most philistine sense of the word.

But to turn to the essence of the question. If we reduce all the more important facts to one common denominator, we have left as our basic and most general formula a new unprecedentedly severe intensification of the universal rivalry for markets, for the world market (with which, of course, is bound up the latest intensification of the struggle between the capitalists and the workers). This is undoubtedly the central, the determining fact of all the capitalistic present. Its influence is revealed in literally everything. The contradiction between the tendency towards an elemental growth of production and the securing of corresponding possibilities of disposal is the most natural, the most "permanent" (as Marx says) contradiction of capitalism. But the whole issue is that this contradiction has reached absolutely fantastic dimensions, eloquently testifying to the historic decrepitude of capitalism, condemning it to the sharpest of internal struggles and plunging it into a state of chronic instability.

The historical mission of the capitalist form of production is the development of productive forces and the corresponding world market. Capitalism is becoming more and more capable of accomplishing only the first part of its mission. "The over-production of capital," says Marx in the third volume, "means nothing else than the over-production of the means of production." (Vol. III, Part 1.) That was never truer than it is at the present moment. The over-production of the means of production, of the production machinery in the old, basic spheres of industry, has reached the

limits of its development. The productive capacity of the world iron and steel industry has risen 50 per cent. above pre-war. The production possibilities of the shipbuilding industry have been doubled. The production possibilities of the German machinery shops have risen by 45 per cent., according to figures recently published. And this "unrestrained, geometrically progressing development of the productivity of human labour," which Marx calls the historic mission of capital, is proceeding further, owing to the perfecting of the exploitation of labour and the new enormous successes in technique. But the development of the world market cannot at all keep pace with this development of existing and even more of potential production possibilities. In the *Summary Memorandum on Various Industries*, published by the economic conference called by the League of Nations, it was pointed out that the unexploited power in Europe is equal to approximately one-fifth or even one-fourth of the total production possibilities.

THE VICIOUS CIRCLE

Comrade Varga was completely justified in mentioning rationalisation in this connection. With the aid of universal rationalisation the employers are striving to cheapen production, and thus to extend the possibilities of disposal. But the first result of rationalisation is a new and greater extension of production possibilities. And so we get a genuine vicious circle! The common result of rationalisation is a rise in the organic composition of capital of the enterprises concerned. The higher the organic composition of capital the greater the share going into construction work and equipment, so much the more difficult is it for capital to adjust itself to the fluctuations of demand. Here rationalisation leads directly to over-production. In his report Professor Schmalenbach describes this process in the following eloquent words:

"Constant capital is not satisfied with compelling the enterprise to exploit its production possibilities fully despite the inadequacy of demand. It also forces it to extend still more, again despite the inadequacy of demand. In every enterprise there are a number of departments which are exploited only partially. The

directors of the enterprise are forced to extend the whole enterprise for the sake of these departments, in order to exploit them better. Thus whole spheres of industry extend their production possibilities without having been stimulated thereto by a corresponding increase in demand. At innumerable general meetings [of shareholders] one can hear the directors declaring that at the present time the enterprise is not working quite satisfactorily, but if a few more machines be added and certain extensions be made the enterprise will become profitable. But as other enterprises in similar spheres do the same, these industries automatically become rationalised to an excessively high level of production possibilities, which never, or rarely, corresponds to the demand. And the cause of this is always the constant capital expenditure." (Schmalenbach, *op. cit.* p. 245.)

The other source of overproduction arising from rationalisation is the struggle for the quota. In order to justify their pretensions to an increased quota the enterprises associated in a cartel extend their production machinery without heed to the possibilities of selling the commodities.

The present-day progress of technique can no longer lead to that rationalisation of all the bases of world trade, and to the creation of absolutely unimaginable possibilities of disposal, which was the result of the great technical inventions of the last century. "It is incredible," writes the organ of the Federation of British Industries, "that anything like it could ever recur again. It is true that there are still many areas of the world to which the benefits of these inventions can be extended, and much remains to be done to improve their technical application, but there is no reason to suppose that they will ever be replaced by inventions as revolutionary in their effect on prices, the standard of living, or the face of the globe as they themselves were at the time they were originally introduced. Making the fullest allowance for reasonable possibilities, therefore, it seems difficult to avoid the conclusion that the rate of trade development as applied to the opening up of new resources and new countries must tend to slow down, if it has not already done so." (*British Industry*, October 30th, 1926, supplement, p. lv.)

These words are the admission of the historic decay of the dominant regime from the most authoritative source.

The main cause of this relative fruitlessness even of the greatest present-day technical inventions is the circumstance that the partitioning of the world has in the main already been effected and that "the number of countries sufficiently advanced industrially to assist in this development of younger countries has increased enormously even since 1914" (as the same organ of the British industrialists expresses it.) In other words: the possibilities are fewer, and those desirous of exploiting them more numerous. But it is not only a question of a shortage of "new countries." This shortage is more and more assuming the concrete form that these new, or more exactly, less developed or colonial countries have been drawn into a prolonged revolutionary process, which to a greater or less extent will cut them off for a long time from "normal" international commercial relations. Here economic development is becoming more complicated by the social-revolutionary factor. Capitalism's market prospects can no longer be considered and estimated apart from this revolutionary development. That would be a kind of superficial "economism." The development of the world market has never been an automatic process. But how greatly has that process been complicated by the one fact that the socialist revolution in the areas of the former Russian empire has in a certain sense cut off one sixth of the world's land surface from the world economic organism!

To this we have to add the operation of the modern super-monopolistic development, the prices and wages policy of the cartels and trusts. Rationalisation (which includes an accelerated development of monopoly) is increasing the production possibilities to an enormous degree, but at the same time the cartels' and trusts' policy in the realm of prices and wages is making the exploitation of these increased production possibilities difficult. So far rationalisation has nowhere led to any considerable fall in prices. On the contrary, "stability of prices" has become the recognised programme of international finance capital, whilst industrial capital (in so far as one can speak of it separately) is manifesting

a definite tendency towards a rise in prices. It is characteristic that a rise in prices is the most cherished dream of the British industrialists, *i.e.*, of the industry of the very country which more than any other is suffering from difficulties in disposing of its commodities. We know that the greatest rise in the price index by comparison with pre-war conditions has been in regard to the manufactures, *i.e.*, in the finishing industries, and in articles of prime necessity, which results in a fall in the workers' real wages. The disparity between prices for certain important agricultural products and the prices of manufactures has become a more or less chronic phenomenon. Cassel points out the existence of similar scissors between the industrial production of capitalist countries and colonial production. On this question some interesting material is to be found in the recent new edition of the *Memorandum on international commerce and on the purchasing power parity*, published by the League of Nations. According to this memorandum the disparity between prices of manufactures and prices for articles of colonial production was diminished during the years 1920 to 1925, but began to evince a strong growth again from 1926. In 1926 and 1927 the prices of raw materials (representing the colonial type of production) in Britain stood at 85 per cent. of the prices for manufactured articles. The especially low level of the corresponding Indian index is striking. In 1920 it fell to 58.6 per cent. rising sharply only from 1922 onwards, and being stabilised at 89 per cent. in 1926. This reveals the specifically parasitic nature of the development of monopolistically organised industry, and the comparative diminution in the possibilities of disposal among the peasant masses and the colonial population: which in general is one of the signs of decay.

At the same time the employers in the dominating countries of Europe are displaying a definite tendency to reduce wages, in other words, to diminish the purchasing power of the millions of workers. In Britain it is interesting to note that the true pioneer in this struggle is bank and rentier capital, which is in this way striving to defend itself from industry's claims to cheaper credit and from its struggle for a more flexible mone-

tary policy. In the United States the development of wages from 1920-21 is distinguished by the restoration (possibly even on a larger scale) of the previous disparity between the wages of skilled and unskilled workers. The statistics of the American Federation of Labour show that "the economically weaker sections of labour improved their relative position down to 1921, but in the interval between 1921 and 1922 they lost all that they had won since the beginning of the century." (J. Kiczynski; *Löhne und Konjunktur in Amerika*, p. 7.) In France the striking fact is the low wage paid in spite of the country's general exceptional prosperity: in many cases wages are lower than those in Germany. To this category of phenomena we may add the fact with which comrade Varga dealt in detail, *i.e.*, that of the chronic, or, as they call it, "structural" or "organic" unemployment, which the most conservative of bourgeois writers (Cassel, for instance) are prepared to consider the most indicative, the most constant, the most distinctive feature of the entire epoch, and which has acquired exceptionally clear forms especially of recent months.

Thus the contradictions between the production possibilities and the market prospects are growing in every respect. And it was not for nothing that in this regard we recalled that in certain countries the process of rationalisation in its more vigorous forms has apparently approached its close; for this very fact enables us to measure the extent of the disparity between the production and marketing possibilities.

THE STRUGGLE FOR MARKETS

The struggle for sources of raw materials, for spheres for the investment of capital is inseparably bound up with this development. The most characteristic feature of the latest period was bound to be the extreme intensification of international rivalry. In this respect the capitalist world has clearly entered upon a new period. The period when economic life drew all its vital forces from the internal market (of course, this was never literally so) has finally become a thing of the past. Predominance of the home market in dynamics of economy was to a certain extent characteristic of the first post-war period, which was

distinguished by the disintegration of international links. This predominance, frequently in paradoxical forms, still remained characteristic, although in a weaker degree, of the succeeding period, the first period of "stabilisation," in a number of countries, such as the United States, Britain and Germany. This was due to the demand of rentier or "nouveau riche" elements, to the emergence and swift development of a number of new industries, to increased construction of houses (necessitated by the prolonged cessation of all kinds of construction) to an investment situation artificially stimulated by increased import of capital, and so on. This time, with its, in many respects, purely transient conditions, has already passed. The struggle for external markets, for the world market, has come to the centre of affairs. We have now to deal with a complete reorientation.

What is the situation in the various countries? Germany is deliberately and intensely, with growing, though still doubtful success, trying to save the situation arising from the obviously constricted nature of the internal market, by extending her activity on the world market. The logic of reparations is driving her with redoubled strength in this direction.

What is the election programme of the British Conservatives? Together with slander of the Communists and anti-socialist phraseology, their one "constructive" proposal is protectionism, which is only the converse aspect of the struggle for the world market. Meantime, of recent months a tendency towards a diminution of the deficit in the trading balance has become apparent. France is the one large European country which has markedly increased its export in comparison with pre-war times. The figures are 2½ times as high as those of the pre-war. But this imposing achievement is to be explained mainly by the low wage level and the retention of certain premiums on export, amounting to 15 per cent., which are possible owing to the disparity still existing between French prices and those prevailing on the world market (a survival from the inflation "advantage.") But this situation cannot continue for very long. French industry is already feeling the approach of more difficult times, and it will seek by all means to retain its exaggerated share

in the world's disposal of commodities. Finally, there is the United States, the decisive industrial power of our day. There we may observe what can be called the beginning of a complete revolution. We shall consider it in more detail in our report on the Anglo-American antagonism. Here we merely remark that only now is the United States entering upon a period of deliberate, active, organised struggle for the world market. With all the gigantic growth of American production, American export has remained practically stationary and in general has engulfed no greater share of the total national production than in pre-war days. Only the absolute figures for export present any imposing feature. But to the farseeing directors of American economy the internal market as a basis for prolonged prosperity is becoming more and more inadequate. The mass nature of production is causing the danger of overproduction more and more definitely. The kind of exports is changing in the direction of manufactures at the cost of agricultural products and even of industrial raw materials. In the past year the export of manufactures and semi-manufactures constituted 69 per cent. of the total export. If we take into account the circumstance that despite all the decline in her trade Britain still exports not less than three-quarters of her total production (and a still greater proportion of her factory production) while the United States exports only some 8 per cent. of its production (and a still smaller proportion of its factory production) the prospects now being opened up are quite clear. The possibilities in this development are suggested, for example, by the fact that last year the motor industry exported about 17 per cent. of its enormous production to the world market, whereas only a few years ago the proportion was not even 4 per cent. American industry is preparing for this battle over the world market in truly American fashion. On the basis of the Export Trade Act, which repealed the anti-trust legislation in so far as it had application to foreign trade, dozens of monopolistic organisations are arising for the purpose of export, and are taking whole spheres of industry into their scope.

Such is the main line of development. It is leading with irresistible force towards new dis-

turbances and conflicts. The more restricted the possibilities of disposing of commodities, the stronger the pressure of the production possibilities, the more ruthless, the more strenuous must the rivalry become.

This elemental tendency of development is in a certain sense crossed by the growing tendency towards an interlocking of various and heterogeneous interests on a national and international scale. The actual fact of the development and growth of these increasingly varied and powerful connections and fusions is not open to doubt. In this respect the first period of stabilisation was essentially distinguished from the first post-war (still semi-war) period with its characteristic disintegration of international links. Stabilisation has brought with it the restoration of international credit, the export of capital, of world trade (which only followed after production); stabilisation has led both to this restoration and in part to the first emergence of a number of powerful international monopolistic associations.

The last, third period, is marked to a still greater degree by evidence of these fusions. We shall refer briefly to a number of isolated facts.

The so-called co-operation of the leading banks of emission (behind which is hidden private bank capital) has achieved far-reaching dimensions, has taken on peculiarly original forms, and has at the same time become one of the instruments of Anglo-American financial dictatorship, one of the means of controlling the development of discount rates, the movement of prices, the world resources of gold, etc.

Connected with this is the far-reaching interlocking of the finance capital of the various countries. Even during the inflation period new conjunctions arose owing to the flight of capital into countries with a stable currency. (In 1925-26 France lost from 20 to 25 milliard francs.) These connections are being stabilised and in every way developed and consolidated. By way of example we point out that during the past year almost half of the total funds of the creditors in the balances of the German banks fell to foreign capital. In March, 1926, fourteen foreign banks which were members of the Paris bankers' clearing house had more than 33 per cent. of the accountancy opera-

tions to their credit. (Cahill, *Report on economic conditions in France, 1928*, p. 45.) The agreement of policy and interlocking of connections between British and American banks has reached relatively maximum dimensions, constituting one of the reasons for the noisy complaints of British industry, which is ostensibly being sacrificed to the specific interests of the international bankers. On August 1st, 1928, British stock was being quoted on the New York exchange to a total value of over eighteen milliard dollars. (*Economist*, 2nd March, 1929.) American capital is being poured in an ever growing stream into British enterprises in South America, South Africa and even Britain itself. A characteristic incident is the story of the British General Electric Company's recent attempts to safeguard itself from the transference of the majority of shares into American hands; and it is characteristic that in this instance the City, *i.e.*, the banks, definitely took the side of the Americans.

We also observe the emergence of a quite new type of international accountancy and control bodies in the form of committees for transfer (provided for by the Dawes plan) which now have evidently (provided the Paris conference does not end in a fiasco) to yield place to the international reparations "super-bank," which the *Times* has already called the financial League of Nations by analogy with the political Geneva League.

There is an increasing number of loans internationally organised both with and without the aid of the League of Nations (the last Roumanian loan, for instance.) We have already pointed out the thoroughly international character of modern Stock Exchange speculation.

We shall not multiply our examples. Does this growth of interlocking and fusion connote a neutralisation of these profound organic antagonisms to which we have already referred? Such an assumption would be the height of reformist *naïveté*. All that Lenin said on the subject of super-imperialism, on the growth of inter-lockings, and the great intensification of all the decisive, all the most general, central antagonisms, was never more applicable than it is to-day. Of course, the cohesive force of the above-mentioned and in-

numerable other inter-lockings is for a certain time capable of creating temporary breathing spaces, of playing a temporary role as a factor restraining the development of conflict. But least of all in our day is it capable of repealing the most fundamental laws of capitalist development. More than that, numbers of these varied inter-lockings themselves bring fresh complications, start new antagonisms. One has but to point to the entire complex of the reparations problem and its associated problem of inter-Allied debts, to the growing conquests of American capital in the British dominions, in illustration of this fact.

Thus taken as a whole, this combination of an extreme intensification of basic antagonisms with the growth and development of the highly complex and inter-locking strands in the capitalist web provides a picture of something quite unique from its internal antagonisms, its extreme complexity, its opacity, and, one may say, its absurdity and savagery. It is a veritable tower of Babel. Ambiguity, intense contradictoriness, irrationality, the

harnessing of the worst kind of anarchy with organisation are here carried to their extreme, are transformed into a kind of inevitable, higher law of capitalism.

And the result of such a state of affairs is also inevitable. It results in extreme, chronic instability, and in an incomprehensibility in the economic and political situation, accompanied by the possibility of all kinds of zig-zags, surprises and conflicts, with a fresh partitioning of the earth always in prospect.

The threatening nature of this situation is further intensified by the continually growing connection and fusion of private capitalist economy with the machinery of the modern State. Both in relations between classes and in relations between imperialist States this fusion is increasing the intensity and extending the amplitude of the incipient and developing conflicts.

History is bringing to the forefront the decisive, central antagonisms of capitalism; and it is within their framework that we shall consider the international situation,

(To be concluded)

The Forthcoming Congress of the Communist Party of Germany

By W. Ulbricht.

THE recommendations and resolutions of the forthcoming Congress of the Communist Party of Germany at Dresden are of great importance for the Comintern.

The reason for this is that the contradictions of capitalism are at present sharper in Germany than in any other country, owing to the particular conditions prevailing of the class struggle there; for instance, a highly developed industry with limited possibilities for market expansion, the reparations burden, the increasing cohesion of Labour reformism and the government, and the comparatively strong Communist Party. The struggle of German finance capital to secure for Germany the position of a leading imperialist world Power, the inclusion of the social-democracy and trade union reformists in the imperialist front—with the consequent strengthening of the Communist Party's leading influence among the workers—all this leads to a yet sharper alignment of the class front. On these grounds our fight against the coalition policy, against the social-democratic armaments policy, against industrial arbitration and police terror, have secured great successes.

The period of Party development since the Essen Congress has quite definitely been a period of transition. It has been the period of transition from the phase of defeat in the working-class movement (1924-1926) to the phase of the counter-offensive and the attack by the working class.

The above period has been distinguished by the sharpened offensive of the bourgeoisie and the simultaneous tendency towards the left of large masses of the workers.

Under the leadership of our Party increasing masses of the workers are losing their reverence for trade union and capitalist laws, and are building up instruments for the independent leadership of mass struggle, such as committees of action and similar united

front bodies. In the process of this struggle the real nature was revealed of that revisionism represented by the Brandler group and furthered by the conciliators.

The modification in class forces during recent years in Germany is expressed, on the one hand, in the closer cohesion of the various capitalist parties, including the social-democrats and the trade union bureaucrats, under the leadership of trust capital. The offensive of trust capital and its adherents is manifested internally in the policy of the "Great Coalition," in forced arbitration and police terror, in the effort to secure changes in the constitution and in electoral reform, in the closer approach between the trade unions and social-democracy and the machinery of capitalist government; and, finally, the tendency towards Fascism both in the government and in the social-democratic and trade union reformist leadership.

On the other hand, the change is shown by the formation of the proletarian class front under the leadership of the Communist Party. The possibility of this class front, led by our Party, is secured by the creation of united front fighting bodies in the various movements.

Among the most virile expressions of the will-to-battle of the workers, and the carrying on of the struggle as one of "Class against class," may be cited the following: the formation of a strike leadership in the Ruhr; the great successes of the revolutionary candidates to the factory councils; the workers' delegate conferences for the extension of the economic struggle; the development of a leadership in the fight against police persecution; and likewise a leadership in combatting the splitting policies of the reformists within the trade unions. These are the characteristics of the present situation.

FROM ESSEN TO DRESDEN

The Essen Congress took place at a turning-point—the period of the commencement of a gradually growing activity among the workers. This new activity was expressed in the struggle for our economic demands. Capitalist rationalisation had brought about a lowering of the workers' standard of living, with the aid of arbitration wages were reduced; the nine-hour or ten-hour working-day was the rule; the productive capacity of labour had been tremendously increased. Simultaneously with the comparative stabilisation of capitalism, there had been an increase in the industrial peace tendency within trade union officialdom. In these circumstances, the struggle of the workers was primarily directed against the system of arbitration and against the reformist bureaucracy, which had become an adjunct to the governmental apparatus of compulsory arbitration.

In this situation, then, the chief question was that of rallying the masses in order to break the fetters of compulsory arbitration, of engendering a movement against arbitration decisions, and of the leadership in the fight against the unity of the reformist bureaucracy with the employers by means of the State machinery.

Together with the leftward development of the workers and the sharpening of the employers' attack, it was realised, both within our Party and among the workers, that the struggle against compulsory arbitration must be initiated, not within the framework of the trade unions, but against the will of the union officialdom and by means of the formation of the united class front of the workers, based upon the factories. Whereas, during the first large-scale conflicts in 1927, the question was the further extension of the strike movements against compulsory arbitration decisions and the trade union bureaucracy, one year later the central point of our Party's policy was the independent organisation of strikes against wage agreements, arbitration awards and against the decisions of the trade union leadership.

The parliamentary elections of May, 1928, resulted in a considerable increase in the Communist vote, but showed also a substantial

growth in the social-democratic votes. The election demonstrated how necessary it is for the bourgeoisie to draw the social-democrats into responsible positions within the capitalist State, in order to divide the working class. The downward pressure upon wages, the repression of the leftward-moving masses, the strengthening of the capitalist State power, the stressing of imperialist policy—all this was only possible with the aid of the social-democratic and trade union leadership.

The "democrats" are the most skillful protagonists of bourgeois democracy and the introduction of Fascist measures against the workers. The social-democrats did not succeed in bringing about a firm coalition government because trust capital imposed too stringent conditions upon them. The internal party situation of the social-democrats was not yet quite favourable to the acceptance of such conditions. For this reason, the social-democrats sought to retain a certain freedom of action until, bit by bit, the social-imperialist current had coursed completely through the party, to the lowest ranks.

The contradiction between the social-imperialist policies of the social-democratic leaders and the interests of the masses who supported that party became clearly apparent in the question of armaments, and the struggle against the capitalist programme of building a new cruiser. The first step in the direct linking-up of the social-democrats and trade unions with the policies of large-scale capitalism was their support for capitalist rationalisation and their policy regarding compulsory arbitration and means of dealing with the induced crisis. In 1927 especially the reformist leaders endeavoured to prove to the workers that no strikes should take place, in the interests of the home market! According to them, the activity of the trade unions should be limited to exerting pressure upon the government and the employers' associations in order to obtain wage increases through negotiation. In the resolutions of the German General Federation of Trade Unions (A.D.G.B.) it was made manifest that the wage demands and the methods of trying to secure them, should, in this period of crisis, be subordinated to the urgent needs of capitalist economy, because the result of high

wage demands, or of great working class struggles, would only mean an accentuation of the crisis and therefore a worsening of the workers' living conditions. The consequences of the reformist policies of the social-democrats became clearer as the limits of the home market became apparent, and as the struggle for a world market developed as a result of rationalisation. The more Severing, Leipart and Co. sounded the trumpet of "Germany's World Position," the more did they have to defend openly capitalist tariffs and armaments policy. In response to this the C.P.G. developed the campaign against the imperialist war policy and cruiser construction campaign of German capital and social-democracy.

The fight over the cruiser is the expression of the intensified world imperialist conflicts. For this reason the campaign of the C.P.G. against the cruiser is of the greatest importance to the C.I. Contrary to previous campaigns—e.g., the referendum against the indemnification of the old royal houses—the struggle against the cruiser-building project, against imperialist war, and for the defence of the Soviet Union, was in this case led by the C.P.G. alone, against the united front of finance capital down to the social democracy. At the beginning of this campaign the full strength of the Party was not exerted in order to build up the proletarian united front from below through the creation of special centres of action and workers' committees. Certain sections of our Party had not yet realised the change in the situation and the modified conditions of the present struggle. They therefore believed that it was possible to find a broader basis for a campaign; that was a dilution of our policies. However, what the circumstances really imposed was a very drastic application of fundamental Communist principles and an exposure of the relationship between the implications of social-democratic political and industrial policies of the day, and their policy regarding the cruiser building programme. The partial weakening of our Party, in the fight against "cruiser-socialism" arose from the fact that the right advised an appeal to the social-democratic leadership for a common struggle. The wails of the right over the so-called defeat of our Party in the first stage of the cruiser campaign is merely

the expression of their illusion regarding the possibility of joint action with the social democrats. The further development of the cruiser campaign demonstrated how necessary it is, in the fight against the social-democrats, to make clear the struggle against imperialism in order to convince the workers that compulsory arbitration, police persecution, strengthening of the State apparatus, modifications in electoral law, etc., are elements in the preparation for war; and it must show them that it is necessary to make the workers capable of defence through the organisation of new forms of class-struggle, the organisation of strikes against arbitration and the trade union bureaucracy, the formation of self-defence bodies against police terror and governmental protection for strike breakers; and, finally, through the breaking-up of the *Reichsbanner* (Republican organisation) and the strengthening of the Red Front Fighters.

At the same time we should discuss the forms and conditions of the struggle after the outbreak of war; a particularly necessary point when we remember the sentiments and phrases of the "left" social-democrats. These questions include: the organisation of mass strikes; the importance of political work within the army; fraternisation on the front; the necessity of an illegal apparatus of struggle; the conversion of imperialist war into civil war through the development of mass strikes into a general uprising, and through the revolutionary defence of the Soviet Union.

Influenced by the growing resistance of the social-democratic workers to the cruiser-building policy, the social-democratic leaders are now shoving their left shoulder into the foreground in order to deceive the masses and to prevent an exodus from their ranks. For this reason it is imperative that the Dresden Congress should decide upon a definite intensification of the Party's fight against social-democracy and especially against their platform heroes of the left.

THE UNITED FRONT

The methods of developing the united front tactics have become more crystalised through the experiences of intensified class struggle since the Essen Congress. It was symptomatic

of the orientation of our Party that, at the Essen Congress, social-democratic and non-party workers announced their desire actively to support the policies of the C.P.G. Members of the right and the conciliators later jeered at these declarations because it was not immediately possible to develop organisational forms of workers' unity on a mass basis. This was first achieved in the great economic struggles in the Ruhr district, in the dockyard towns, and so on. In all these cases the united front was built up exclusively from below. The unashamed social-imperialist role of social-democracy, its development into a constituent part of the capitalist State apparatus, as well as the splitting methods of the reformists in the trade unions, renders any overtures to the social-democratic leadership a policy of sheer lunacy. Such a measure would signify ignoring the recent experiences of the workers and concealing the bourgeois class policies of social-democracy. In the period immediately after the Essen Congress, the Party essayed in the first big economic struggles, to break the influence of the bureaucracy and develop the campaign against compulsory arbitration by means of the election of trade union strike leaderships. As opposed, then, to the "strike leadership" set up by the reformists, our chief objective was thought to be the development of rank and file democracy among the trade union members. The growing activity of the unorganised workers, however, and the open strike-breaking policy of the reformist leaders taught us that it is necessary, for the successful carrying out of strikes, to establish completely independent united front centres of the workers, which must be elected by all workers in the given enterprise, whether organised or not. This method of carrying out the tactics of the united front has not been fully adopted by the whole Party. There are still officials in our Party who expect to secure tactical victories by mobilising the masses to the call of the reformist leaders in order to prove later to the workers that everything had been done to secure "unity in the struggle"; in other words: unity with the reformist leaders. As a matter of fact, such tactics make it easier for the reformist leaders to break up the workers' solidarity by all kinds of trickery, and to make the workers incapable of struggle at the decisive moment.

The root of this trade union constitutionalism on the part of some of our Party officials lies in the belief that it is still possible to force the reformist trade union leaders into struggle by means of pressure from the workers. Our experiences in the employment of united front tactics in strikes develop the necessary conditions for the successful employment of similar tactics in the elections to the factory councils, in the fight against splitting the trade unions, and in the campaign for the freedom of the streets for mass demonstrations. The outcome of the factory council elections proves on the one hand the correctness of our tactics in putting forward separate revolutionary candidates; on the other hand, however, it shows that there still exists an opportunist deviation from our Party as well as a certain underestimation of the importance of building up organisational forms for the proletarian united front—temporary bodies such as factory council election committees, strike committees and so on.

During the last few months, as a more extended economic crisis developed as well as a marked growth in the militancy of the working class, the bourgeoisie and their social-democratic assistants come nearer than ever to the employment of Fascist methods against the working class. Police prohibition and baton charges against demonstrating workers opposed to the cruiser-building programme are a symptom of the coalition policy of the social-democrats. In these circumstances of intensified class struggle the social-democrats have employed certain insignificant fake-revolutionary manœuvres in order to profit by the trend of the workers towards the left. That is the reason why the bourgeoisie no longer permit the social-democrats to employ the same tactics as in 1927. This increased pressure of the bourgeoisie upon the social-democrats was most clearly revealed during the struggle in the Ruhr. The non-compliance of the Ruhr industrialists with the *Wissel* award of the arbitration courts, and the fact that the social-democrat *Severing* had to cause a new award to be made—on the demand of the employers—shows how heavy capital has drawn the social-democrats into full responsibility for the carrying out of capitalist policy. An equally characteristic instance was the settlement of the wage scale between the bureaucrats of the

textile workers' union and the heads of the North German woollen trust.

While it becomes more difficult for the bourgeoisie and the social-democrats to hinder the workers' struggle by means of trade union constitutionalism and the arbitration system, they endeavour to nip the revolutionary movement in the bud with the assistance of police persecution, through the prohibition of demonstrations, suppression of the press, the attempt to make certain organisations illegal, and similar methods. While in the period of the Ruhr conflicts economic struggles predominated, we now note a joint political and economic activity. The economic struggle is constructing a substantial basis for the sharpening of the political struggle, into which ever broader masses will be drawn.

The political struggle of the workers against police terror, and specially against the politically oppressive measures, is now gaining the utmost importance. Just as our Party has learned to build up the united front of the workers in the struggle against compulsory arbitration and reformism, so must it now mobilise the masses around the creation of new organs of struggle in the campaign for the freedom to demonstrate, for the overthrow of the rule of capitalism, and for a revolutionary workers' and peasants' government.

THE LENINIST UNITY OF THE PARTY

The internal Party tendency of the resolutions of the Essen Congress was distinguished by the will to concentrate all revolutionary forces in the Party on stronger opposition to both Trotskyist and right deviations. Only the ultra-lefts appeared openly as a fraction at this congress, while the rights, under Böttcher, Tittel, and company, endeavoured to smuggle in their opportunist conceptions of "control of production" and "left social-democracy" within the framework of the congress resolutions. After the Essen Congress the rights used every possible means of making their policy of control of production and their conciliatory attitude toward the left social-democrats the general policy of the Party. At the same time they demanded the publication of Brandler's "Draft Programme of Action." This demand for the publication of a pro-

gramme of action, after the acceptance of the Essen Congress resolutions, implied the setting up of a definite opposition platform and therefore open struggle against the Party decisions.

This enhanced forward movement of the rights had certain definite objective causes. At the time of the German crisis in 1927 the bourgeoisie threw the workers a sop in the form of an average wage increase of 5 per cent. Through this the reformists temporarily achieved a certain new elasticity of action, from which the rights drew the conclusion that it would be false to claim that the reformists no longer lead any wage struggles. Obviously the rights confused the improvement in the position of a limited labour aristocracy with the position of the broad working masses whose actual wages were practically unaltered. As the supporters of the right considered the reformists' policy merely "inadequate" but not fundamentally inimical to the workers' interests, they developed their slogan of "Force the Leaders to Fight." They considered it possible to force the reformists into class militancy. They believed in giving the reformists the opportunity of betraying the workers so as to be able to unmask them later! Such tactics must necessarily result in the worker acknowledging that the Communists are indeed thorough-going critics of reformism; but it will not result in the workers following the lead of the Communist Party because the Party would not be organising the workers for struggle.

The basic disagreement, therefore, with the rights is the question of the leading role of the Communists in the organisation and carrying out of the working class struggle. This revolutionary leadership, however, presupposes from the very beginning a clear conception of the path leading to the dictatorship of the proletariat. The essence of the Brandler group's policy is to inveigle the workers into the struggle for power through the advocacy of certain transitional measures such as control of production, price control, no secret bank policies, etc.; to soothe them with the belief that a revolutionary workers' and peasants' government can be established without arming the proletariat, without the formation of revolutionary workers' councils, and without

the destruction of the capitalist State. In actual practice this policy implies the obstruction of mass strike movements on the grounds of the immediate demands of the workers and the masking of the struggle for the dictatorship of the proletariat. During the intensification of class antagonisms in Germany, the Brandler group unceasingly sought to disseminate their incorrect policies among the workers, while the struggle within the Party was actually going on. Simultaneously they were engaged in building up their fractional organisation.

The main feature of the policy of that group of comrades who later were known as conciliators, was the attempt to secure the basis for an alteration in the political course of the Party by a so-called concentration of all elements in the Party, not on a basis of principle but as a species of coalition. Instead of a concentration of the most progressive, active and revolutionary elements of the Party, they desired a concentration together with those comrades who had not yet, or who had only partially, rid themselves of their opportunist conceptions. The conciliators underestimated the right wing danger in our Party.

Since the rising wave of activity among the workers in 1927—characterised by the Sixth World Congress as the beginning of the third period—this opportunist danger developed into the chief danger. This became clear during the economic conflicts of 1927 although the ultra-left group had not yet been completely overcome at that time. At the Ninth Plenum the conciliators opposed with all their strength the argument that the right wing danger could be designated as the greatest danger; and later they attempted to treat the decisions of the Ninth Plenum as unimportant, and to obscure the fact that the Plenum's slogan, "Class against Class," was linked up with the frontal attack against the right wing danger. Gradually the conciliators' political line became more distinct. After the Reichstag elections in May, 1928, they spread the illusion that the elections were a victory for the bourgeoisie and the social-democrats, and that the bourgeoisie as a result of this experience, would find it possible to carry through their policy by democratic constitutional means. They did not realise that, precisely as a result of the intensi-

fication of antagonisms within the capitalist system and the consequent leftward tendency of the masses, the social-democrats would be made more and more responsible for master-class policies, so that the social-democrats could undertake the reorganisation of the State apparatus in the interests of capitalist dictatorship and could also serve as mediators and police chiefs to strengthen political and economic pressure upon the working class. This was necessary because "democratic" means were not sufficiently capable of suppressing the masses. This incorrect estimate of the situation by the conciliators reached its fullest expression at the Sixth World Congress in their attempt actually to characterise this third period as a period of stabilisation. The conciliators also defended the slogan "Force the Leaders to Fight," and endeavoured to side-track the fight against the right wing danger by gossip about the ultra-left tendencies of the Central Committee.

The records of this discussion, which had been piling up ever since the Ninth Plenum, were suddenly brought to the attention of the entire Party in connection with the case of Wittdorf. The utilisation of the Wittdorf case by the conciliators was the obvious consequence of their previous policy of concentration. On the pretence of political motives they sought to use the Wittdorf case to secure a change in the composition of the Party leadership, and thus secure a basis for an alteration in the Party line. Obviously these tactics were in violation of the decisions of the Sixth World Congress. The difficulty with which the unsuccessful attack of the conciliators and of the rights was overcome revealed that the majority of the Central Committee, in their desire not to disrupt the Party needlessly, had not sufficiently gone into the details of their differences with the rights and the conciliators at meetings of leading Party members and had not organised adequate resistance to the conciliators' attacks upon personalities.

While the rights and the conciliators, during the Wittdorf case, were attempting to confuse the membership with the slogan, "For or against Corruption," both groups were compelled to display their political colours during the conflicts in the Ruhr district. The acid test of struggle demonstrated that the political

line of our Party was correct and that the rights had drifted towards the position of the "economic democrats" while the conciliators floundered here and there without any guiding principle. During the metal workers' struggle in the Ruhr the Party used every effort to carry out the decisions of the Sixth World Congress regarding the fight against reformism and the building up of an independent strike leadership, while the rights supported the policy of the reformists inasmuch as they opposed the demands of the revolutionary workers and backed the demand—just as the social-democrats did—for the acceptance of the Wissel arbitration award. Just as did the reformists, they sought to divert the workers to the question of strike relief and the so-called policy of the control of production. Once the rights had appeared in the midst of an industrial conflict, as an organisation opposed to the Party, the preliminary to all future struggles was the necessity of purging the Party of the rights.

The separation of the openly declared rights from the Party naturally led to divisions within the conciliators' group. While the working class element which had previously sympathised with the conciliators gradually came nearer to the position of the Central Committee, the leading functionaries among the conciliators assumed more and more the position of place-holders for the rights within the Party. The conciliators have set up their own programme against the political resolutions of the Central Committee—which served as the groundwork of the Party Congress—and, on every political question, have endeavoured to have their standpoint put forward through group representation. After the Ninth Plenum the conciliators developed into a definite group with an independent platform and internal group discipline. They continued to maintain their incorrect estimate of the political situation and to under-estimate the practice of police persecution and Fascist measures against the working class. On the question of strike strategy they belittled the importance of rallying the unorganised, and of special strike leadership. In the factory council elections they sabotaged the decisions of the Party by refusing to lead the struggle for the return of revolutionary electoral lists, but sought to set up opposi-

tional candidates—whenever possible from within the trade unions—on a "free trade union" platform. Within the Party they have maintained their tactics of advocating the limitation of the rights in words, while opposing the policies of the central committee and of the Comintern in their acts. The Dresden Congress must demand a clear answer from those Party officials with conciliatory tendencies as to whether they recognise their gross errors with regard to their estimate of the situation, with regard to strike and trade union tactics, and with regard to the internal Party development; and also whether they are ready to carry out the decisions of the Congress in a disciplined manner and without reservations.

AGAINST OPPORTUNISM

The Party Congress will confirm the expulsion of the right wing functionaries. At the same time it will be necessary to bring to the knowledge of the Party membership the real character of the opportunist deviation of the rights and of the conciliators. The membership is only partly acquainted with the opportunist mistakes which have crept into the mass struggle. During the present rising wave of militancy among the workers we see the dangers of opportunism coming to full fruition in the policies of the Brandler group. Under these circumstances then, when the results of an opportunist deviation are becoming so obvious, it is necessary to strike a balance and to bring before the entire membership of the Party the general significance of the Brandler brand of revisionism.

The principal points are as follows:—

1. An analysis of the Brandler theory of the State which seeks to establish a transition stage in which the working class gradually prepares the preliminary conditions of the struggle for the proletarian dictatorship through the control of production and a so-called workers' and peasants' government, which is nothing more than a coalition government.

This opportunist use of the terms of a revolutionary transition period, independent of the struggle for the arming of the proletariat and the formation of workers' councils of a political nature, is nothing more than the theoretical

expression of opportunist errors such as were made during the mass movements in 1923.

2. The revisionists deny the leading role of the Communist Party. They believe that they can lead the workers in struggle jointly with the social-democrats. Such tactics signify a disbelief in the revolutionary capacity of the proletariat, and is an attempt to draw petty-bourgeois elements into the struggle by means of social-democracy. Rising from this fundamentally incorrect attitude towards the role of the Communist Party and that of social democracy, the tactics of the united front appear merely as an alliance with the social-democratic organisations. The consequences of this would be, in elections, joint candidatures with the social democrats; and, especially in municipal elections, the propaganda of "a working class majority." Such tactics foster the illusion that the social-democratic party can be transformed into a working class party under pressure from the workers. The policy of the right, as regards our attitude towards the social-democrats and the employment of united front tactics, implies a complete revision of the decisions of the Second World Congress of the Comintern on the role of the Communist Parties.

3. The trade union policy of the revisionists is opposed to the Communist Party's policy for winning over the trade union members and the unorganised workers. He who believes that the reformist policies are merely "inadequate" and not basically anti-working class must necessarily also believe in the possibility of revolutionising the trade union bureaucracy; thus arriving at that species of organisational idolatry which does not realise the essence of the thing, the actual content of trade union policy, but is engrossed only in the preservation of the form. The Brandler group's policy aids the reformists and obstructs the development of the working masses towards Communism; because the workers, when faced by such a policy, correctly declare that the Communists can really offer no other way than the reformists; for they subordinate themselves to the orders of the reformist traitors and renounce the leadership of the working masses by their very actions. This opportunist policy must lead to the isolation of the Communist Party from the working masses

and implies a revision of the Leninist position regarding the aims and methods of our trade union work.

4. The fundamentally anti-Bolshevik standpoint of the revisionists finds its organisational expression in the abandonment of democratic centralism, in the denial of the submission of the minority to the majority, and in the refusal of discipline as regards the decisions of the Comintern. The gentlemen of the Brandler group would degrade the Comintern down to the same level as that of the Labour and Socialist International—namely, that of a letter-box. Therefore they fight for the independence of the various national sections; in other words, for the right to carry out a different policy from that which has been decided by the leading bodies of the Comintern. This denial of democratic centralism on an international and national scale implies an attempt to transform the Comintern and its sections into a conglomeration of every possible tendency.

After the Brandler group openly renounced the programme of the Communist International and the decisions of the Sixth World Congress they proceeded to formulate their anti-Bolshevik conceptions into a so-called "programme of struggle." In the spirit of this revisionism they now request the Communist Party to unite with them upon a programme for the Saxon Landtag elections. They actually claim that our Party shall accept Brandler's left social-democratic programme. After having supported reformist policies in the Ruhr struggle, the Brandler group is now assisting the left social-democrats in the elections in Saxony to weaken the power of the Communist Party, by putting up their own candidates. Objectively, this means supporting the forthcoming social-democratic coalition policy in Saxony. The Brandler group asks the Communist Party to declare itself prepared "to support a social-democratic minority government" and to unite with the social-democrats in a joint list of candidates. As a result of such a policy the workers would be perfectly correct in saying, "If the Communists support a social-democratic government we might as well vote for the social-democrats right now." The Communist Party absolutely declines to acquiesce in the revisionist

proposals of the Brandler crowd. During the electoral fight the Communist Party will make it clear to the workers that only a revolutionary Workers' and Peasants' Government, based upon revolutionary workers' councils and the armed proletariat, can carry out a working class policy. All the talk about a social-democratic government only serves to make the road to coalition easy for the Saxon social-democrats and particularly for their "left" leaders. The detaching of the workers from social democracy will be brought about, not by supporting a social-democratic government, but because the Communist Party understands how to prepare and to lead the extra-parliamentary struggle of the workers for their political and economic demands. Not a united front with an eventual social-democratic government, but the organisation of the united front on the basis of the factories, will free the workers from the influence of social-democracy.

It is precisely these recent experiences which have revealed the fundamental worthlessness of the revisionism of the Brandler group. This is an important preparation for bringing our Party membership towards the real Leninist conception of the correct tactics in the struggle for the dictatorship of the proletariat and socialism.

THE TASKS OF THE PARTY

The characteristic feature of the present phase of the working class movement is the development of the *political* mass struggle. While, during the period from the Essen Congress until 1928, the workers were engaged almost exclusively in fighting for industrial demands and political struggle took the form mainly of the fight against compulsory arbitration, the sharpening of the class struggle implies an increasingly significant political campaign against the repressive measures of the State, against police persecution and Fascist terror, and for the overthrow of the capitalist government and the setting up of a revolutionary Workers' and Peasants' Government.

The principal task of the Party lies in winning over the masses to the formation of a proletarian class front for the struggle to secure economic demands, against police terror and imperialist armaments; and thus to estab-

lish the organisational forms of the proletarian united front. At the Dresden Congress the Party must put in the foreground the evaluation of all their experiences in independent strike leadership and the activities of that leadership, so that the entire Party may be informed on the actual operation of our "Class against Class" policy. At present this is only partly the case. In many districts where the Party has not yet assumed independent leadership of the economic struggle, the Party membership has not arrived at a complete understanding of the essentials of these tactics. This was shown, among other instances, in the resistance to the carrying out of our tactics in the factory council elections.

The question of building up a revolutionary leadership in the mass struggle is the question of the Leninist use of the united front tactics and of the realisation of proletarian democracy. Without these tactics, an offensive struggle against reformism is impossible. The Communist Party will only be in a position to win over the majority of the working class when it thoroughly understands how to formulate its political and economic slogans on the basis of the actual needs of the workers and then, through the creation of the necessary organisational bodies, to launch and to lead a struggle for those claims. In view of the strike-breaking part played by the trade unions it is more necessary than ever to supply the workers' will-to-struggle with organisational forms, by means of workers' delegate conferences to which the delegates shall be democratically elected by the workers in their factories. The representatives of the factories must decide upon the demands and also decide in what form the strike committees, councils of action and similar bodies for the preparation and leadership of the movement shall be organised. To the extent to which we are enabled to throw up a new leadership in these struggles, and to develop new local leaders from the factories, the preliminary conditions will be obtained for the workers, in the period of the forthcoming struggle for power under leadership of the Communist Party, to organise their workers' councils at the right moment. From this point of view, the strike committees and similar bodies have a great educational work to carry out.

The reformist bureaucracy tries to render the organisation and leadership of political and economic campaigns by the revolutionary trade union opposition impossible by expelling revolutionary workers from the trade unions and by the dissolution of entire local branches or districts in which the revolutionaries have gained the leadership. These disruptive policies must be opposed by a strengthened opposition to reformism both inside and outside the trade unions. We know that we cannot capture the reformist trade union apparatus. But we must and can win over the majority of the trade union membership. Therefore our Party slogan must be: "Face towards the Factories!"—the concentration of all forces on winning over the workers in large-scale concerns, for they are essential for the carrying out of economic and political struggles. Daily agitation and propaganda in the big factories, recruiting campaigns for the Communist Party, and sympathetic organisations—these are the most important tasks. It is, however, important at the same time to strengthen the opposition in the trade unions and to make a more systematic attempt than hitherto to influence the trade union membership. A higher standard of work within the sympathetic organisations is also an important means of winning over the trade unionists who belong to them for our class war policy in the factories and the unions.

In those cases where the reformists try to overthrow revolutionary leadership in the trade unions or even to dissolve certain bodies, our comrades must not give up their positions but must safeguard the unity of the organisation by rallying the membership against the reformist disruptors and creating new means for fighting the reformist plans.

These offensive tactics against reformism, and the creation of temporary organisational forms for the struggle, must not lead to the gradual substitution of any special organisations of non-unionists, or to mutual benefit societies for the expelled. We must continue to oppose reformist disruption and to fight for the revolutionary unity of the proletarian front. If, in the expectation that splits will occur later in certain trade unions, we were now to start building up new organisations, many workers would believe that we are in favour of drawing the workers out of the re-

formist trade unions. This would greatly enhance the difficulty of winning over the trade unionists for the struggle against reformism. It is quite another question if, in the process of the revolutionary mass struggle in Germany, the reformists openly carry out strike-breaking activities leading to the destruction of the trade unions. It would then be quite clear to the workers who are the splitters, and why the reformists were breaking up the union. In such circumstances, it would depend upon the experience of the workers, upon the political situation, and upon the strength of the Communist Party, whether the organisation of class trade unions should be carried on.

The struggle on behalf of the industrial demands of the workers, and against compulsory arbitration and police persecution, is part of the struggle against the imperialist war aims of the German capitalists and their social-democratic flunkeys. For this reason, these questions must be brought into relation with the cruiser-building policy of the social-democrats and the rule of trust capital. The preparations for International Red Day, which will take place on August 1st, require a thorough discussion at our congress of the questions of struggle against imperialist war and for the defence of the Soviet Union, to ensure that, after the congress, a genuinely widespread mass agitation will be launched throughout the entire country. For this purpose, it will be necessary to organise united front bodies, in the factories and districts, for the struggle against the cruiser policy and to organise preparations for International Red Day.

The previously mentioned political questions indicate what organisational problems must above all be the object of discussion at the congress. The first question is the evaluation of the experiences of our factory groups and the working out of means for the improvement of their work in order that these groups shall really become vehicles for the political campaigns of the Party. In this respect the work of our Party improved during the recent industrial conflicts and the factory council election campaigns. But the congress must definitely decide upon a turn in our organisation policy which will have as a result that the functionaries of the large factory groups have the

deciding influence in the Party leadership; and also that the Party leadership shall be obliged to guide, support and control the work of the factory groups. If this change in our organisational work is not brought about it will cause tremendous difficulties in the organisation of temporary organs of struggle in the factories, as various political crises arise.

This orientation towards the factories will also enable the Party to rally and organise strategically important masses of the working class in the struggle against capitalism and social-democracy, in periods of suppression of

the press, prohibition of demonstrations and meetings, or under conditions of semi-illegality. The entire Party structure from the central committee down to the factory group, must be focussed upon the difficulties of work under semi-illegal conditions.

These are the chief problems with which the Dresden Congress of the C.P.G. will be occupied. It is, of course, understood that the questions relating to the policy of the Comintern and of the C.P.S.U. will likewise be subject of deliberations at our congress.

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The May Day Front

THE following is a brief summary of the position at the front of militant activity:

BERLIN.—Nineteen killed, 35 seriously wounded, 200 with minor injuries. Two hundred thousand demonstrators. Barricades. Armoured cars. Machine guns.

WARSAW.—Nine seriously wounded, 100 with minor injuries. The number beaten up and maimed is beyond all computation. In Vilna there were 24 seriously wounded.

PARIS.—A strike unprecedented since 1920. A concentric advance of the proletarian demonstrations from the suburbs to the boulevards, repulsed by the joint efforts of the police and the national guards.

That is the first, the material balance-sheet, so to speak, of the May Day review, the militant review of the proletarian forces at the height of the "third period." The re-elections to the German factory committees, which

so far have yielded brilliant results to the Communist Party and to the revolutionary trade union opposition, have still to be completed; the impression of the mighty strike wave which has been going on unbrokenly since the end of 1928 has not yet faded; and the tempo of growth of class antagonisms on May 1st provides a new lesson, justifying the boldest expectations of the Comintern Sixth Congress. And what is the political balance-sheet of the May Day demonstrations with reference to our further struggle?

FIRST and foremost, this is a question of the degree to which the working class is moving leftward and of the real inter-relationship of forces within the working-class movement. Everyone will remember the interventions of the conciliators at the Sixth Congress and the period which followed, when they "warned" us against under-estimating

the influence of the social-democrats, who at the May, 1928, parliamentary elections received 14,000,000 votes. "What do the 9,000,000 votes obtained by German social-democracy signify?" asked Ewert at the Congress. Is this only a transient election success, or are these 9,000,000 votes the result of organisations which are still strongly rooted in the working class of Germany? Ewert answers with conviction, "The latter is the truth."

And on the eve of the 1st of May, in the special May Day leader of their central organ, "Against the Current," the right-wing renegades who have been excluded from the Party, unmasked the "ultra-left" policy of the German C.P., which is "not in a condition to attract the masses towards itself."

Life itself has given the right-wing deserters and the "sceptic" conciliators their answer. The dispute as to the estimate of the inter-relationship of forces in the working masses has been settled by the masses themselves at the barricades in Neukölln and Wedding. After the Ruhr lock-out and the Lodz strike, after the re-elections of the German factory committees, this year's mighty May Day demonstration revealed unequivocally the direction in which the workers' movement is now developing. The May Day review is a death sentence to social-democracy. The election "victories" achieved by social-democracy were simply the effect of the partial stabilisation of capitalism. Even so, the antagonisms within that stabilisation were growing with extraordinary swiftness, being expressed in the enormous increase in the Communist vote. Since then we have seen how the elements of crisis within capitalist stabilisation are growing, how the class antagonisms are increasing, how the working class has passed to a counter-attack in the economic battles of the past year, battles which culminated in the political counter-attack on May 1st. For this reason we devoted our leading article on the eve of May Day to the special importance of the May Day demonstration this year. Just as every large modern strike acquires a profound political significance, so the importance of the 1929 May Day consists, not in the demonstrations around the slogan of protection of labour or even the eight-hour day, but in the profound political and revo-

lutionary character of the workers' demonstrations.

That is the second lesson of the May Day demonstration. We must have a clear perception of this process of continuous growth of revolutionary factors—a fact which is incontestable, and which has enormous importance for the future tactics of the Communist Party.

THE May Day demonstration is a mass proletarian activity. This constitutes the chief value of May Day. On that day the workers, organised and unorganised, irrespective of party or trade union membership, are on the streets. In their hypocritical manifestoes the Second and Amsterdam Internationals called upon the workers to make a "mighty demonstration" on May Day. But there was not a single large country in which the call of the "international" found any response. The masses demonstrated only under the banners of the Communist Party. Social-democracy cleared the field of battle for settling accounts with the revolutionary proletarian advance-guard, and itself participated in that settlement. That is the third lesson of the May Day demonstration. Social-democracy can no longer serve as a defensive barrier against Communism. It is this fact which explains the increasing use of open repression and bloody execution in regard to the working class, now being effected by the bourgeois State machinery. The social-democratic and reformist trade union leadership which is closely bound up with the bourgeois State, is taking active part in these measures. Moreover, feeling that the ground is slipping from beneath their feet, the present-day successors to Noske—Zörgiebel's "bloodhounds"—are playing the part of scouts and organisers in this bloody execution. "Behind the prohibition of the May Day demonstration by the social-democratic chief of police," writes the bourgeois *Weltbühne*, "stand the socialist unions as faithful dragons . . . fearing the competition of the C.P. of Germany. . . . Here is the thread which runs from the factory committee elections to the prohibition of May Day." The bourgeois nature of present-day social-democracy is revealed in the monstrous fact that the director of the Berlin Transport Company (the largest transport

firm in the world, where at the recent elections to the factory committees the opposition were victorious) Brolata, a member of the social-Democratic Party, "prohibited" the May Day strike and demanded that each worker should hand him a declaration of support.

THE May Day demonstration is the symbol of the revolutionary unity of the working class. The recent problems which have arisen concerning the unorganised workers, large militant strike committees, and the new factory committees, have given the May Day demonstrations of this year a special significance, and expresses the character of the "third period" which is now developing. It is a weapon for the militant mobilisation of the masses. In Berlin the May Day committee was elected by representatives of 200,000 workers. In Paris the decision to strike on May Day was passed by the initial conferences of factory delegates summoned by the Unitary Confederation of Labour for the formation of factory committees. A striking feature was the strike in Paris of almost 200,000 metal workers, of whom scarcely 2 per cent. are organised in trade unions. On April 28th a conference of metal workers was called, at which a resolution to strike was carried; and, for the information of all conciliators, the admirers of capitalist reconstruction, be it noted that the position of the workers in the French metal industry is worsening from day to day.

These are the reasons why this year's May Day demonstration has proved more important than any other since the period of direct revo-

lutionary struggle in 1918-20. It was the demonstration of an intensified revolutionary class struggle. It was a demonstration of the extraordinary growth in the offensive activity of the workers, not only in the capitalist countries, but in the U.S.S.R. also. Here, in capitalist countries, this activity is manifesting itself in the struggle between labour and capital, and in the wholesale unmasking of the social-democratic constabulary. There, in the U.S.S.R., it is expressed in the greater participation of the masses in the construction of socialism and in the offensive against the kulak. Here the struggle is for the development of revolutionary pre-requisites; there, for the development of the pre-requisites to the final victory of socialism. Here it is a struggle for the proletarian dictatorship; there it is for the maximum five-year plan. In this gigantic conflict of classes there is no room for the "middleman." The Brandlerites' references to the "adventurist" policy of the Comintern and to the transformation of the C.P. of Germany into a Party of "the declassed lumpen-proletariat" naturally led their adherents to form a united front against Communism, with all the social-democratic band, and in certain cases (as happened with the Leipzig tramway workers) even together with the yellow trade unions and employers. The cowardly opportunists who are hiding behind the mask of conciliation cannot be surprised if in response to their timorous reconnoitings they hear the menacing reply of the proletarian advance-guard, whose slogans were carried on the innumerable banners of the Moscow proletariat to the Lenin mausoleum: "No slowing down!" "No turning aside!"

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At a New Stage

Results of the C.P.S.U. Sixteenth Party Conference

THE Sixteenth Party Conference of the C.P.S.U. was held at a critical moment both in the international revolutionary workers' movement and in the work of socialist reconstruction in the U.S.S.R. In the capitalist countries the class struggle of the proletariat against the bourgeois social-democracy is increasing in severity. In the U.S.S.R., in connection with the development of the socialist offensive, there is an intensification of the class struggle against the capitalist elements in the towns and especially in the villages; against elements which are putting up a despairing opposition to that socialist reconstruction. A characteristic feature of this period of intensification of class antagonisms is the growth of the right-wing danger in all sections of the Comintern. The district and regional party conferences and the April joint plenum of the C.C. and C.C.C. preceding the sixteenth party conference, were held under the sign of a stern and decisive struggle of the entire party against the right-wing conciliators.

"A PLAN OF GREAT WORKS"

On the agenda of the party conference were four subjects:

1. The five-year plan of development of Soviet economy.
2. The ways of developing agriculture and taxation relief to the middle peasant.
3. The results and the immediate tasks in the struggle against bureaucracy.
4. The party purge and testing of members and candidates.

The conference unanimously decided to approve of the five-year plan of the State Planning Commission in the form confirmed by the Council of People's Commissars of the U.S.S.R., as being in complete accordance with the instructions given by the fifteenth party congress. At the conference this plan was justly called "The Plan of Great Works."

In order to show to what an enormous extent

socialist construction is provided for in the five-year plan, we give a few figures.

Whilst during the past five years capital investments in industry have amounted to 4,400 million roubles, in the projected plan they are fixed at 16,400 million roubles; the corresponding figures for agriculture are 15,000 million roubles and 23,200 million roubles; for transport, 2,700 million and 10,000 million roubles; and for electrification 900 million and 3,100 million roubles.

This enormous increase in capital investments is accompanied by a corresponding increase in production throughout industry from 18,300 million roubles in 1927-28 to 43,200 million roubles in 1932-33; this means that the pre-war dimensions of industrial production are to be trebled. The figures for agriculture are from 16,600 million to 25,800 million roubles, which involves an increase of $1\frac{1}{2}$ times the pre-war production.

The capital investments in industry are directed mainly to the leading industries producing means of production (78 per cent. of all the capital investments in industry). With a growth in the total gross production by 2.8 times, the gross production in those spheres producing means of production is increased 3.3 times. The constructional activity in the electrical field will increase the quantity of electrical energy, from 5,000 million kilowatt hours to 22,000 million kilowatt hours. The construction of new metal works and the reconstruction of those already in operation should increase the production of cast-iron from 3.5 million to 10 million tons by 1932-33. The output of coal is to be raised from 35 million to 75 million tons by 1932-33. The gross production of machinery building work is to be increased by $3\frac{1}{2}$ times, whilst the output of agricultural machinery is to be increased four times. The production of chemical fertilisers is to be increased from 175 thousand to over eight million tons. At the present moment there are 36,000 tractors in the U.S.S.R., by the end of the five years,

sixty thousand tractors are to be turned out per annum.

OWING to the enormous extent to which the proposed tempo of development of economy in the Soviet Union will surpass that of all capitalist countries, the specific importance of the U.S.S.R. in world production will be fundamentally changed. In regard to cast iron, for instance, the U.S.S.R. will move from the sixth place to the third place, being surpassed only by Germany and the United States.

The five-year plan provides for a decisive increase in the socialist elements in towns and villages at the expense of the capitalist elements in national economy. The structure of the basic funds will change as follows: (in percentages of the total at the end of the year)

Sector	1927-28	1932-33
State	51.0	63.6
Co-operative } Socialist	1.7	5.3
Private	47.3	31.1

The five-year plan provides for a very strong movement in favour of the social sector in agriculture (Soviet and collective farms). Whilst at the present time 10 per cent. of the peasant husbandries (kulak and affluent middle peasants) provide 40 per cent. of all the commodity production of grain, by the end of the five years the dominating role will pass to the collective and Soviet farms, which will supply 43 per cent. of the commodity production of grain. This figure will represent over eight million tons of grain. At the same time the individualistic sector of agriculture will cease its numerical growth owing to the fact that upwards of twenty million persons will be drawn into the social sector. Owing to this, and also owing to the development of a network of machinery and tractor stations and the extensive practice of contracting in advance for the harvest, which at the end of the five years will cover 85 per cent. of the grain produced, the leading role of the working class in the countryside will be consolidated and a new form of the alliance between town and country will be created which will lead to the general reorganisation of agriculture on the basis of superior technique and of collectivisation.

THE social structure of the national income will have as its chief characteristic a rise in the real wages of the industrial workers by 71 per cent. at the end of the five years, and an increase in the income of the agricultural population by 67 per cent. In order to realise the plan of socialist reconstruction in backward Soviet Russia a complete cultural revolution is indispensable. In accordance with this the five-year plan sets apart 21,000 million roubles for social-cultural work out of the total mobilised sum of 86,000 million roubles. Of this 21,000 million, 11,000 million is assigned to education. Despite this, the problem of specialists (engineers, technicians, agricultural experts etc.) and of raising the skill of the workers remains the greatest problem of the five-year plan. But it is proposed to cover the deficit which has been suffered in this sphere by increasing the output of the higher educational institutions, the creation of a new type of master-workmen, by evening workers' technical schools, the extension of the network of workers' universities, factory schools, etc.

The realisation of the five-year plan will lead to a considerable change in the relationship of class forces. The number of persons living by wage labour will increase by four millions, and the transport staff in particular will increase by 5 per cent., and the number of building workers by 126 to 200 per cent. Despite an expected increase of 18 million persons in the population during the five years, the number of unemployed will drop to 500,000, owing to a shortening of the labour day, an increase in the number of workers, and especially the intensification of agriculture and an increase in its capacity for absorbing labour. In the countryside also there will be a considerable movement in class forces, owing to the development of the collective forms of agriculture. At the present time the poor peasants' husbandries constitute 21 per cent. of all husbandries. According to the preliminary estimates made by the State Planning Commission, within five years the percentage of poor peasants' husbandries will be approximately 1 to 2 per cent., the percentage of middle peasants' husbandries will be 68 per cent., and that of the kulak husbandries will fall to 2.9 per cent., or half the present figure.

The application of the five-year plan, which was unanimously accepted by the conference, involves an extremely intense tempo. Why did the party agree to such an intense tempo of socialist construction? Because the aggregation of internal and external conditions confronts the U.S.S.R. with the task of overtaking and surpassing the leading capitalist countries within the immediate future. That task is dictated by a number of conditions. Technique is developing very swiftly in the capitalist countries, and so in the interests of the maintenance of the U.S.S.R.'s economic independence and defensive power it is necessary to take a high tempo of industrialisation. Secondly, in the U.S.S.R. at the present time are 25 million petty commodity producing economies which elementally engender capitalism. In order to overcome this elemental growth of capitalism, in order to re-organise agriculture on new bases and to direct it into the stream of collectivism and large-scale production, a high tempo of industrialisation of the country is indispensable. Finally, the development of socialistic construction in the U.S.S.R. will be a model for the proletariat of the whole world. In order finally to convince the world proletariat of the advantages of Soviet economy it is necessary to show them in practice that it is capable of developing at a swifter tempo than are the leading capitalist countries, despite the backwardness of the country and the hostile capitalist environment.

IS such an intense tempo within the powers of the Soviet Republic? Facts have proved that it is. When the preliminary drafts of the five-year plan were made during the restoration period, very low tempos were projected, for it was expected that in the transition from restoration to reconstruction the tempo of development of economy would inevitably tend continually to fall, that we should have a descending curve in the tempo of development of industry. And even so, the bourgeois economists at that time declared that this projected low tempo could not be realised. What was actually the case? In the preliminary drafts the proposed increase in production was 17 per cent. in 1926-27, 12 per cent. in 1927-28, 9 per cent. in 1928-29, and finally, 8 per cent. in 1930-31. But in reality in 1926-27 instead of 17 per cent. there was a

19 per cent. increase; in 1927-28 instead of 12 per cent. there was a 23 per cent. increase; and in the present year 1928-29 instead of 9 per cent. we are expecting an increase of more than 20 per cent.

Owing to the advantages of planned socialist economy we now, during the reconstruction period, have tempos of increase in production which considerably exceed the swiftest tempos of capitalist countries. For example, during the decade 1850-51 the tempo of increase in production in the United States constituted an average of 8.7 per cent., during the succeeding decade it constituted 8 per cent., in the next it was 5.8 per cent., in the next, 4.9 per cent., and in the decade 1890-91 it was 4 per cent. The same phenomenon is to be observed in pre-revolutionary Russia. In the years of vigorous development the increase in Tsarist Russia constituted 8 per cent. In the average years it fell to 5 per cent. and even to 3 per cent. and lower. And in the U.S.S.R. during the first years of reconstruction there is an increase of 23 per cent.

Of course, in order to maintain such a high tempo of development throughout the five years an enormous exertion of strength is necessary. In accordance with this necessity the five-year plan pays special attention to what we may call the qualitative factors. The resolution adopted by the conference says on this point: "The task of overcoming these difficulties is only possible in the case of a pronounced improvement of the quality of work and of working discipline in all branches of economy. Reduction of the prime costs of industrial output by 35 per cent. in five years, reduction of the costs of building by 50 per cent., increasing the productivity of work in industry by 110 per cent., increasing the productivity of the soil by 35 per cent., enlargement of the areas under cultivation by 22 per cent., unconditional execution of the programme of developing the Soviet estates and collective farms, decided opposition to all sloth and negligence in production, consolidation of working discipline, Socialist rationalisation of output, provision of industry and agriculture with the necessary cadres of leaders and education of new cadres of Red specialists from among the working class... such are the elemental conditions of a general economic

nature for the mastery of all difficulties in the realisation of the five-year plan."

THE most difficult point of the U.S.S.R. national economy is the backward agriculture, and especially grain production. In accordance with this the resolution on the five-year plan and the resolution on the "Ways of improving agriculture" outline a complete offensive of the cities on the countryside, with a view to the gradual collectivisation of agriculture and its provision with a new technical basis.

The resolution on the "Ways of improving agriculture" resolutely rejects the right-wingers' assertions that a "degradation" of agriculture is proceeding in the U.S.S.R. at the present time. In this resolution we read: "As a result of the restoration period the poor and middle peasantry have acquired not only their own share of the land but also a basic part of the land of the former landowners, as well as of the State lands transferred to the peasantry and those lands which were taken from the kulaks. Despite the developing disintegration of the villages, the middle peasant has strengthened his position as the central figure in agriculture." Further, the resolution notes that the safety margin in draught animals is increasing with every year, that one-third of the inter-village lands and one-fifth of the village lands have been brought into cultivation, that the area under a long-period rotation of crops has grown to ten million hectares, that the sowing of technical plants exceeds that of pre-war by more than 60 per cent., that the supply of agricultural machinery in 1928-29 exceeds that of pre-war days by 225 per cent., that agricultural co-operation has now embraced more than one-third of the total of peasant farms, that tractors, which before the revolution were completely unknown in peasant husbandry, are in the current year in the hands of the peasants and their unions to the number of 36,000, that the number of collective husbandries has doubled during the year, that the area of Soviet farm sowings will reach 1.5 million hectares in the present year.

Whilst thus clearly indicating that there is no "degradation" taking place in agriculture, the resolution none the less recognises that agriculture is lagging excessively behind in-

dustry and that the tempo of its development is considerably retarded. "None the less, with all this general growth of agriculture a considerable retardation of the tempo of growth of separate spheres of agriculture is occurring, and especially in the grain sphere. At the bottom of this retarded tempo of development of agriculture and the extremely low commodity production, is the disintegrated and small-scale nature of peasant economy (during the revolution the number of peasant husbandries rose from 16 to 25 millions), its semi-natural character (the aggregate commodity production of agriculture has dropped to approximately one-third of pre-war), the low level of agricultural technique and culture. . . . In association with this we have excessive lagging of agriculture behind the tempo of industrial development, which cannot but serve as a source of difficulties in the foodstuff and raw material spheres, especially when the swift increase in consumption of bread and raw materials is borne in mind."

The resolution draws this conclusion: "Hence the imperative necessity of persistent and systematic work to reconstruct agriculture and to create a large-scale social system of land-working, on a level with modern technique, whilst simultaneously supporting the development and improvement of the individual poor and middle peasant husbandries."

THE creation of a large-scale agricultural production is now the most imperative task in the U.S.S.R. The problem is: by what method will it be created? By a capitalist method, by the method of the ruin and the ruthless exploitation of the millions of peasantry, or by the socialist method, by drawing these millions of peasants into socialist construction; in other words: "Who will direct the development of economy, the kulak or the socialist State?"

Of course the resolution answers this question along the lines of the second alternative, in the sense of the "co-ordination of labour for linking up the radical and most important task of organising large-scale socialist agriculture, with that of everyday, broad organisational, technical and economic assistance to the rank and file individual poor and middle peasant, and the growing restriction in the increase of the kulak." The resolution

emphasises that along this road "large-scale socialised husbandry is not in opposition to the individual poor and middle peasant husbandries, as a force hostile to them, but is in alliance with them."

"In accordance with all this, together with the old forms of the alliance with the main mass of the peasantry, by developing and intensifying the commodity turnover of industry with village husbandry, and developing the trading co-operative forms of links between the town and the countryside, new forms of alliance are thrown up which develop on the basis of the production link between the working class and the peasantry."

In order to tackle these tasks the resolution outlines a programme of organisation of new, and the improvement of the work of the old soviet farms, the creation of new and the development of old collective farms, the development of an extensive network of State and co-operative machinery and tractor stations, the general development of producer's co-operation with a growing development of the elements of social labour in them, the further development of mass contracting for grain etc., a series of measures directed to raising the harvest yield of the small and medium-sized husbandries, whilst emphasising the view that in order to realise all this programme "the further development of industry is of decisive importance." At the same time the resolution expresses approval of those improvements which the government has introduced into the agricultural taxation law with a view to lightening the taxation burden of the middle-peasant and stimulating him to develop his husbandry.

THE CLASS STRUGGLE AND THE LINE OF THE RIGHT WING

THE realisation of the five-year plan, and especially that for developing agriculture by socialist methods, meets great difficulties, as we have already remarked. These difficulties, says the resolution on the five-year plan, "are augmented by the accentuation of the class struggle and by the resistance of the capitalist elements, which are being inevitably ousted by the growing offensive of the Socialist proletariat." Emerging at the sound of the socialist blow at his foundations, the kulak particularly has lifted his

head in connection with the difficulties of grain collection, and is seeking deliberately to cause a breakdown in that collection. The kulak, who has frown and strengthened his position of recent years, exploits his grain reserves in order to manoeuvre and struggle against the Soviet regime, putting up a desperate resistance to the penetration of collectivist elements into the countryside, since they undermine the very basis of kulak exploitation. To this end he refuses to sell grain to the State, to this end he endeavours to disintegrate the Soviet apparatus in the villages and through the demand for "equality," to transfer the burden of taxation to the poor and middle peasants and to attract the State credits from the poor and middle peasants into his own pocket. This he has partially succeeded and is still succeeding in doing. The figures for specialised investigation relating to times as recent as 1927 indicate that the group of peasants with means of production to a value of over 1,600 roubles, the highest group, constituting 3 per cent. of the peasantry, receives 8.2 per cent. of the total credits, *i.e.*, approximately three times as much as its proportion would warrant. In the case of the poor groups, possessing means of production to a value of 200 roubles, and constituting 26 per cent. of all husbandries, their proportion of credits is 13 per cent., or just half of their proportion of husbandries. Then in regard to co-operation, of the same upper group of 3 per cent., 55 per cent. are co-operated, whilst of the lower group (up to 200 roubles) only 15-20 per cent. are co-operated.

The kulak not only refuses to sell his grain to the State, but he further seeks by direct bribery to induce even the poor peasantry to join in this grain "strike." The kulak at present holds back his grain not only in expectation of a rise in prices, not only for the sake of speculation, but in his class interests in the struggle against the penetration of socialism into the countryside. A considerable part of the kulaks now put the issue in a political form: they demand machinery, they demand political rights, they demand the abolition of the system in which the kulak finds himself isolated in the villages. In certain, very rare cases he has endeavoured to organise mass resistance to grain collections; in certain cases he acts in conspiratorial

fashion, committing terroristic acts against the managers of Soviet farms and Soviet workers.

In answer to the kulaks' boycott of grain collections the Soviet Government last year resorted to extraordinary measures, successfully applying Clause 107 of the criminal code. A second application of extraordinary measures last year failed of success, owing to the failure of the harvest over a considerable area of the Ukraine and the Northern Caucasus. In consequence the extraordinary measures were revoked. This year the Soviet Government were again forced to resort to extraordinary measures in Siberia and other districts where there was a grain surplus, but this time the measures were not on the lines of administrative pressure from above, but of the mobilisation of the poor and middle masses of the peasantry in order to exert pressure on the kulaks from below, by repeated self-taxation and other ways; and these measures of extended class force proved effective. At the same time "credit books" were introduced for the purpose of State supply of grain on a class principle, which in Moscow alone has resulted in an economy of a million poods monthly.

But the kulak not only struggles against the Soviet regime in the villages, but even seeks to extend his influence to the towns. Industry is attracting more and more labour power from the villages in the form of workers of low qualification, and not adapted to city conditions as a result of a long factory experience. This stratum of the working class is closely connected with the village, and is temporarily subject to kulak influence; until recently this manifested itself in a decline in labour discipline in the factories, an increase in time off, an increase in spoilt goods, drunkenness, and occasionally, even in direct damage.

THE intensification of the class struggle had its reaction on certain unstable elements of the party, engendering feelings of panic and capitulation amongst them. Thus a right deviation developed in the party, and during the year this has grown and taken forms which show the open signs of fractionalism. Before the C.C. Plenum of July, 1928, the right deviation, or conciliation with that deviation, took expression in talk of severance

between the party and the peasantry, in the demand for complete freedom of trade unrestricted by State regulation, and in under-estimation of the collective farm movement. Before the C.C. November Plenum the right deviation or conciliation with it took expression in talk of the degradation of agriculture, and in proposals to repeal the individual taxation of the richest section of the peasantry.

At the present time the right-wing has an almost completely formulated programme, which is at variance with the party line. In words they are in favour of the five-year plan, but in deed, in practice, they reject it, seeking to reduce the tempo of industrial development. They insist on the tactic of "permanent concessions" to the petty bourgeois sections of the countryside, through the call for the "normalisation of prices," and the differentiation of prices according to areas and districts, they are in fact fighting for a rise in grain prices; they are seeking a way out of the grain difficulties in grain purchases abroad, which are possible only at the cost of a corresponding diminution of the capital investments in industry; they are in favour of the abolition of the individual taxation of the kulak; they are in favour of renouncing the policy of intensified pressure on the kulak, and of applying in certain conditions temporary extraordinary measures against the kulak and his attempts to break down the soviet prices policy, despite the fact that these measures are applied with a guarantee of support by the poor and middle masses of peasantry. They declared that these measures have proved to be ineffective and that they lead to a general reduction in cultivation, to a degradation of agriculture. They declare that the party's present rural policy sets up a "vicious circle."

In words they are in favour of the five-year plan, but in deed they propose to set about its realisation by a preliminary introduction of a "two-year plan," which one of the delegates at the conference neatly characterised as the "replacement of the five-year plan of great works by a plan of reconciliation with the kulak elements in the countryside."

This capitulation proposal, which is in absolute divergence from the party line, the right-wingers and conciliators seek to justify "scientifically" and by references to Lenin, in the course of which process they effect a num-

ber of complete distortions of Leninism. They give a "liberal interpretation" to N.E.P. in the sense of the renunciation of market regulation in the proletarian State. They drag the party back, seeking to perpetuate exclusively those forms of N.E.P. which were expedient during its first stage. They strive to depreciate the role of the collective and Soviet farms as ways to socialism. They distort the sense of Lenin's advice to show the "greatest caution" in the work of directly implanting collective forms of agriculture in the countryside, in doing so, passing in silence over the fact that this advice referred to the first stage of N.E.P., when the inter-relationship of classes was not what is to-day, when the Soviet regime was still unable to throw considerable resources into the countryside, when on the other hand the peasantry had not yet manifested any considerable trend towards collective forms of agriculture and towards its industrialisation. They try to distort "Lenin's testament," interpreting it to mean that N.E.P. is a gradual weakening of the class struggle, and that the present accentuation of that struggle arises not out of social and economic conditions but out of errors in the plan calculations and the involutions of the Soviet apparatus in the countryside.

THE deviation to the right began to develop and take form in practice owing to the panic of unstable elements in the party in face of the economic difficulties which were revealed at the beginning of last year; but the ideological roots of that deviation were revealed as early as 1925, after the fourteenth party congress. Even then they said we should come to socialism through the circulation process, and not directly through the process of production. They said that the collective farms would undoubtedly play a considerable role, and we ought to support them, but that it was impossible to maintain that this is a highroad, along which the masses of the peasantry will come to socialism. What, according to them, would be the elements in the villages? "Poor peasants' co-operation—collective farms. Middle-peasants' co-operation in the realm of distribution, purchases, credit. There will even be kulak co-operation in places. This entire ladder will grow into the system of our banks." Thus the right-

wingers thought of co-operation as merely consumers' co-operation. And in accordance with this view they said that the collective farm was a mighty achievement but it was not the high road to socialism. At the same time the present rightwingers were asking whether we could maintain a dam against this growth of peasant husbandry, this development of the middle peasant husbandry into a large-scale peasant husbandry, into an affluent husbandry? "At the present period we must not interfere with this development of the middle-peasant husbandry into a strong and affluent husbandry, for that development ensures us an extension of the basis for development of socialist industry. . . ." Among the rightwingers all this developed into a complete theory of the "peaceful growth of the kulak into socialism." They said that the main network of our co-operative peasant organisations would consist of co-operative nuclei not of a kulak but of a toiler type, of nuclei growing into the system of our general State organs and thus becoming links in a single chain of socialistic economy. On the other hand the kulak co-operative groups would also through the banks etc. grow into this system.

The same comrades said that we should aid the kulaks, and that they would also aid us. And possibly at the end the kulak's grandson would thank us for our treatment of them in this way.

This was all said in 1925, ostensibly in explanation of the decision of the party fourteenth congress to make certain concessions to the middle peasant for the very purpose of severing him from the kulak. This interpretation of the fourteenth congress decision was a complete distortion of its sense, for in that resolution we read that: "The congress resolutely condemns the deviation which consists in an under-estimation of the differentiation in the villages, and in not seeing the dangers associated with the increase in the kulaks and the various forms of capitalist exploitation, not wishing to realise all the necessity of resisting the kulaks and restricting their exploiting tendencies, not seeing the obligation of the party of the proletariat to organise and concentrate the poor peasantry and the agricultural labourers, in the struggle against the kulaks."

As we see, the ideological roots of the right

deviation take us back a long way, to as early a date as 1925.

At that time, however, we had only isolated, inaccurate formulations, and their authors did not then insist upon them, the chief danger which arose and matured in 1925 was the "leftward" danger.

The situation changed after the fifteenth party congress, at which the problem of socialistic reconstruction of agriculture, the development of collective farms and soviet farms and an intensified attack on the kulaks was raised in its full dimensions. In connection with the difficulties in grain collection this course evoked a considerable accentuation of the class struggle in the towns and more so in the villages. From that moment the right vacillations of panic-stricken comrades began to increase swiftly, the right wing danger and conciliation with that danger began to assume serious forms. Simultaneously we began to have the formation of an ideological alliance between the conciliators of the C.P.S.U. and the conciliators in other sections of the Comintern. By the November Plenum of the C.C. of the C.P.S.U. the right-wingers in the C.P.'s of capitalist countries, especially those in the C.P. of Germany, had taken on organisational form. In the C.P.S.U. they were then beginning to take on ideological formulation. Since that time they have travelled much farther.

During the last year the right-wingers and conciliators have not only deviated from the general party line, putting forward their own opportunistic line in opposition to it, their conduct has revealed a growth of rudiments of factional struggle against the party leadership; they have violated party discipline, they have attempted to force the party to accept their own line by resignations; they have made attempts at an unprincipled bloc against party leadership; they have slanderously accused the party leadership of "crawling behind the Trotskyist positions," "implanting bureaucracy," of a "militaristically feudal exploitation of the peasantry," of "disintegrating the Comintern."

The party began the struggle against the right-wingers and conciliators in its ranks last October, on the eve of the C.C. November Plenum. That struggle has gradually developed. And the results of that struggle were summarised at the April Plenum of the C.C.

and C.C.C. and at the sixteenth party conference.

THE PARTY LINE

AT the district and regional conferences, then at the April joint Plenum of the C.C. and C.C.C., and finally at the C.P.S.U. sixteenth party conference, the party has by an overwhelming majority given a decisive rebuke to the right-wingers and has subjected their theory and practice to a devastating criticism.

We have already cited a passage from the resolution on the "ways of improving agriculture" which demonstrates on the basis of facts that the theory of "degradation" of agriculture is founded on a distortion of the reality. And equally out of touch with the reality is the declaration of the right-wing that the extraordinary measures against the kulaks applied during the present grain-collection campaign, with the ensurance of support for those measures from the poor and middle peasant masses, have had no success and are leading only to a general reduction of cultivation. At the sixteenth party conference this declaration met with a categorical denunciation by the representatives of Siberia, the representatives of the Ukraine and the representatives of the Lower-Volga area. One representative from Siberia said: "In the third five-day period of March we collected only 600,000 poods, and at that time the roads were still open to sledges. In other words, our grain collections fell heavily. But the second five-day period of April gave us 1,600,000 poods despite extremely bad roads. From April 1st to 20th we collected 4½ million poods. We have never before collected so much grain, and this year we have collected 4½ million poods in twenty days. And it must be borne in mind that this year we have had extraordinarily unfavourable weather conditions; the closing of the roads through thaw occurred unusually early." Another representative of Siberia said: "The economic repressions which have been introduced on the decision of peasants' meetings and on the basis of the self-taxation law, have given us very considerable positive results." A delegate from the Ukraine said: "the right-wing deviators are particularly fond of referring to the indicators of the condition of land cultivation, but they use those

indicators quite unfairly. . . .” “Taking the Ukraine itself area by area, then, taking the part on the right bank of the Dnieper, which constitutes half of the Ukraine, we see that in that area there is a systematic increase of area under cultivation year after year. But at the same time in the steppe area, where there has been a crop failure for two successive seasons, there has been a sharp decrease in cultivation area, which has its reflection on the total area under cultivation in the Ukraine. But is it possible to exploit crop failure, an elemental disaster which has afflicted the most unstable steppe region of the Ukraine, as a proof of the peasants having no stimulation to develop their husbandries?”

A member of the Lower-Volga regional Committee said: “We have resorted from month to month to extraordinary measures. As the result of these measures alone since January we have collected approximately 8 to 10 million poods, and shall collect another four or five millions. There is the result of the so-called ‘extraordinary measures.’ ”

The theory of the right-wing that the alliance with the peasantry under N.E.P. is possible only on the basis of market relationships was also subjected to devastating criticism at the conference. It was demonstrated that those forms of alliance which existed at the beginning of N.E.P. (alliance through the market) were adequate when the socialist industry was still in a state of ruin and when that industry was still not in a condition to influence agriculture directly, but that those forms of alliance are now obviously inadequate. It was said at the conference: “At the present moment we have an enormous movement in the direction of developing socialistic, social forms of agriculture, collective and Soviet farms, co-operation, contracting and tractor columns, which, according to our plan will develop into mighty tractor stations. All this is creating new production relationships and introducing a planned element into the simple commodity relationship. This is the new factor which inevitably in the process of development will change and is already changing the market relationships, which will now take formation on the basis of new production relationships.” One fact communicated by a delegate from the Northern Caucasus was highly symptomatic:

“What are the demands which have been made of us by the poor and middle sections of the peasantry at a number of meetings which we have held in Northern Caucasus, at many meetings for planning sowing which have been held in our region? We have met with demands that the State should completely abolish free trade. Of course at the present stage this demand is unsound. But it witnesses to the processes, to the movements, at work in the villages.” It was pointed out at the conference that the right-wingers take into account only the interests of the peasant as a seller of grain, and not his interests as a producer of grain, thus sinning against the very fundamentals of Leninism.

The conference unmasked the right-wingers’ opportunistic methods of recognising the five-year plan in word, whilst in deed introducing such “corrections” into it as in fact destroy it. Of this kind of method comrade Lenin wrote: “Opportunism by its very nature always avoids a definite and irreversible statement of the issue; it seeks a resultant, sways like an adder between two mutually exclusive points of view, striving to be in agreement with both, reducing their disagreements to corrections, to doubts, to benevolent and innocent desires and so on.”

The conference also unmasked the anti-Leninist character of the theory of the right-wing that in the conditions of N.E.P. the class struggle is gradually relaxed during the very first stages of development of socialism. In contradistinction from the right-wingers Lenin wrote: “The abolition of class is a matter of a long, difficult and stubborn class struggle, which after the overthrow of the power of capital, after the destruction of the bourgeois State, after the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat will not disappear (as the vulgarisers of old socialism and old social-democracy imagine), but will only change its forms, becoming still more cruel in many regards.”

Both the April C.C. Plenum and the conference unmasked the slanderous nature of the right-wingers’ assertions that the Party leadership is taking to the Trotskyist road, and it was pointed out that it was the right-wingers themselves who had many of the elements inherent in Trotskyism.

IT is worth while stopping to consider this question in more detail. The view that Trotskyism is a characteristic "leftward" deviation is unsound. Its characteristic is rather distrust in the possibility of constructing socialism in the backward Soviet Republic, a distrust of the possibility of drawing the masses of the middle peasantry into socialist construction. Trotsky did not always demonstrate under a "left-wing" banner, but he was always faithful to himself in his distrust. After the fourteenth Party conference of September 1st, 1925, Trotsky, at that time temporarily at a truce with the Party, gave a lecture in Zaporozhi, in which he took upon himself the defence of the decisions come to at the fourteenth conference, interpreting them in an openly opportunistic spirit, exactly as the right-wingers interpreted them in the pronouncements we have cited. Trotsky said: "The Party's latest measures in the realm of peasant policy involve an extension of the framework for commodity capitalistic relationships in the countryside. This is an undoubted fact. From 'dekulaking' the kulak during the period of war Communism our Party has been forced to allow an accumulation of capital in the countryside, and such an accumulation as we formerly called 'kulak,' but now it would be more accurate to call it farmer capital. [To cross a chicken with a fish so as to be able to eat it on fast days and feast days.—Ed.] For us the development of productive forces is the highest criterion, the highest law. [Which is exactly like the right-wingers' observations concerning "the development of the productivity of general national labour."—Ed.] We must allow the development of productive forces in the villages, even though it be with the aid of capitalistic methods. [Word for word, a Frumkin remark.—Ed.] That is the essence of the present period of our policy. . . . Is there any danger here? Unquestionably there is. The capitalist farmer is a capitalist farmer; as he develops he is transformed into a strong figure, into our possible and probable enemy at a certain stage." (In other words, at the present stage the kulak is not our enemy!—Ed.)

This is as like what the right-wingers were saying in 1925, and what they are saying now as one drop of water is to another. After his alliance with Kameniev and Zinoviev, Trotsky

changed his position, and hauled up a "left-wing" flag, with the slogan: "Down with the kulak and nepman!" Did this bring him any nearer the Party? Was this new Trotsky position a foretaste of the slogan: "A stronger offensive against the kulak," of the Fifteenth Party Congress? Not in the least. In contrast to the Party, Trotsky, as before, continued to disbelieve in the possibility of constructing socialism in the U.S.S.R., as before, he continued to disbelieve in the possibility of drawing the middle peasant masses into socialist construction. But the Party regards this very possibility as the high road to socialism. The Party correspondingly considered, and still considers, that "socialist accumulation" will be effected by the development of the productive labour of the working class and the main masses of the peasantry. In accordance with this view the Party permitted and permits extraordinary measures to be applied only as "extraordinary," temporary measures against the kulaks' speculation, in order to obtain grain from them, and in exchange for a monetary equivalent. But Trotsky and the Trotskyists during their "left-wing" period considered that "socialist accumulation" will be effected by the transformation of the countryside into a colony, and regarded the measures they proposed for taxing the kulaks and part of the middle peasantry as a considerable financial source of socialistic accumulation.

THE accusations which the right-wingers make against the Party leadership of "implanting bureaucracy," of "pressure" and so on have a great similarity with Trotskyism. To those accusations can be applied what Lenin wrote concerning complaints against the harshness of Party discipline. "In close psychological connection with hatred for discipline is the incessant, endless note of injury, which sounds in all the writings of the present-day opportunists generally and of our minority in particular. They are persecuted, they are knocked out, they are besieged, they are overriden." These words are all the more applicable to the right-wingers since it is they who have sabotaged the Party leadership's struggle against bureaucracy, and have made all sorts of "reservations" to the slogan of "self-criticism," put forward by the Party

leadership to further the struggle against bureaucracy.

In exactly the same way their reproaches that the Party leadership is conducting to the "disintegration of the Comintern" are closely related to Trotskyism. This accusation involves not only lack of comprehension of the necessity for cleansing the C.P.'s from social-democratic traditions, not only failure to understand that this purging will strengthen and not disintegrate the Comintern, but it also indicates an utter blindness in regard to the swift leftward trend of the proletariat in the capitalist countries, and of the tasks arising from that trend. It indicates in practice the support of the right-wing in the Comintern.

The Sixteenth Party Conference administered a resolute blow to these right-wing deviations. In the resolution on the "ways of improving agriculture," we read: "The right-wingers' line leads to the perpetuation of the kulak cabal and of the exploitation of the poor and middle peasant masses by the kulaks. . . . The Party definitely rejects the anti-Leninist theory of the growing of the kulaks into socialism, as a theory leading to the disarming of the working class in face of their class enemies. . . . The Party definitely repels these attempts to draw it into the opportunistic slough, into the policy of refusing to strengthen the Party's bases in the countryside, the policy of untying the kulaks' hands in their struggle against the poor peasantry. . . . The right-wing deviators are striving to restrain the tempo of development of industry. The Party resolutely denounces that position. . . . These main errors of the right-wing elements in the Party, and also the conciliatory attitude towards these errors, are at the present moment the chief danger, and the efforts of the Party must be directed into the struggle against them."

THE Party sees the difficulties lying along its road no less than the right-wingers, but in order to overcome those difficulties it has chosen another road than that of retreats and flanking movements, a road which it has long since tried out: the road of appeal to the activity of the masses, to their revolutionary creative power. The Party adopted the slogan of "self-criticism," which had as its object to intensify the diligence of the

masses, to evoke a struggle of the working masses against prejudicial activities in the factories, against procrastination and bureaucracy. This self-criticism has led to the discovery of all kinds of defects in production and in economy, which would have been much more difficult to discover without the active participation of the masses. This self-criticism on the part of the masses has given enormous positive results. The aroused activity of the proletarian masses has now evoked a socialistic rivalry between works and factories in the struggle against the violation of discipline, against time off, against drunkenness and so on. As the result of this rivalry, in which not only the workers but also the technical personnel are participating, we already have a strengthening of labour discipline, an increase of the productivity of labour, and a fall in the cost price of products, and a big increase in production itself in a number of large enterprises.

The Party resorted to this same method of mobilisation in order to realise its plan of improving agriculture and gradually transforming it to a collectivist system. The propaganda for technical reforms and for embracing the poor and middle peasant masses in the collective farm construction, and the struggle against the kulaks' opposition to the Soviet Government's agrarian policy, has been remarkably widespread. And on this village sector the Party has already had a vigorous response from the vast masses.

At the conference one comrade declared: "In the countryside there is an extraordinary activity among the main mass of the peasantry, and this activity is directed towards improving their husbandries, their reorganisation and inclusion in productive co-operation. This is evident even from the work, still imperfect, of the conferences on production, held by the agricultural inspector plenipotentiaries, from the introduction of contracting on a large scale and in the mass organisation of sowing societies, etc." Another comrade said: "Under our Party's leadership revolutionary processes and movements of tremendous importance are now taking place in the villages. The greatest crime of the representatives of the right-wing deviation in our Party consists in the fact that they remain absolutely blind and deaf to this great striving of the poor and

middle peasant masses of the villages to pass to collective forms of agriculture; they are blind and deaf to these great revolutionary processes of which we are the witnesses and organisers." Yet another comrade pointed to the noteworthy fact that in Smolensk district whole villages are now entering one after another into rivalry, thus following the example of the factories and workshops. A comrade from the Kuban pointed out that in that area already 25 per cent. of the middle peasant husbandries are in collective farms, and that their further attraction into collective farms depends on the latter being supplied with tractors. The comrade at the head of the collective farm construction noted that a "vigorous growth of collective farms is continuing in the Middle Volga area, in Siberia, in the Ukraine and in other areas," and at the same time indicated the arrival of a new stage in collective farm construction: "We have a decisive task in the work of consolidating the collective farm movement. Whilst in 1927 9,000 collective farms covered a total sown area of 664,000 hectares, the 100 newly formed large-scale collective farms in 1928, of an average area of 1,500 to 10,000 and more hectares, cover a total area of 500,000 hectares, and adding the area served by tractor columns, 700,000 hectares. Of these 100 large collective farms 36 each have land covering over 5,000 hectares, whilst 18 have more than 10,000 hectares."

Thus, mobilising the proletarian and the poor and middle peasant masses into the work

of socialist reconstruction of economy; and the struggle against the capitalist elements standing in the way of that work, the Party at the same time decided, in accordance with these tasks of the reconstruction period and the period of intensifying class struggle, to reorganise and purge the Soviet machinery from bureaucracy, and to make it more adapted to carry through the Party's class policy. The Party also decided to carry out a testing and purging of its own membership from elements which are hostile and have degenerated into bourgeois tendencies, of which there are many, especially in the village, not quite so many in the Soviet, and fewest of all in the production workers' nuclei. These two tasks were also considered at the conference, and important decisions were taken on them, although owing to lack of space we cannot treat of them here.

THROUGH difficult class battles the Party is moving towards the realisation of the task of socialistic reconstruction of economy in the Soviet Republic. This struggle waged for socialism by the C.P.S.U. is in close connection with the struggle for power which the brother Parties are waging abroad in capitalist countries. In close union with them, the Party will carry on the struggle not only against the open enemies of the working class, but against the vacillations and waverings within its own ranks. That struggle on both sides of the Soviet frontier will bring steadily nearer the day when the two streams of the workers' movement will flow together into a single, mighty, irresistible flood.

For the Forthcoming Plenum of the E. C. C. I.

(Discussion in the Political Commission of the E.C.C.I.)

Concluding Speech of E. Varga

THE work of the Commission is to marshal those new factors in world economic policy which have become apparent since the Sixth World Congress. My report is therefore adapted to that practical purpose.

As comrades remember, the new facts in capitalist world economy discernible since the world congress which I mentioned were :

1. The extreme tension in the international money market, the raising of the bank rate in practically every country (France and Switzerland being exceptions). The origin of this tension lies in the speculation at present taking place in the Stock Exchanges of almost all countries; most strongly in the United States, where the prices of shares have risen by about two milliard dollars within two years. All free capital is flowing towards the Stock Exchanges, and industrial undertakings, ignoring the banks, invest superfluous money in the exchanges. The Federal Reserve Bank system has lost its rule of the American money market. A great Stock Exchange crash is threatening, which will give rise to an international credit crisis and may lead to a general economic crisis. In addition to this speculation in the exchange there is a great deal of speculation and great insecurity in the commodity markets: over-production and falling prices in sugar, petroleum, artificial silk etc., and greatly rising prices in copper, lead etc.

2. The general economic position of Germany, which has gone steadily from bad to worse since the Congress.

3. The reparations negotiations, with which I shall deal in a separate speech.

4. The movement towards rationalisation in England, which is proceeding more and more powerfully: great re-organisations, the formation of cartels, fusions etc. The way

to technical rationalisation is being cleared. The economic essence of what is happening is, that what proceeded anarchically in the inflationist countries—namely, the liberation of industrial capital from the overwhelming burden of loan capital—is being carried through in England in an organised and deliberate manner. The profit making capacity of industrial capital is being restored, not by the anarchic method of inflation, but by loan capital being forced to surrender part of its share in profits. The question so hotly discussed at the ninth Plenum—whether vested interests in England are strong enough to prevent the carrying out of rationalisation—has now been answered by the facts in the negative.

5. The now practically complete stabilisation of all European currencies, and, in connection therewith (*e.g.*, the Roumanian stabilisation loan), the open re-appearance of France and even Germany as capital-exporting countries, Germany re-exporting borrowed capital. The re-entry of France and Germany as capital exporting countries is very important in the sphere of foreign politics.

6. As far as economic policy is concerned, the tendency towards increasing protective tariffs is of great importance (increased tariffs in the U.S.A., the protectionist movement in England, higher agricultural tariffs in Italy and France, new customs duties in China etc.). Development is absolutely contradicting the solemn decisions of the World Economic Conference. In their furious struggle for markets, the capitalists of every country are trying to monopolise the home market for themselves.

Finally I referred to the incompleteness of the analysis of the world situation at the Sixth World Congress, which did not deal sufficiently thoroughly with the effects of technical

inventions—which, according to the thesis, are “bringing about a technical revolution” in a few countries—upon economy and the working class. In particular, the fact of the development of organic unemployment received inadequate attention.

The chief facts are the following :

a. Chronic mass unemployment in the principal capitalist countries—Germany, England, U.S.A.—accompanied by an increasing volume of production. Mass unemployment—the unemployed not being absorbed even in times of prosperity.¹ Capital is no longer able to give the working class work.

b. A process of transference of workers from the sphere of production to that of circulation and distribution is taking place: the number of productive (value-creating) workers is decreasing relatively, the number of unproductive increasing.

c. In the United States, between 1919 and 1925, there has been an absolute decrease in the number of workers employed by industrial capital (agriculture, industry, mining, transport, building), a process which has continued since then. This means that technical progress in American industry, the increase in the productivity of labour is greater than the possibility of extending the capitalist market. The absolute volume of production is increasing, but not to the extent required to re-absorb workers continually reduced to unemployment by the increased productivity of labour, into the process of production. I gave my opinion that this tendency is not confined to the U.S.A. alone, but will become apparent in the future in all great capitalist States. The Plenum must deal with the causes of this chronic mass unemployment, and particularly with its effects on the working class and their fighting capacity.

The debate which took place here was extremely broad in character, and wandered far from the practical goal which I suggested. It follows also from the practical purpose of my proposal that I do not agree with the generalisation of the new phenomena sug-

¹In the six years preceding the war, unemployment amounted to (trade union figures): England 4.5 per cent., Germany 2.4 per cent. In the last six years: England 11.0 per cent., Germany 11.2 per cent.

gested by comrade Lapinski during the debate. I thought it superfluous, because the struggle for markets—the central point of comrade Lapinski’s remarks—was adequately analysed in the theses of the Sixth World Congress, and since then no few factors have appeared, although the struggle has become sharper. Judging the debate from the concrete, practical standpoint of what new factors have arisen in world economy and economic policy since the World Congress, it has given us relatively little new information. Two new ideas came from comrade Magyar. The first was the partial crisis in individual branches of production. I don’t think that’s a new fact. It was there before the Sixth World Congress. It is always there as one of the forms in which the general crisis of capitalism manifests itself. The general crisis of capitalism is evident (among other ways) now in a mining crisis, now in the over-production of automobiles, now in a crisis in the textile industries etc. I don’t think these partial crises are a special new factor in the general capitalist crisis, but are one of the forms in which that crisis is exemplified.

The second, more important factor mentioned by comrade Magyar during the debate, was his contention that a new agricultural crisis is beginning. The way he put it was not very clear. Three different processes are proceeding side by side; first, that of the ruin of sections of the peasantry. This is always happening under capitalism, sometimes it is accelerated by an agricultural crisis, sometimes slowed down. The second factor is agricultural over-production in the colonial countries, no longer merely of wheat, but of other agricultural products, and meat. This is not obvious at present, with the exception perhaps of a crisis in cattle breeding in a few European countries. The critical factor in this case would be the effect of the intensified colonial competition on European agriculture, *i.e.*, a European agricultural crisis, like that of the seventies and eighties. That is possible. But it will not be so acute as it was then, for France, Italy and Germany have already raised their agricultural tariffs, and have thus protected home agriculture from the price-lowering competition of colonial goods; there has been a very large increase in Italian grain tariffs, a rise

in German sugar tariffs and a general rise in all French agricultural tariffs.

According to Magyar, the third factor in the agricultural crisis is the famine in China, and perhaps too in India. I do not think, however, that these famines in the over-populated and poor Asiatic countries are connected with the over-production crisis in the British colonies and in South America; on the contrary, this is a tendency which will mitigate the crisis. I think that the only fact we can maintain is the tendency towards increasing agricultural protection in European countries against the flood of cheap foods—threatened by expanding colonial production.

Another factor adduced by comrade Bukharzev was the China problem. I think he was right in saying that, although it may not be an urgent task for this Plenum to deal with the possible role of China, developing along capitalist lines, as an expanding market for capitalism, this is a problem which must be carefully studied. The question is not urgent as far as the present Plenum is concerned, for it is by no means certain at present whether China will develop into a bourgeois State. I myself greatly doubt it, for I see no possibility of solving the agrarian problem in China within the framework of a bourgeois order of society.

These, in my opinion, are the new problems mentioned. Comrade Lapinski mentioned a number of new political factors, but I think that most of them were either dealt with at the Congress or are only important partial manifestations of the general capitalist crisis. I shall refer to two of them.

Firstly, America as an exporter of capital, and its relation to Europe.

Comrades know that Trotsky's theory, according to which the U.S.A. "will put Europe on war rations," aroused a good deal of discussion in the Comintern. It was rejected by the Comintern. In my last world economic review (first quarter 1929) I examined the question of changes in the relative economic strength of Europe and the U.S.A. in 1928. I came to the conclusion that, as regards both increase of production, and foreign trade and capital export, as expressed in the balance of trade figures, the relative strength of Europe and the U.S.A. has changed rather in favour of Europe than of America. That does not

mean that the process described by Lapinski, of America importing short-term loan capital and investing it as capital directly producing a profit in South America and partly in Europe, is not correct. But America's real capital export should not be over-estimated. It is largely at the cost of that short term capital invested in America by Europe. The United States are becoming the world's banker, besides England. A banker can only be a banker if he receives money from his clients which he can dispose of in the most varied ways. The process which Hilferding in his *Finance Capital* described as connecting bank with industrial capital is, in a certain sense, happening on an international scale between the U.S.A. and the rest of the world. The U.S.A. receives loan capital, and invests it as finance capital, as industrial capital, in different parts of the world, in South America, Canada, etc. From France, England, and other States, the U.S.A. receives short-term capital, which changes into its constituent parts, but as a whole remains there for good or for a lengthy period of time, enabling the U.S.A. to export it in the form of industrial capital. America's net capital export, as shown by the balance of trade, amounted in 1927 to no more than 700 million dollars. (This is not so much as England exports.) But the economic importance of America's capital export is much greater because, apart from these 700 millions derived from its own production of values, it also exports further hundreds of million dollars from the short-term foreign capital invested in America.

The second question is that of prices. This is a difficult and purely theoretical problem of Marxism. Actually it has no place here, nor will it be considered at the Plenum.

As compared with the pre-war period, the productivity of labour has greatly increased while prices have risen by about 50 per cent. We must have a theoretical explanation of the fact that, in spite of increased labour productivity, in spite, that is, of a great decrease in the social labour time embodied in the commodity unit, prices, as expressed in gold, are 30 to 50 per cent. higher than pre-war. Comrade Lapinski was right in stating that the price level is not at present moving. But that was the case before the war too. That, however, only refers to prices as a whole, to the

price index; whereas the prices of individual commodities fluctuate much more than before the war. There is therefore a possibility of greater speculative profits and losses, in spite of the stagnation in the general price level.

I shall now turn to the criticisms levelled at my report.

Firstly as to the question of rationalisation in England. Let me remind you that at the 1928 Plenum, when I suggested that a rationalisation movement was beginning in England, all the British comrades were opposed to that statement. Now, under the pressure of events, there is a retreat from that standpoint. The latest evidence on that is comrade Page Arnot's article in the German International. The facts can no longer be denied. Let me deal with what Fineberg said.

I maintained that English industry is greatly handicapped in its competitive capacity on the world market because, as a consequence of the restoration of the gold standard, rentier capital is being paid its full share of profits. I said that what is now happening is an organised diminution of loan capital's share in profits, to make industrial capital again profitable. What happened in Germany, and on the European continent generally, through inflation—the liberation of industrial undertakings from their old debts—is now proceeding in an organised fashion in England. Comrade Fineberg has raised the objection that industrial capitalists are losing capital, for there has been a great deal of writing down of industrial capital. That is a misunderstanding of the different parts played by industrial and loan capital.

Let us imagine that we possess an industrial concern which doesn't pay us. We receive no dividends on our stock, because we must give up all our profits to the preference shareholders, that is, to loan capital. We have made a million, but we must give it all away. Then two sorts of re-organisation take place. Loan capital's share is reduced by half, and our nominal share capital is also written down by half. But we still have the factory, that still belongs to us who own the stocks. These common stocks, formerly valued at £2,000,000, are now worth no more than £1,000,000. But the profits of the undertaking—whose buildings and machinery etc. are there and continue

to function in spite of the writing down—are divided between loan capital and ourselves, each getting half a million. However low nominal capital may be valued, the profits remain ours so long as we are the proprietors of the concern, its shareholders.

Expressed theoretically: the writing down of the nominal value of industrial capital is not the same as a reduction in the share of loan capital. The latter is a complete loss for the preference shareholders. But it is only a book-keeping transaction as far as industrial capital is concerned, leaving the sum of profits untouched. When business goes well, nominal share capital can again be raised to correspond with profits. That is a great difference.

The chief debate concerned the new form of unemployment. Let me again define exactly what we are discussing. Since 1921 in England and Germany, and recently in the U.S.A. there has existed a huge army of chronically unemployed workers which, although it may fluctuate slightly in numbers, remains even during prosperous periods. This is a fact of tremendous importance to the C.I. and to each militant Marxist, a fact whose causes must be considered. In England relief funds are being collected to help those unemployed who no longer receive unemployment benefit, or who are in extreme poverty even with benefit. In England there are about six million persons, including dependants and paupers, who live by unemployment benefits or poor law relief. That is about one-seventh of the English population. This is a historical fact of great importance. Or take the case of Germany. At this moment there are two and a half million wholly unemployed in receipt of relief; including dependants, the number is about five millions.² The *Konjunktur Institut* calculates that for many years, on the average 10 per cent. of the wholly unemployed receive no relief. That would make another 250,000 wholly unemployed. About 200,000 are at present in receipt of emergency relief. In addition there are about one million working short time and some hundred thousand paupers.³

²See Wissel: "Social Politics since the War," p. 24.

³"Statistical Year Book of the German Reich 1928, p. 499.

Altogether, therefore, there are about four million, and with their dependants at least eight million persons at present living on unemployment benefit, emergency relief, or welfare support. Again about one-seventh of the population. That is no small thing. And if one is not a professor, but a militant Communist, one must try to find the cause of this tremendous new social phenomenon. That is what I have done.

To do this the most important facts must be abstracted from the whole involved complex of economic and social facts, and these show that chronic mass unemployment is not the result of bad business—as might have been thought of the great crisis of 1920—but exists together with a tremendous increase in the volume of production in America, Germany, and to a smaller extent in England; since 1924 the volume of production in England has risen by from 5 to 6 per cent. This is the first important fact.

The second is that unemployment is greatest in those countries where rationalisation has progressed farthest.

The third important fact is a tendency in the most highly developed capitalist countries towards the transference of workers from production, from the service of industrial capital, into the sphere of distribution and consumption. In illustration of this process I shall give you the figures relating to England since 1923.

Since that year, the Ministry of Labour issues each July, the number of insured employed and unemployed workers according to industry. If we exclude those branches of employment which obviously do not belong to industrial capital (commerce, banking and finance, central and local administration, amusements, etc.) and add these into one group as opposed to all other branches of employment, we get the following figures for those actually employed (unemployed excluded):

<i>Numbers Employed in England*</i>				
in thousands				
	by industrial capital	apart from industrial capital ⁵	Total	
July, 1923	... 7,897	... 2,281	...	10,178
„ 1924	... 8,206	... 2,167	...	10,373
„ 1925	... 7,952	... 2,613	...	10,565

*Ministry of Labour Gazette.

	by industrial capital	apart from industrial capital ⁵	Total
„ 1926	... 7,645	... 2,658	... 10,304
„ 1927	... 8,214	... 2,803	... 11,017
„ 1928	... 7,705	... 2,799	... 10,504

⁵This includes distributive trades, banking and finance, national and local government, entertainment and sport, hotels, boarding houses and clubs, professional services.

These figures show, although not very clearly, a tendency towards a diminution in the absolute number of workers employed by industrial capital, with a marked increase in the number of non-value creating workers engaged in distribution and consumption—more than half a million in six years.

When expressed in percentages, the tendency is more clearly apparent:

July 1923	July 1924	July 1925	July 1926	July 1927	July 1928
<i>Total number employed:</i>					
100	100	100	100	100	100
<i>By industrial capital:</i>					
77.6	79.1	75.3	74.2	74.6	73.4
<i>Apart from industrial capital:</i>					
22.4	20.9 ⁶	24.7	25.8	25.4	26.4

⁶This decrease is probably due to the application of the "economy axe" to the State services.

Within these six years 4 per cent. of the workers have gone from the sphere of production into that of distribution, administration and consumption. 4 per cent. less productive, value creating workers, 4 per cent. more unproductive workers. This fact has great economic significance.

A similar process, as we shall show, is happening in the U.S.A. The figures available for other countries are not good enough to make a reliable statistical statement.

The most strongly attacked statement was, that there is in the U.S.A. a tendency towards an absolute decrease in the number of workers employed by industrial capital. It is a well known fact that in America, between 1919 and 1925, according to the fairly reliable census of production figures, the number of workers directly engaged by productive, by industrial capital (*i.e.*, in agriculture, industry, mining, railways) decreased by two million. Two sorts of objections have been raised:

a. It has been maintained—particularly by comrade Wurm—that 1919 was an unusual year, and cannot serve as a basis for comparison, because it was a time of great prosperity when the munition factories were still working.

As against that, it is true that 1919 was a good year, but so was 1925. Changes in the industrial situation affect first of all the number of workers employed in industry. The following figures (calculated from data given in the *Statistical Abstract of the U.S.A.* 1928, p. 749) show that the year 1919 was by no means exceptional.

The yearly increase in the number of workers (excluding office employees) employed in industry in the U.S.A. was as follows :

1879-1889	...	...	...	152,000
1889-1899	...	...	...	105,000
1899-1909	...	...	...	190,000
1909-1919	...	...	...	237,000

Developments since 1919, as shown by the bi-annual census of production, is in great contrast to the above figures.

Number of workers in industry in the U.S.A. in thousands

1919	...	...	...	8,990
1921	...	...	...	6,938
1923	...	...	...	8,768
1925	...	...	...	8,384
1927	...	...	...	8,351
Total decrease in 8 years	...	...	...	649,000
Yearly decrease	...	...	...	81,000

While, therefore, in the forty years from 1879 to 1919, American industry on the average took on yearly 170,000 new workers, in the last eight years it has lost 81,000 workers each year. This fact is also of the greatest importance.

We must bear in mind that, of all the different sorts of industrial capital, it is urban industry which, under capitalism, takes on workers, while agriculture employs less and less. If, therefore, in these last years industry has discarded workers (and we know that the same thing has occurred in mining) the real number of workers employed by industrial capital must have decreased still more, and the number of unemployed risen. In the figures below we shall try to find the

number of new workers coming on to the labour market in 1926 and 1927 in the U.S.A.

Let us begin with agriculture. The official figures of the Department of Agriculture give some indication of the changes in the volume of employment for 1926 and 1927.⁷

	No. leaving farms and going to towns	No. leaving towns and going to farms	Net decrease
1926	... 2,155,000	1,135,000	1,020,000
1927	... 1,978,000	1,374,000	604,000
	<hr/> 4,133,000	<hr/> 2,509,000	<hr/> 1,624,000

If we remember that it is, in general, the older and less active people who return to the land, and the younger and more active who leave agriculture to seek work in industry, then we may safely assume that at least one half of the 1,624,000 persons less in agriculture were of working age, that is, were seeking employment. The development of organic unemployment is therefore much greater than is shown by the figure of 30,000 less in industry.

To calculate the total number of unemployed in America, the following facts must be taken into consideration.⁸

About 1.8 million persons reach working age every year in the U.S.A. since the proportion of workers in the whole population is about 22 per cent., this means 400,000 new workers every year, and 800,000 in two years.

The increase in population, from legal immigration, and after reducing emigrants, was :

1926	...	...	...	303,940
1927	...	...	...	252,023
				<hr/> 555,963

In addition there is the illegal immigration from the frontiers of Canada and Mexico. The great majority of immigrants are workers, and the net increase from this quarter of those seeking work may be taken as at least 450,000.

As opposed to this, about one million persons above five years of age die each year.

⁷"Annalist" 13, III., p. 509.

⁸All the following data taken from "Statistical Abstract," 1928.

Of these about 200,000, on a rough calculation, may be taken as workers. Taken altogether, the figures for the years 1926-1927 can be estimated as follows:

Natural increase in No. of workers ...	800,000
Less deaths	400,000
Net increase	400,000
Immigrants	450,000
No. of workers less in industry ...	30,000
No. of workers leaving agriculture ...	800,000
Total increase in No. seeking employment	1,680,000

All our calculations have deliberately been on the low side; in reality the increase in the number of those seeking work who cannot get a living in the two main branches of industrial capital, industry and agriculture, exceeds two million. This is very great organic unemployment.

Comrade Magyar raised a number of small statistical objections, that these statistics exclude concerns with less than 5,000 dollars annual turnover; that as a consequence of the fall in prices this limit is really higher in 1927 than in 1919 etc. That is only retail shop-keeping. "Industrial concerns" with an annual turnover of less than 5,000 dollars—less, that is, than sixteen dollars per working day—are insignificant shops, in which only 139,000 workers are employed in all America. These small businesses do not enter into the great problem of organic unemployment.

The second line of criticism was to call a purely theoretical statement of a decrease in the number of workers employed by industrial capital, anti-Marxist or impossible. This, most unfortunately, betrays a grave misunderstanding of Marxist methods.

The Marxist method is a dialectical amalgamation of a purely theoretical with an historical analysis. Marx propounded laws applicable to pure capitalism, with the premise that there are only capitalists and workers, no independent producers, no sections of capitalist industry marked off by the State, no foreign trade, no capital export, but only a unified capitalist world economy. Marx examined capitalism purely theoretically, on these conditions. Then, in his concrete

analysis, he took into consideration these factors which he had abstracted in the theoretical analysis. For "pure" capitalism, Marx propounded the question: On what does the number of employed workers depend? To which he answered: There are two contradictory tendencies. One, the exclusion of workers by increasing technical progress, by raising the organic composition of capital. Two, increasing the number of workers by increasing total capital, by extending the capitalist system of production. In a historically concrete fashion he declares, in many instances—all of which comrade Furr has quoted in his article—that the number of workers increases; becomes absolutely greater. (*Interjection*: He states that from the law of accumulation.) He says: Although the organic composition of capital may be higher, although the number of workers may decrease relatively, the absolute number increases, because total capital has grown so much that its variable part, in spite of a relative decrease, is absolutely greater than before. But Marx never said that a purely theoretical statement holds good for ever and aye. Marx emphasised the connection between an absolute increase in variable capital, although it may decrease in relation to constant capital, in order to underline the tendency of the rate of profit to diminish even if the mass of surplus value, *i.e.*, the total profit, should increase absolutely. But it by no means follows from that, that the setting free of workers due to technical progress cannot be so great as not to be compensated by the increase in total capital. Marx himself did not deny this possibility. I shall not fight with quotations, I prefer fighting with arguments; but since you insist, I shall give you one quotation from Marx. "A development in productive forces, which decreases the absolute number of workers, *i.e.*, which in fact enables the whole nation to carry out the total production in less time, would bring about the revolution, because the majority of the population would find themselves out of work." (*Wurm*: Read a bit further!). There are 300 pages more! (*Wurm*: In the same section.)

I say that what is taking place now, this chronic, growing, organically developing mass unemployment is one element in the crisis of capitalism, and an element of revolution, as

Marx says. That is indisputable, and nobody should try to hide it.

Comrade Zhablonsky suggested that we should reject the possibility of a tendency towards a decrease in the number of workers creating value and surplus value employed by industrial capital, because neither Marx or Lenin foresaw such a development. Such an argument must be decisively turned down. Were Lenin alive, he would have indignantly opposed such empty and fruitless dogmatism.

Let us ask ourselves why historical fact, stated by Marx, of a growth in the number of workers despite a higher organic composition of capital, was true at that time, and not true of a few countries to-day. I have already answered this point in an article. I say that the possibility existing before the war, for capitalism to extend its markets by changing peasants into farmers, *i.e.*, by changing small producers, those who, as in the Soviet Union to-day, consume 80 per cent. of their own production, into capitalist small producers, those who, as in America, sell 85-90 per cent. of their produce on the market and in return buy and consume capitalist produced commodities, that possibility no longer exists, can no longer exist. This possibility of extending the market existed once for capitalism in America, England, Germany and France. In America the process is finished, the peasant is already a farmer. In England it was finished long ago, in Germany it is well on its way, in France not yet finished. (*Magyar*: The world still consists mostly of peasants.) In the most highly developed capitalist countries the change has been accomplished, and it is in these countries—America and England—that we can observe organic unemployment and the flow of workers from the sphere of production into that of distribution and consumption.

There was also another possibility of extending capitalist markets, at the cost of backward countries, *i.e.*, by changing non-capitalist into capitalist countries. This change has not of course been accomplished, but expansion in this sphere encounters great obstacles, the industrialisation of those countries from within, the introduction of industrial tariffs which make it difficult to export goods there. The results which ensue are: 1, a bitter struggle for markets; 2, the closing down of large sec-

tions of the productive apparatus; 3, organic, structural unemployment in the most advanced countries and the transference of workers from productive into non-productive employment. It is, of course, stupid to put the question, as comrade Zhablonsky, and partly, too, comrade Magyar, suggest: if the opportunity to work diminishes, the working class will disappear. These workers, thrown on to the streets, do not die; they are there, they want to live, they demonstrate, and every year receive about a million from the capitalist States of England and Germany, to prevent hunger riots. Try to imagine England or Germany without any unemployment benefits. What a social upheaval would follow!

Well, comrades, where are the superfluous workers in America? Some millions are always unemployed, some hundred thousands are engaged in the automobile trade (not on production, but as chauffeurs etc.) Two million people in America to-day are engaged in smuggling in alcohol, in disposing of it, and in preventing smuggling. They hang about in the "services," in the innumerable places of entertainment, hotels, bars, clubs etc. In addition a large number of American workers are employed only two or three days a week. This is generally recognised as true of coal mining. The case is similar for foundries.* Ford runs a seven day week in his concern, but the workers only work five days a week etc.

This explains the contradiction between the decrease in the average number of workers actually working, and the increase in the number of town workers: they only work a few days a week.¹⁰

Summing up, comrades, I maintain that a new, important and clear tendency is apparent. I don't want it to become known as Varga's Law.¹¹ I have expressed myself very care-

*A reliable German comrade recently returned from America gave me figures showing that, while the foundries were open seven days a week, night and day, the demand for workers had been so greatly decreased by rationalisation that they only worked two or three days a week.

¹⁰I am not aware of any statistics on short-time work.

¹¹The fact of a decrease in the number of workers employed in American agriculture, mining and industry has been dealt with in hundreds of American writings: it is not my discovery.

fully. (*Interjection*: You were more careful still a few years ago.) Because I see more now, of course. Three years ago I was more careful because less facts were available. (*Interjection*: And if the next figures show that the number of workers has increased, you are compromised.)

Comrades, we are dealing with the mighty fact of chronic unemployment. We must find out whether this is a temporary or a constant phenomenon; what are its causes, how did it arise. Have we always to count upon such unemployment? That one-seventh of the workers in England and Germany are unemployed or paupers is not in itself enough to go upon. But it should not be overlooked, as it was by comrades Magyar and Wurm. Doubting these facts, harping on the questions as to whether chauffeurs are productive workers, whether 130,000 workers are employed in little businesses with a daily turnover of twelve dollars, or whether the number has gone up to 160,000—that is not the way to attack such a great problem of the working class. I agree that the statistics must be very carefully examined. Of course we must be very careful. I don't want the Comintern to base itself on "Varga's Law." But the problem itself must be very thoroughly studied, because it is of great importance to the policy and tactics of the Comintern. (Wurm: In Germany we have a standing industrial army of unemployed with an increase in the numbers unemployed in industry.)

Comrade Wurm, I am glad that you too are forced to fight a retreating battle. But I was not speaking of Germany, since there is no material available for Germany because of inflation, and then because of stabilisation and the other great changes.

I want to make a few more remarks. Many comrades say, as Wurm said in his article, that unemployment arose as a temporary phenomenon as a result of rationalisation. In my opinion that is incorrect. (*Interjection*: Where is that said?) I am quoting from comrade Wurm's article (*C.I.*, May, 1929, p. 460). He says:

"...such conclusions as Varga's were

drawn from a study of these two years, when it was in precisely these two years than an all-round process of rationalisation was being carried out in the United States."

This indicates a direct connection, particularly between rationalisation and this fact of unemployment.

If we stick to our basic idea that the present period (and the next few years) is characterised by an extremely sharp struggle for the world markets, then we must assume that rationalisation will be continued, not, perhaps, at such a stormy speed as it was in Germany in the last few years, but at any rate it will continue throughout the capitalist world. And consequently rationalisation will continue to be effective as a factor creating superfluous workers.

In conclusion, I want to make one further concession to the comrades. In the near future unemployment will be slightly lower because we are now reaching the years when the great decline in the birth rate during the war will make itself felt, for four years the number of workers entering upon the working age will be much less. That, of course, is important, but it does not alter the main fact. I repeat; I don't want anybody to speak of "Varga's Law," but I do say that the problem of chronic organic mass unemployment must be treated with the gravity it deserves, and not overshadowed by petty statistical details. The problem must be seriously examined, and in such a way as to disclose the main lines of development. We should not employ the method of examining the details of each country separately, each industry separately etc. because the causes of structural unemployment may be different in each country. If we attack the question in that way, we shall get a mountain of disconnected, detailed facts, all vague and irrelevant. Together with observation of the separate concrete facts, we must try to find out the main lines of development. In the C.I. we cannot work out a different strategy for every country and every industry—we must at least have our general strategical line for all the highly developed capitalist countries.

The Ideology of American Reformism at the Turning Point

By N. Nasonov

OF all the bourgeois sciences, there is none more loathsome than the bourgeois political economy which is the "Labour theory" of present-day reformism. And the most impudent of all the schools of bourgeois political economy, the one with the least pretensions to being scientific is the American school, the school of the dollar. There would be no need to rummage among the police and publicity theories of the bourgeoisie, but for one circumstance, but for the fact that present-day bourgeois political economy is destined for proletarian consumption. "Men who still claimed some scientific standing and aspired to be something more than mere sophists and sycophants of the ruling classes, tried to harmonise the political economy of capital with the claims, no longer to be ignored, of the proletariat." (Marx: *Capital*, first vol., preface to second edition.) At the present time the whole of bourgeois economy is serving the ends of "harmonising the interests of the capitalists with the claims of the proletariat."

Bourgeois political economy is a kind of magic mirror which transforms the most hideous object into beauty, with the only difference that this magic mirror transforms, not people, but social relationships from ugly ones into model ones. With the aid of certain methods one can, none the less, use this magic mirror in order to compose a complete picture of whither and how capitalism is developing, to ascertain on what side capital most needs to enoble and to adorn, paint and powder itself.

The ideology of modern reformism thus, in a distorted form, reflects the social processes. This is particularly clearly to be observed in the case of America, where a complete change has taken place, and whose bourgeois political economy has completely re-equipped itself during the last two or three years.

Since 1921 the United States has lived

through a period of prosperity, which constituted America's fruits of victory from the world war. The mighty machinery which was set up during the war period was, during the post-war crisis, adapted to the service of the world market. The enormous accumulation of capital, even among the farmers and the upper ranks of the working class, created a market. Until 1927 America was living through a period of prosperity, which had war accumulation as its foundation and rationalisation as its super-structure. Ideology was called upon to assist in carrying through rationalisation. In view of the fact that at that time rationalisation was a purely American phenomenon, just as was prosperity itself, the whole ideology of rationalisation was built up on the theory of exceptional laws applying to American imperialism.

"We have discarded the economic ideas of the old world, such as those of Adam Smith and Karl Marx, which operated on the idea of natural wages and which regarded labour as a commodity. Such ideas have their roots in feudalism and the craft attitude." So John Carter, an economist of the *New York Times* proudly announced.

The year 1927, which brought with it a considerable depression in American capitalism, forced a breach in the theory that America is an exceptional country, and heralded the development of a new school in American reformism.

One has to divide the "labour theory" of American reformism into two periods—before and after 1927. It is impossible to call the school of the first period anything but a school for publicity for American imperialism. Although it does not have any organisational unity, that school pursues the end of demonstrating the non-existence in America of surplus value, or else of demonstrating the gradual disappearance of surplus value, and

consequently of demonstrating the non-existence of the class struggle. Industrial peace is the Alpha and Omega of the creative thought of these amateur scientists and economists.

We begin with Gillette. This is the same King Gillette whose portrait adorns the safety razors of his firm, with the inscription above it: "Known all over the world." However, all the world does not know that this business man, who has enriched the world with safety razors, has also brought a new gift to humanity: *A Business-like Plan for the Re-organisation of Society* (such is the title of Mr. Gillette's book). Mr. Gillette begins his work with the very promising words: "No healthy man can live on this planet for 20 years without recognising that there is something fundamentally wrong with our world. Moreover, one has to come to the conclusion that this wrong is connected with the abyss between the possessing and the non-possessing classes." The author has diligently studied this abyss and the causes leading to its formation. After renewed acquaintance, the author always inevitably comes to the one conclusion: that the evil of the present social and industrial system is not inherited from our predecessors or from nature, but is the result of man's attitude to property, which hinders man's harmonious adaptation to nature and also to his fellow man. On the basis of figures, which are further supported by diagrams, Gillette demonstrates how wasteful these antagonisms are for humanity, and at once writes out a prescription for curing them. Gillette proposes to set up an organisation which will be called a "national corporation." The "national corporation" has to introduce new credit currencies and to carry on extensive construction works. The worker will take commodities on credit and afterwards cover his indebtedness with his earnings. The "national corporation" can be established by setting up a shareholding company. This shareholding company will little by little develop its operations on new principles, will prosper, and so demonstrate to the incredulous capitalists the practicability—and the profitability—of investing their money in that society. In an appendix to the book is given a constitution for the corporation and even a specimen questionnaire for those desirous of joining. Gillette's

wisdom is on the following lines: "Accumulate money, and, as the shareholding companies are not yet in existence, temporarily deposit your savings in the existing banks." Gillette does not know that he is merely repeating in caricature the proposal put forward by the British industrialist Robert Owen: "Owen's communism was based upon this purely business foundation, the outcome, so to speak, of commercial calculation." (Engels, *Socialism, Utopian and Scientific*.) A commercial calculation led Owen to Utopian socialism, and a hundred years later, in the period of capitalism's decline, led Gillette to his charlatan Utopia. Gillette speaks as the agent of the banks. His book appeared in 1924, when the export of capital had developed to extremely large dimensions. Gillette was simply assisting in the mobilisation of accumulations for the export of capital.

After Gillette comes Thomas Carver, a professor of economics. In his book, *The Present Economic Revolution in the United States*, Professor Carver argues that the economic revolution which is taking place in the U.S.A. "is to wipe out the distinction between labourers and capitalists by making labourers their own capitalists and by compelling most capitalists to become labourers of one kind or another, because not many of them will be able to live on the returns from capital alone. This is something new in the history of the world." Professor Carver sees an economic revolution in such facts as the following: The swift increase of savings deposits, the workers' investment of their money in industrial shares, and the increase of workers' banks. It goes without saying that Carver praises the official American Labour movement, which "is passing into a stage where it is concerning itself with the higher strategy of labour." In the words of Green, the president of the American Federation of Labour, the workers' higher strategy is the tactics in which the "trade union is the business agency of the workers for the raising of the productivity of labour." Carver imprecates the primitive tactics of the class war. Needless to say, in Carver's view political revolutions give the workers nothing except a squandering of resources and a lowered productivity of labour. Concerning the Communists, Professor Carver says: "When Marx's materialist conception of his-

tory is combined with the doctrine of evolution through class struggle, it becomes even more strange to Christian ears."

Mr. Lauck is a very well-known person in America, having been one of the theoreticians of the American Federation of Labour and secretary of the National Labour War Bureau, organised by President Wilson for the purpose of drawing the workers into the war. And Mr. Lauck has worked out a theory for all the forms of industrial peace in America. He has written a classic work entitled *Political and Industrial Democracy: 1776 to 1926*. He does not conceal the motives which have impelled him to write this book. "If the middle class, which is predominant to-day, does not share in a democratic and reasonable way with the working class in industry, the working class will break through and dominate, as in Russia to-day, with Communism and a dictatorship of the proletariat. Mr. Lauck heartens the capitalists: "It should also be borne in mind . . . that industrial democracy does not oppose capitalism as a system. Capitalism is to remain, but its autocratic features are to be removed."

The clearest representative of bourgeois political economy is Professor Tugwell, who expresses the attitude of a certain part of the technical and administrative intelligentsia—the mind of industrial America. Together with many engineers and administrators, Tugwell sees the contradiction between extreme rationalisation in a single factory or trust, and anarchy in society as a whole. Tugwell "almost" accepts the Marxist formula that the "antagonism between social production and capitalist appropriation is revealed as a contradiction between the organisation of the labour of production in a separate factory and an anarchy of production in society as a whole." Tugwell merely does not see the capitalist appropriation, since he considers that as plan develops, *i.e.*, as his theories are demonstrated, the capitalist owners will die out. Tugwell's prescription for the annihilation of the antagonisms is an intensification of rationalisation in each separate factory and the beginning of rationalisation on a social scale through the creation of a State Planning Commission. Tugwell is for planning on the Soviet lines, only without the October revolution. Tugwell reflects the attitude of part of

the administrative and technical personnel, who would not be averse to ridding themselves of their masters so that they might themselves become collective owners. There is a certain basis for such an attitude: the American capitalist is "freed from the instruments of his labour"; engineers work for him, and they may not see the master for years on end, but they know the extent of his profits. Tugwell stands for the rationalisation of industry, and on this demand joins forces with the American Socialist Party. Tugwell even criticises modern capitalism: in his words, "about 86 per cent. of Americans are living in conditions below a decent level of comfort." Tugwell's conclusion is: "Hurrah for industrial peace! Hurrah for the intensification of labour! Hurrah for rationalisation!" The American Federation of Labour, the socialists of America and a number of reformists propagated what was essentially the political economy of Carver, Tugwell, Gillette and so on. All this was done in order to safeguard the introduction and carrying through of rationalisation, to safeguard industrial peace, the corner-stone of rationalisation. Rationalisation pre-supposes a constant stream or a conveyer. The strength and tension of the industrial chain is measured by its weakest link. Agitation among the workers at one end of the conveyer or a decline in the tension of labour in part of the constant stream is whittly reflected in the production of the whole of the conveyer or the whole stream. The conveyer, the constant stream, demands what the American engineers call "a satisfied worker." The task of reformism consisted in justifying and proving the advantage of industrial peace to the workers themselves; thus safeguarding rationalisation.

The depression which came at the end of 1927 and the intensification of antagonisms were the first frosts which dispelled the publicity glorifications and the publicity theories. Carver will no longer convince anyone that the unemployed workers are being transformed into capitalists, and that the capitalists themselves are losing their incomes. Statistics show an increase in the incomes of 5,000, *i.e.*, of the handful who govern the country. The publicists are supplemented by new Pleiades, which do not glorify prosperity and do not generalise as to its everlastingness, but offer a

prescription for saving the prosperity which is approaching its end. The social basis of these Pleiades is the old one, but the personages expressing the present-day attitude are new. In this galaxy we have Foster, Cutchings, Garrett, Taylor, Carter, Clynes, Colburne, Dickenson and innumerable others. In the works offered by this constellation, boasting diminishes in direct proportion to the increase of alarm.

For them the chief issues are unemployment, credit inflation and the intensification of the antagonisms. On these issues the trade union leaders of the American Federation of Labour go no farther than the bourgeois professors, who are interesting themselves in unemployment and inflation only to the extent that they diminish the number of consumers of the increasing industrial production, and so set up a threat to capitalism. For all of them, the bourgeois professors and the leaders of the American Federation of Labour, together with the chief of the United States Labour Statistics Bureau, know that "only human beings can buy; energy, even though it be measured in horse-power hours, has no purchasing power, and the electric lorry has no need of an existence minimum, and at any rate has no family which it must support."

American industry is confronted with the problem of markets in its most severe form. The foreign markets are not developing so quickly as to afford an area for the disposal of American production, and the home market is contracting. So far the reformists have not openly spoken of imperialism's radical method of extracting the country from this situation, namely, the winning of colonies and the destruction of the apparatus of production of its rival. At present the reformists are merely proposing a number of measures which would smooth over these contradictions inside the country. For example, Foster and Cutchings, in the book recently published, *The Road to Plenty*, express themselves on the following lines: Individual savings decrease the purchasing power of the masses, there is a surplus of money in the country, consequently it is necessary to wage a struggle against individual savings and to encourage the expenditure of that money. It is necessary to begin social works under the direction of a special bureau, and the federal government must withdraw

from circulation a certain quantity of money, by means of loans, and hold back these resources until the business index shows the necessity of their being returned to circulation.

The *Annalist*, one of the most serious of the American weeklies, brings Hoover's three milliard plan of social works into connection with the theories of Foster and Cutching. It is worth while our considering this plan at this stage. At the conference of American governors held at the end of 1928, Mr. Brewster, who spoke at Hoover's instruction, said: "At any moment we are threatened with the picture of an approaching unemployment crisis. The assignation of three milliard dollars for construction works of a social nature would cure the situation in the twinkling of an eye." Brewster announced Hoover's intention to recommend the creation of a three milliard reserve fund for this purpose. The plan is not a new one. As early as 1922 such a plan was proposed by a number of bourgeois economists, and was supported by the American Federation of Labour, the American Association for Labour Legislation, and also by special conferences on unemployment working under Hoover's guidance. The old plan of American reformism receives Hoover's support anew now that he is President. We are interested in the reasons which have impelled the President to speak of a crisis, and again to support the American Federation of Labour's reformist plan. At the basis of Hoover's plan lie the theories propounded by Foster and Cutchings.

In a special monograph, *Social Works and Cyclical Unemployment*, Professor Dickenson justifies Hoover's three milliard plan "with figures in hand," in doing so considering the developing crisis of American capitalism as a cyclical crisis. For America's bourgeois economists the developing crisis is a crisis of ascending capitalism generally, and not a crisis of ascending capitalism in the conditions of an imperialist period. At any rate, in putting forward their plan of social works, the bourgeois professors and reformists endeavour to relate the difficulties of American capitalism to cyclic fluctuations and endeavour to conceal the fact of the fatal contradictions which are being given rein in the conditions of the coming crisis. The outbreak of internal antagon-

isms in America at the present time would involve the undermining of her international position, which in turn would intensify the internal antagonisms by creating a revolutionary situation. And for this reason American capitalism and American reformism are thinking out various schemes for postponing the cyclical crisis. Any postponement of the intensification of internal antagonisms is a gain to American imperialist expansion. Maurice Colborne, the author of the book, *Unemployment or War* (1928, New York) is quite right in suggesting the way out of the situation: "Thus we come to two conclusions: first, to the very curious one that every new invention demands an extension of foreign trade, and then to the extremely fatal one that the right to dispose of commodities on the foreign market must ultimately be decided by force or by its equivalent." At present the leaders of American reformism cannot put the question so openly as does Colborne. The chief object of American reformism is to avoid a crisis, to adopt all measures in the struggle with increasing unemployment, to raise the purchasing power of the masses and so on. A characteristic feature of these attitudes is their all-embracing platform, on which one finds the labour aristocracy, the technical intelligentsia, and even the imperialist bourgeoisie—a bloc from Hoover through the American Federation of Labour, and ending with the socialists.

In addition to the social works there are other prescriptions for saving prosperity. Professor Taylor's prescription is: "The chief difficulty is that we do not succeed in consuming the commodities we have produced. For the rich cannot personally consume all the commodities which their dollars could purchase. In order to establish a just distribution it is necessary to increase the purchasing power of the masses, and in this way much will be accomplished." Professor Taylor advises the capitalists to renounce some of their dollars!

In the book only just published, *The American Portent*, Mr. Garrett gives utterance to the following truths: "High prices restrict both receipts and wages." Consequently the capitalists must realise that "when you are dealing with workers as producers you are also dealing with them as consumers." But here Garrett gets into a vicious circle, and he can-

not propose anything better than part of the ideas of Sismondi after Americanising them. "Why such endeavours to raise the productivity of already occupied labour? In sparing this labour by increasing its productivity, you spare it in order to squander that saving wholesale during unemployment. The people cannot consume if they have not produced. The inactivity of millions of unemployed is a burden on the community, the responsibility for which falls upon business." Garrett cannot demand the abolition of the machines as did Sismondi, but he now demands the restriction of their enormous activity. For Garrett and Taylor the contradictions consist in the technique of production, trade and finance.

There is a still more definite proposal to resolve the problem of unemployment, which so far, for the reformists, is equivalent to resolving almost all the problems arising out of the contradictions of capitalism. This proposal amounts to the propaganda of new industries. Among the propagandists of new industries, Clynes, the director of the U.S. Bureau for Home and Foreign Trade, and Davis, the Minister for Labour, particularly stand out. Davis says: "I am afraid that to-day the danger is so close that the prescription written a year ago may become imperative to-day. Our medicine is, of course, the development of new popular demands and the creation of new industries in order to meet those demands. . . . But if the present unemployment, evoked by economic forces which are beyond our control, is to be intensified by the American employers through an excessive discharge of workers, we may quickly get such a highly dangerous state of affairs that it will cost us a great deal." In other words: Clynes and Davis are in favour of a new expansion of production in the United States by the creation of new industries, but they are somewhat backward in their foresight. The new industries have already played their role in the present stage of American capitalism. The motor, building, chemical and other industries were the channels into which were drawn the free capital and the free labour power; but now the circle of capitalist production has reached its bounds. In order to develop still further, a crisis in the U.S.A. and a new partitioning of the world is indispensable. But

they know very well what may happen as the result of such a crisis. And for the present their "new industry" is the execution of a programme of naval construction. Not for nothing did the programme of naval armaments meet with the approval of the American Federation of Labour, even if only because the construction of new cruisers will be carried out to 50 per cent. by trade unionists. There is already an agreement on this matter between the American Federation of Labour and the Government.

In the present period of injury to American prosperity "the impossibility of reconciling opportunism with the radical interests of the worker masses" is becoming so obvious that a "left" opposition wing has made its appearance among the leaders of American reformism. We refer to the so-called group of "Progressists," which emerged at the end of 1928. This group is united around the journal *Labor Age*, supported by the *New Leader*, the organ of the Socialist Party, and by the *Liberal Nation*.

It is characteristic that the slogan of this "left-wing" group is essentially "back to Gompers." During Gompers' time the American Federation of Labour defended, albeit in a reformist manner, certain of the workers' craft interests; but now the virtual head of the American Federation of Labour, Matthew Bull, is at the head of a committee which is seeking to unite the present trade unions with the company unions. Only a few years ago the bureaucracy of the American Federation of Labour were fighting the company unions, the development of which was menacing the basis for the accumulation and enrichment of the trade union bureaucrats. But now the process of the fusion of the bureaucracy with the capitalist apparatus has gone so far, the bureaucracy is so completely guaranteed work by the capitalists that the trade union bureaucracy has ceased to see rivals in the company unions. At any rate, the American Federation of Labour was formerly distinguished from the company unions by its formal independence of the capitalists. But now the American trade union leaders will unite with the company unions, openly subordinating themselves to the capitalists. The American Federation of Labour is eliminating from its programme even such innocent reformist demands as legislation

establishing pensions for old workers. Matthew Bull is also the chairman of the Labour Savings Bank, the capital of which largely belongs to the great American banks. The Labour Savings Bank is mobilising the monetary resources of the labour aristocracy. The pensions law would inevitably diminish the deposits in the bank, consequently Matthew Bull fights against the Bill for pensions to old workers. The "left-wing" opposition is against fusion with company unions, against the American Federation of Labour's present policy, but first and foremost the "left-wing" reformists want to fight against Communism. A number of the leaders of this left-wing group have again and again declared that the American Federation of Labour ought to reform itself in order to prevent the extension of Communism. In their view, the best way of reforming the A.F. of L. is to return to Gompers' days. Gompers' reformism corresponded to the degree of development of American imperialism. To return to Gompers' days is as utopian as to carry out Garrett's proposals to diminish the activity of the machines, or Taylor's proposal to reduce the capitalists' profits, and so on. The only more or less definite programme that American reformism can adopt is the creation of a fund for construction works of social importance. But that fund, by its very idea, presupposes aid not to those workers who are already unemployed but only to those whose number may increase unemployment. The five million unemployed which exist in the United States to-day receive no support whatever from the bourgeois State. Experience has shown that America can have such a number of unemployed without being subject to the danger of civil war, but a further increase of unemployment and exploitation may disturb the established equilibrium. All the plans of reformism at the present time are directed towards preserving the present equilibrium. The whole task of reformism amounts to postponing the civil war until the outbreak of the imperialist war by maintaining the present equilibrium. Hoover's plan is complementary to the Kellogg Pact and Coolidge's armaments plan.

The present ideology of American reformism has already exploded the theory that America being the exception, by admitting the

"unharmoniousness" of America's development. Whilst the reformist school started from the theory that there is no antagonism in America, or that it is diminishing, the new Pleiades of theoreticians of reformism recognise the intensification of antagonisms. They are deliberately distracting attention from the chief antagonism, the one which is fatal to capitalist society, namely capitalist appropriation in the conditions of social production. But if the entire bourgeois political economy of America could have changed so completely within two or three years, and can now admit a number of defects, blemishes, and faults in

capitalism, indirectly confirming that American imperialism is subject to the same laws under which capitalism has developed in other countries, then in the economy of American capitalism must be maturing such enormous antagonisms that their explosion may change the political geography of the entire globe.

And this explains why alarm is growing among the bourgeoisie, why bourgeois political economy is striving anew "to reconcile the interests of the capitalists with the demands of the proletariat" and in various ways to restrict the tempo of development of American capitalism.

TEN DAYS THAT SHOOK THE WORLD

by

JOHN REED

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E.C.C.I. Statement on the Murder of an E.C.C.I. Member, Comrade Diakovitch

To all sections of the Comintern.

Comrades! The executioners of the Zhivkovitch government have committed a fresh bloody crime against the workers and all the toilers of Yugo-Slavia. We have learnt by telegraph of the murder by gendarmes of comrades D. Diakovitch and Hechimovitch, which occurred ostensibly "on their attempt to escape" across the Austrian frontier.

The bestial treatment applied to the political prisoners behind the prison walls of Yugo-Slavia have long since become part of the administrative system of the clique of criminal militarists who are dealing with the toilers of Yugo-Slavia on behalf of the Serbian financial bourgeoisie and the foreign imperialists.

After their *coup d'état* one of the first steps of the military-Fascist dictatorship was to declare in practice an open war on the workers, peasants and oppressed nationalities of Yugo-Slavia.

Under the cloak of the dictatorship of the king-autocrat of Yugo-Slavia and the Fascist military clique, the new government is carrying into operation a policy agreeable to the Anglo-French capitalists. Trampling on the workers' rights won by years of stubborn class struggle, throwing all the burden of the economic and political oppression on to the toilers of all the nationalities in Yugo-Slavia, the blood-thirsty exploiters are making intensified preparations for a war against the U.S.S.R.

A regime of harsh persecution, of murders without trial, of bestial excesses and tortures behind the prison walls is decreed in Yugo-Slavia. That regime is condemning millions of toilers and their families to starvation and torment; it is preparing still worse experiences for them against the hour when the bloody conspiracy of the imperialists against the land of proletarian dictatorship is realised, when the governing Serbian bourgeoisie will

dare to throw all its criminal army against the proletariat and peasants of the Soviet Union, engaged in the peaceful reconstruction of the economy of their country on a socialist basis.

D. Diakovitch (Friedma), a metal worker, a fine son of the Yugo-Slavian proletariat, was a steadfast fighter for the cause of the proletarian revolution. Sentenced to be hanged during the imperialist war, since 1919 he had again and again been arrested and flung into prison, serving an aggregate of four years. By his devotion to the idea of the proletarian revolution he had won great popularity and the affection of the workers of Yugo-Slavia. A most active and self-sacrificing worker in the C.P. of Yugo-Slavia, a member of its Political Bureau, and a member of the E.C.C.I., comrade Diakovitch, who of recent years had worked underground, could not but call down on his head the frantic hatred of the bourgeoisie and the Fascist military clique of Yugo-Slavia, and suffer a ruthless persecution from them. Comrade Hedemovitch, who was killed together with him, was an old worker in the Party and in underground activities.

The toiling masses of Yugo-Slavia and the other Balkan countries will see in the heroically dying proletarian fighter, comrade Diakovitch, an example of unmitigated firmness and devotion to the workers' cause. Following the example of their fallen comrade, they will fearlessly and unswervingly march on to the storming of capitalism.

The answer of the toiling masses of Yugo-Slavia to the shameful murder of comrade Diakovitch will be their consolidation around the C.P. of Yugo-Slavia, a broad, energetic organisation of mass resistance to bestial Fascism, and the preparation of the armed overthrow of the Fascist dictatorship.

THE E.C.C.I. PRESIDUM.

Moscow, May 3rd, 1929.

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May Day in Berlin

THE streets of Berlin have been drenched with the blood of the workers. The police bands of the social-democratic chief of police, Zoergiebel, have fired upon and violently handled the Berlin workers during their May-Day demonstration. That was the last artistic touch to the May-Day provocations, which Zoergiebel in conjunction with Grzesinsky and Severing had been preparing for a long time. The workers rallied to the demonstration in order to defend the proletarian right to the streets, and fell into the social-democratic trap.

The indignant workers erected barricades at the workers' quarters of Neukolln and Wedding as a reply to Zoergiebel's fire, and hurriedly armed themselves with whatever came to hand. During the night of May 1st and 2nd an armed struggle went on around the barricades. Zoergiebel mobilised thousands of police with rifles, grenades, machine guns, searchlights and armoured cars. The

first barricades were captured by the police. But during the two successive nights the workers erected fresh barricades. During the days of May 3rd and 4th the military activities were of a one-sided nature. Zoergiebel's dehumanised bands rained shot into the streets of Neukolln and Wedding, killing women and children, and carried out general searches and arrests. The workers did not fire a shot in reply. On the fifth of May it was all over.

SUCH are the main facts and the course of events in Berlin. There is nothing involved and incomprehensible in those facts. It is all simple and clear. During the last couple of years the German workers have risen with increasing frequency, and are passing from defence to a counter-attack. Every day their sympathy is growing for the U.S.S.R. The German C.P. is extending and intensifying its influence. For several reasons this

is becoming inconvenient to the uncrowned kings of industry. The faithful police-hound of the bourgeoisie, Zoergiebel, has been given the order to shatter and eradicate the German C.P., to organise a blood-bath for the German workers, to give them such a lesson that they will not be so bold in future.

Noting the growth of offensive tendencies among the proletariat, coupled with the swift growth of the C.P.'s political influence with the working masses, the social-democrats develop a carefully prepared provocation with the object of evoking a premature rising of the revolutionary proletarian advance-guard, so tearing them away from the broad working masses and shattering and exterminating them individually.

There is nothing difficult to understand in that. It is all simple and comprehensible. And yet an involved knot of contradictions is interwoven with this "old and ever new story." The Berlin barricades were the armed rising of part of the Berlin proletariat against the bloody repressions of the Zoergiebel whelps. Of course, by comparison with the enormous revolutionary wars which are imminent, the Berlin barricades are no more than a small armed clash. But just as the sun is reflected in a drop of water, so the Berlin barricades are a reflection of the growth of the revolutionary prerequisites, of all the main contradictions of the German and the international reality at the present stage.

The first contradiction consists in the development of the German proletariat itself. Owing to a number of historic reasons the German proletariat is at present playing a leading role in regard to the workers of other capitalist countries, is showing them the road along which they have to travel in the near future. At the present moment the German proletariat is at a turning point. It is now sufficiently strong to pass to isolated attacks but it is not sufficiently strong to develop a wide offensive. In practice this is reflected in the fact that the social-democrats still enjoy influence with the workers; but the German C.P. is increasingly successful in drawing behind it great masses of the workers, including social-democratic workers.

This contradiction constitutes one of the most difficult elements in the situation. On the one hand it is impossible for the prole-

ariat to refrain from joining the battle, they have to develop a counter-attack, and yet on the other their forces are still insufficient for an extended struggle. This period in the development of the revolutionary forces of the proletariat renders inevitable considerable vacillations, and makes the outcome of the attack extremely uncertain and obscure. And all the difficulties, the ebbs and flows, the vacillations, were to be observed during the May days in Berlin. On May Day there was an "illegal" demonstration of two hundred thousand. During the night leading to May 2nd the struggle passed into one of its highest forms: an armed battle on the barricade. But by the evening of the 2nd it was clear that the majority of the Berlin workers were still unprepared for the transition even to such a form of struggle as a general strike in protest against the murder of the workers.

In this regard no less typical is the fact that in the recent elections to the factory committees the Berlin tramway workers gave two-thirds of their votes to the C.P., but on May-Day they not only did not participate in the demonstration: they did not even strike.

The second contradictory element consists in the role of the Zoergiebel machine-guns. On the one hand they are the instruments of the external attack on the U.S.S.R. and the internal war against the proletariat, and on the other hand they play the role of instruments of peace between the German imperialists and the Anglo-French imperialists. On May-Day the Zoergiebel machine-guns also played the role of an instrument of blackmail. They fired at the workers not only to lay down a road for a new capitalist offensive on the workers, and to prepare for the Fascist bourgeois democratic dictatorship and the war on the U.S.S.R., but also in order to obtain a reduction in the amount of reparations and an increase in the German army. Even before Zoergiebel's bestial moves were ended the activity of the magnates of heavy industry in this direction was clearly revealed.

There is revolution, and armed insurrection in Germany—so reduce the reparations payments, allow us to enlarge our army! The German bourgeoisie needed the blood of the Berlin workers, poured out by Zoergiebel, as proof positive to the reparations commission.

But this does not exhaust the role played

by the machine-guns in the Berlin barricades. Social-democrat Zoergiebel's machine-guns were intended to become the chief source of strength of the present great coalition and to guarantee its further extension. The German social-democrats are seeking—with the aid of the blood of the Berlin workers—to wash away their former democratic opposition sins and to show their masters that they are quite capable of governing a capitalist State. They are paying for their ministerial seats in the coalition government, with the Berlin workers' blood.

That is the complex dialectic lying behind the German machine-guns.

BUT what of the reparations problem which stands behind the machine-guns? Does it not in its turn represent a complex interweaving of contradictory elements? In the first place, the antagonisms between vanquished Germany and the victorious countries: the U.S.A., France, Britain and so on. Secondly, the antagonisms between the U.S.A. and Britain, and thirdly, the antagonisms between all the participants in the reparations commission on the one hand and the U.S.S.R. on the other.

Nor, in estimating the significance of the Berlin barricades, may one pass over the antagonisms within the German bourgeoisie. All the organs of the great capitalists (the Berlin exchange newspaper, the metal-works newspaper, the Rhenish-Westphalian newspaper etc.) represent the events as a Bolshevik rising of the rabble, composed of "innumerable and well armed insurgents, who acted under a single leadership from one central point." The organs of the middle and petty capitalists (Frankfurter Zeitung etc.) on the other hand represent the matter more "liberally." The Frankfurter Zeitung writes: "The police behaved themselves as if it were a question of a self-contained enemy area, of a compact enemy, of a real "insurrection" with which the population is in sympathy. All that is quite inaccurate." The organs of the capitalist magnates are carrying on an open and frenzied slander of Moscow, and the liberal organs of the capitalists are doing the same on a smaller scale, and rather shamefacedly.

One must not over-estimate these disagreements among the bourgeoisie. It is the cus-

tomary dispute between two camps of the bourgeoisie as to the measures that are most effective at a given moment, in order to stifle the revolution: whether an open or hidden form of dictatorship, a democratic deluding of the workers to be complemented with machine-guns, or a Fascist handling of the workers complemented by democratic delusions.

The simple barricade "antagonism"—the workers on one side and the police on the other—thus represents a complex knot of contradictory elements. And the more complex and confused that knot, the more does it become necessary to untie it.

THE German bourgeoisie is feverishly seeking a way out of the contradictions into which it has got itself. Imperialism minus colonies, extension of trade with the U.S.S.R. and preparation of war against her, orientation to west and to east, a fascist democracy or a democratised fascism—these are the contradictions which the German bourgeoisie is struggling against.

No less difficult is the situation of German social-democracy. It is a party still operating in dependence on considerable sections of leftward moving workers, and a party carrying out the policy of the rightward moving bourgeoisie. A party which formally is defending the interests of the workers, and yet is carrying through capitalist rationalisation at the expense of the workers, and openly agitating for new armaments. A party which still operates on the leftward moving workers in order to wage a struggle against the revolutionary section of the workers; against the Communist Party.

In all classes the consciousness is growing more strong of the impossibility of continuing any longer their present kind of life. The situation is growing more tense daily.

German social-democracy feels the difficulties of the present situation particularly keenly. For the second time in Germany's history it is taking upon itself the mission of saving German capitalism from the socialist revolution. The Social-Democratic Party is the active and leading party of the bourgeoisie State against the working class at the present time in Germany. No individual and no party of the

bourgeoisie can now control the growing indignation of the working class with capitalist rationalisation and the preparation for fresh wars. Only social-democracy still has some reserves to enable it to decide to undertake this work. Those reserves are the workers who still follow social-democracy. But these reserves are every day becoming less and less reliable. The sands are running out for social-democracy. Unless they act now it will be too late farther on. Social-democracy jointly with the bourgeoisie sees its sole salvation in social fascist dictatorship. To liquidate all the revolutionary, democratic achievements, to shatter and annihilate the C.P., to demoralise the leftward moving workers with rifle fire, to establish the social-fascist dictatorship of the bourgeoisie, to sell itself for an advantageous price to the Anglo-French imperialists, to become the head and forefront of the preparations for armed intervention in the U.S.S.R. through the Second International, to obtain a colonial mandate as payment for military services—such is German social-democracy's "general plan," which to them provides escape from all the contradictory elements in German imperialism. But it is necessary to act very swiftly and very resolutely, sticking at nothing. Away with the game of democracy! It is necessary to act Zoergiebel fashion. Social-democracy will break its neck against this problem, and the "left-wing" will be the first to go under.

THE Berlin repressions are the first stage towards the fulfilment of the "general plan." German social-democracy, which plays the role of leader to the other socialist parties has, during these May days, openly taken the road of fascism, has openly become a social-fascist party. And it will travel yet further along that road.

Drunk with the blood of the workers, Zoergiebel has disclosed the secret of all social-democracy in the pages of the bourgeois press. During all these days, during the days when he was shooting down the Berlin workers, "I," he declared, "had close contact with the trade unions and social-democracy."

The immediate plan of the social-fascists is to stifle the revolutionary movement of the proletariat and to disperse all the revolutionary or-

ganisations of the workers, in doing so operating on the more backward sections of the proletariat. Zoergiebel is satisfied with the support he received from the heads of the reformist trade unions and social-democracy.

For their part the social-democrats are also completely satisfied with their Zoergiebel. They cannot sufficiently laud him. "In the main the police did only what was necessary," announced the social-democratic "Vorwaerts." For the social-democrats the "only thing necessary" was the shooting down of the workers.

The chief masters of social-democracy, the leaders of the entire capitalist class, the uncrowned kings of heavy industry, are not entirely satisfied with Zoergiebel. The social-democrats have not yet fully succeeded in demonstrating that they are capable of administering a bourgeois State, they snort. They acted irresolutely. They did not forestall the May demonstration. They dragged out the job of suppressing the rising, the destruction of the barricades, the conquest of the workers' quarters, far too long. Of course the police under Zoergiebel's leadership did their duty, but Zoergiebel's armed forces sent against the barricades were too small. There was not enough blood. The results were inadequate. Only by smashing the C.P., the Red Front Fighters, and other revolutionary mass organisations of the proletariat, could the social-democrats earn the complete confidence of their masters.

The social-democrats have not yet resolved on that step. It is true they have declared the Red Front Fighters dissolved, have closed down the Communist newspapers for a time. But they are not yet decided on dissolving the Communist Party.

Over the corpses of the Berlin workers, fallen in the barricade battles, the social-democrats are carrying on a filthy haggling concerning the further development of the fascist offensive against the German proletariat and its revolutionary conquests. In the present political game the C.P. is put to the test. A new conspiracy is hurriedly being organised against it. A frenzied campaign of calumny is being carried on against it. Communism is the chief enemy, cry all the bourgeois and social-democratic newspapers; it is the Com-

munists who stir up the workers, calling on them to overthrow the capitalist system, it is they who are responsible for our shooting down the workers. We must finish with the Communists.

All the internal and external contradictory elements of German imperialism, which broke through to the surface in the form of the Berlin barricade battles, are now concentrated around the German C.P. After the shattering of the barricades in the workers' quarters it is necessary to take this workers' "barricade" by storm.

Germany is part of the world stabilisation, which has, with great difficulty, been established since the war. But it is a special part. It is the Achilles heel of world imperialism, it is its weakest link. The instability of capitalist stabilisation here finds its clearest expression. In this regard, Germany plays the part of barometer to the revolutionary storms imminent in all countries. The barometer foretells the storm—and that is the international significance of the May Days in Berlin.

The May Days have shown the working masses all the impermanence, the instability, the precariousness of the entire capitalist system in an accessible and intelligible form. The reformists' legends as to the restoration of capitalism, and its crisis-free development, are refuted. The rising in Vienna in 1927, the Ruhr and Lodz affairs in 1928, the Berlin barricades in May, 1929, such are the results of this restored capitalism. Capitalism has recovered from its post-war ruin. But as the result of its temporary consolidation it has not merely not saved itself from a general crisis, but is getting more and more to a dead end. The framework of the capitalist system is becoming more and more dependent upon the increased productive forces. A ruthless struggle for markets is developing between the imperialist States, a feverish preparation for further wars is being made. The socialist system is speedily being built in the U.S.S.R., the revolutionary movement is growing in the colonies. The workers are becoming ever more convinced of the instability and precariousness of present-day capitalism, of the possibility of overthrowing it—no matter how firm it seems—by the mighty and united pres-

sure of the toiling masses, under the leadership of the advance-guard of the revolutionary proletariat—the Comintern.

THE Berlin barricades herald a new and more important stage in the leftward movement of the working masses. At their barricades the Berlin workers have demonstrated an enormous revolutionary energy, the greatest initiative, audacity and flexibility. The Berlin workers have confronted the entire German proletariat, and also the entire international proletariat, with the task of rising to a new, a higher stage; of passing to higher and more decisive forms of the class struggle.

The Berlin barricades, together with the Hamburg barricades of 1928, have once more, since the Moscow, 1905, rising, confirmed the possibility of a barricade struggle in the streets of the modern towns, even with the incomparably greater destructive force of machine-gun and armoured car fire, as compared with the rifles of 1905.

Vienna, Ruhr, Berlin, these are the advance guard battles of the international proletariat, rising to a new revolutionary struggle. Vienna, the Ruhr, Berlin are prerequisites to a new rise of the international revolution, to a new struggle for the overthrow of the power of the bourgeoisie and for the establishment of the proletarian dictatorship. The intensification of the class struggle in all the capitalist countries has now reached such a degree that every wide offensive of the proletariat confronts the masses with the problem of the necessity to prepare for the struggle for power. At the present time every large-scale conflict of classes places the problem of power on history's agenda. And this connotes the proximity of a new rise in the international revolution, when the conquest of power by the proletariat will become an immediate, practical task.

The problem of the conquest of power as an immediate practical task was not raised at the Berlin barricades. In vain do the social-democrats, together with the left-wing and right-wing renegades from Communism, seek to represent the Berlin battles as a putsch, as a flash in the pan, as an attempt of a handful of Communists isolated from the working masses to seize power. If it were so, if the

C.P. were to be sundered from the working masses, Zoergiebel, Severing, Muller, Loebe, would not hesitate for a moment before the dispersal and break-up of the C.P. The German C.P. is moving together with the working masses, and when the conditions mature, when the masses rise to the new revolutionary battles, it will lead them on to the overthrow of the power of the bourgeoisie, to the conquest of power by the proletariat.

THE main task, brought to the forefront by the Berlin events, for the German C.P. to tackle is the further extension and consolidation of its connections and influence with the masses. There can be no other answer to provocation than the mobilisation of the masses; than their incitement to struggle. In Germany at the present moment an extensive social provocation of the whole proletariat is being carried on. The continued attack on wages, on the labour day, the continued carrying out of capitalist rationalisation, the destruction of all the revolutionary conquests, the growth and the attack of fascism, are all "provoking" the working class to struggle. Consequently the C.P. may boldly appeal to the working masses in reply to the police provocation.

The chief thing to be done now, taking into consideration the results of the election to the factory committees, is to transfer the central attack of the Party work to the enterprises. The enterprises are at the moment the chief mobilisation points of the proletariat, and in them are found its main organisations. The committees of struggle, the factory committees, the trade unions, are all that is necessary to the proletariat in order to organise their ranks for the mass battles under the leadership of the C.P. Consequently, the organisation of Party nuclei in the enterprises and their consolidation wherever they already exist acquire a decisive importance at the present moment. This is the chief link in all the Party work. This is the chief prerequisite to the conquest of the majority of the working class, which the C.P. of Germany is now confronted with.

Closely connected with this task is that of freshening and strengthening the ranks of the factory functionaries. Both the factory committee elections and the May Days showed that the situation here is far from satisfactory, and that the Party is confronted with obstacles

which partially paralyse its attempts to operate its decisions. Although the right-wingers have been driven out of the Party, although the conciliators have no influence whatever, yet the traces of social-democratic views are still not entirely eradicated. Social-democratic traditions and a passive attitude to the task of intensifying the struggle against social-democracy, still possess considerable vitality. They must be ended at whatever cost, and in the shortest time possible. A hundredfold intensification of the struggle against social-democracy, against the right and left-wing renegades, against elements within the Party which do not comprehend the meaning of this struggle, and interfere with it—there is the task. Without this the Party may prove to be in the rear of the masses at the decisive moment.

During the past year the German C.P. has taken an enormous stride forward in its development. During that year it more than once took on itself the direct leadership of the economic battles and political demonstrations of the proletariat. The elections to the factory committees revealed an extraordinarily swift growth of its influence with the working class. But the enormous difficulties which arise out of the "transitional" situation of the proletariat—when it is forced to pass to struggle without being adequately prepared for it and without having the possibility of widely developing its forces—are reflected in our Party also.

Not for one moment do we doubt that the German C.P. will rise supreme to all the difficulties with which it is confronted.

Zoergiebel will not succeed in breaking the German C.P. The German C.P. will succeed in breaking the backs of the Zoergiebels and their bourgeois masters.

Social-democracy is unmasked as never before. A wave of protest against Zoergiebel's bestialities is rising within its ranks. The social-democratic worker reserves are wavering. Parts are already beginning to abandon the social-democratic ranks. The task of winning the workers away from social-democracy is arising before the C.P. in a new form and in new conditions. The C.P. can and must take social-democracy in the rear and capture its worker reserves from it. After the Berlin events the Party is much nearer than before to the conquest of the majority of the workers.

Canada and the Anglo - American Conflict

John Porter

THE process of the disintegration of the British Empire is nowhere more clear and striking than in the case of Canada, and nowhere does the ever-sharpening contradictions between British and American imperialism find a more concrete expression or lead more openly to war. Even the most brief analysis of the Anglo-American rivalry in Canada, a rivalry that is complicated by the existence of a growing Canadian bourgeoisie, shows that the war which is imminent will bring about in Canada a situation that will confront the Communist Party with tremendous tasks, culminating in the struggle for power.

Until recent years, more particularly until the outbreak of the world war, Canada was, in almost every respect, a typical British Dominion supplying raw materials and food-stuffs to Great Britain, constitutionally subservient to the British Crown, possessing little industry of its own, and importing most of its manufactures, firstly from Great Britain, and secondly, from the U.S.A. Foreign capital investments were overwhelmingly British. At the same time, the penetration of the U.S.A. was noticeable even prior to 1914. Although British capital investments reached the huge sum of \$2,500,000,000 in 1914, American investments totalled \$700,000,000, while the immigration of the impoverished American farmers, attracted by free land in Canada, reached the number of 100,000 in the five years prior to 1914. The Great War changed these relationships. Factories, mostly of American ownership, sprang up like mushrooms throughout the East. The influx of British capital stopped. Canadian manufactures began to be exported to England to meet the huge war-time demands; the Canadian army provided a huge market for Canadian products that could not be supplied by England. Huge American loans were floated in order to liquidate the acute after-war crisis that affected Canada. By 1920 the total

American investments in Canada reached the sum of \$1,300,000,000, while British investments barely held their own from pre-war days. Thus, the effects of the Great War upon Canadian capitalism qualitatively changed both her inter-Empire and international relationships, particularly with the United States. They can be summed up as follows:—

a. Canada became a far more independent factor in Empire politics; together with the other Dominions she entered upon the policy of demanding greater freedom within the "Commonwealth of Nations," thus hastening the disintegration of the British Empire.

b. Canada, due to her transformation from a predominantly agrarian country into a growing industrial one, became a competitor to Great Britain on the world market, through seeking a market for her industrial and agrarian products.

c. The balance of foreign economic power and control shifted from Great Britain to the United States.

The industrial development of Canada was duplicated in the agrarian field. The total Canadian grain crops have doubled since the year 1914, and exports, chiefly of wheat, have risen until Canada is the largest single exporter of wheat in the world. She has supplanted India as the grain-grower of the Empire; India's grain crop is smaller than before the world war, and the great bulk of the Indian crop is consumed at home. While this tremendous agricultural development provided the Canadian bourgeoisie with a basis for the development of industry through the expansion of the home market, an opportunity that has been fully taken advantage of, thus providing another cause for weakening the "bonds of Empire" between Great Britain and Canada, it had the opposite effect of rendering Canada still more necessary to Great

Britain as a granary, particularly because of the decline of India as a wheat-exporter. The importance of this fact in time of war cannot be over-estimated; without the regular importation of Canadian wheat the British Isles could not exist. But it is in the field of industrial development that the chief contradictions manifest themselves. The expansion of industry, chiefly manufacturing, mining, pulp-and-paper and textile, within Canada, has, since the war, continued. While the total gross production of Canadian industry was roughly \$2,500,000,000 in 1922, it reached the sum of \$4,000,000,000 in 1928, and is still increasing. "With 100 as the common base of the indices of October, 1927, the surveys of the Bureau of Statistics give the following figures for October, 1928: Employment 111, pig-iron 245, steel 195, bank debits 122, car-loadings 107, building permits 114, imports 120, exports 137, coke 138, coal 116" (*Economist*, December 22nd, 1928). The phenomenal growth of the iron and steel industry rob both Great Britain and the United States of one of the chief markets for these products (although in the case of the U.S.A. Canada still remains its chief purchaser of steel rails). The foreign trade of the country illustrates perhaps more clearly than anything else can possibly do, in view of the scarcity of data upon the capital investments etc., the conflict between American and British interests in regard to Canada. Canada's trade with Britain at the end of last year was as follows:—

Canadian imports from Britain ...	\$255,977,098
Canadian exports to Britain ...	\$547,647,969
Surplus (favorable to Canada) ...	\$291,670,871

Canada's trade with the U.S.A. for the same period was:—

Canadian imports from the U.S.A.	\$866,482,077
Canadian exports to the U.S.A. ...	\$492,582,966
Surplus (favorable to the U.S.A.)	\$373,899,111

Canadian trade with the rest of the world was as follows:—

Canadian exports	\$295,056,292
Canadian imports	\$140,845,574
Surplus (favorable to Canada) ...	\$154,210,718

The foreign trade of Canada, while growing very rapidly (1928 showing the greatest volume of foreign trade in Canadian history), is tending more and more in the direction of

the U.S.A., while trade with Great Britain tends to decrease (although trade with British colonies increases). But, more important than this are the following two tendencies:—

a. Britain's trade with Canada has a distinct tendency to become increasingly more unfavorable to Great Britain, showing an increase of food and manufactured imports from Canada, and a decrease of industrial exports to Canada. This is explained by the industrial development of Canada, the growth of those industries producing means of production, culminating in the phenomenon that Canada has become an exporter of manufactured products in excess of her imports of them.

b. Canadian trade with the U.S.A. increasingly becomes more favorable to the U.S.A. and unfavorable to Canada. Canada is the best customer of the U.S.A., selling and buying more goods in the American market than any other country.

At the same time, the Canadian bourgeoisie, involved in the imperialist scramble for markets, is seeking an outlet to the East, with the result that her trade with British India, Australia, China, Japan and other eastern countries is increasing. Vancouver is developing into a great seaport, and tends to rival the eastern ports, particularly as a grain port. This gravitation of Canadian trade to the Pacific brings Canada into the orbit of American Pacific politics, while at the same time the importance of the Canadian Pacific coast and the ports of Vancouver, Prince Rupert and Victoria, with their coaling stations, increases for Great Britain. The appointment of an independent Canadian Embassy in Japan last year is indicative of this orientation to the East.

However, this expansion and American orientation in foreign trade does not proceed without strenuous attempts upon the part of the Canadian bourgeoisie to build up home industry by a series of tariffs, thus departing from the Free Trade policy of the halcyon days of British trade supremacy in Canada. While anxious to reap all the benefits afforded by the British Empire Preference Scheme promulgated at regular Imperial Conferences, the Canadian bourgeoisie is by no means willing to let these benefits impede its competitive successes upon the world market. This was shown

clearly by the recent act of Canada, following the examples of Australia and New Zealand, of raising the British Preference Tariff by demanding that goods imported from Great Britain must in future contain 50 per cent. of British workmanship or material, instead of the 25 per cent. previously agreed upon under the scheme. This means that unless an article exported to Canada from Britain is at least 50 per cent. British it will have to come into Canada at a higher rate of duty than preferred goods. This, in spite of the so-called "defence of imperial unity" proclaimed by the Canadian bourgeoisie, was a serious blow to British manufacturers, especially to those who have to import their raw materials from non-British countries, such as cotton from the U.S.A. and copper from Spain. However, it can fairly certainly be stated that the benefits enjoyed by Canada in the Empire Preference Scheme are of tremendous importance, while at the same time it is clear that independent actions such as that cited above will be taken in the interests of the development of home industry.

In its tariff relations with the U.S.A. Canada is in continual trouble. The bourgeoisie of the heavy industries, steel, iron, coal, and railways, have always fought American competition vigorously and continue to do so. The high tariffs erected by the U.S.A. against Canadian agricultural products are now being increased by Hoover in his effort to ameliorate the agrarian crisis, and provide a constant bone of contention between the Canadian and U.S. governments.

The foreign trade policy of the Canadian bourgeoisie, caught as it is between the millstones of American and British imperialisms, seems to be to use all possible measures for the development of home industry, particularly heavy industry. This policy seems to be meeting with some success, and the explanation is to be found in the willingness of the British imperialists to grant concessions that were unheard of prior to the war, in order to retain the expanding Canadian bourgeoisie as an ally and as a market, albeit a declining one, for its industrial products. The position of Canada as a granary of the Empire also plays a decisive role in the relations between Canada and Downing Street.

The common interests of Canadian and

American capitalism, and the definitely imperialist politics now being developed by Canada are factors making for the collapse of the economic and political unity of the British Empire. The huge and ever-growing profits of the Canadian bourgeoisie are finding profitable fields of investment in Latin America. The export of Canadian capital to Brazil, Mexico, and Cuba increases, and in addition to being subscribed as part of the American capital invested in these countries, also follows independent channels. The Royal Bank of Canada does a great volume of business in Cuba; there are heavy investments in the sugar industry, also in the Brazilian traction combine. During the recent counter-revolution in Mexico the Canadian press watched events very closely, and approved of the acts of the American government in giving assistance to the reactionary rebels, stating that "Canada has many interests in Mexico, and Canadians will watch with concern the course of events" (*Toronto Globe*, March 10th). In the imperialist struggle in Latin America, between America and Great Britain, Canadian finance capital finds itself chiefly an ally of the U.S. In addition to this, a great part of the billion dollars of foreign investments held by the Canadian bourgeoisie are in the form of bonds and shares held in native American concerns. In the field of financial investment, Canada draws near to the foreign policy of the United States.

A conception is held in many circles of the Comintern that Canada is virtually a "colony" of the United States. For instance, comrade Lovestone during the December Plenum of the American Party, attributed the theory of "decolonisation" to those Canadian comrades who pointed out the new nature of Canadian capitalism since the world war. Acting upon the assumption that Canada is a colony, he accuses the Canadian Party of harboring the false position of "decolonisation." The truth of the matter is that Canada, since its bourgeois revolution of 1837, has ceased to be a colony, has developed since that time in the sphere of complete capitalist relations, and, as the Colonial Thesis of the Sixth World Congress states, is "a continuation of their (the 'mother countries') capitalist system." Further, the Thesis states, "there can be no talk of the colonial regime" in these type of countries.

Far from being the theory of "decolonisation," the fact that Canada is developing its own imperialist interests, is seeking a place on the world market, only goes to prove that in doing this she is sharpening the Anglo-American rivalry, and at the same time heading for war as a result of the hopeless tangle of the imperialist contradictions in which she is becoming ever more enmeshed. To ignore this is to ignore the whole course of the forces making for the proletarian revolution in Canada. Far from being a "colony" of either American or British imperialism, the latest available figures regarding foreign investments in Canada show the opposite, while not for a moment eliminating the fact of Anglo-American rivalry within the country. The figures follow: *Financial Post*, December 21st, 1928.)

Total Foreign Investments	British	American
1927:		
\$5,500,441,000	\$2,192,467,000	\$3,069,181,000
Jan. 1, 1928:		
\$5,686,369,000	\$2,204,064,000	\$3,215,512,000
Jan. 1, 1929:		
\$5,706,669,000	\$2,234,364,000	\$3,313,612,000

Of the total foreign investments, 57 per cent. is American and 39 per cent. British. The total national wealth, including over one billion dollars of Canadian foreign investments, is \$30,250,000,000, which means that the U.S. possesses 10 per cent. and Great Britain 7.4 per cent. Of the capital invested in railways, industries and finance (banks etc.) the following is the proportion:—

	American	British	Canadian
1920 ...	17 per cent.	16 per cent.	64 per cent.
1929 ...	19 per cent.	13 per cent.	68 per cent.

This indicates a strengthening of Canadian and American capital, and a weakening of British capital. This by no means precludes the control of Canadian industries by American and British finance in concrete instances, but at the same time the figures show that the control of Canadian industry and finance is not so "colonial" as is sometimes thought.

Where is the contradiction between the U.S. and Great Britain to be found chiefly? Not so much in the struggle of either of them to retain Canada as a "colony" but in the hopeless disunity and chaos within the Canadian bourgeoisie itself. These are extremely diffi-

cult to indicate, but the following groupings to some extent do this:—

a. The so-called "new industries" such as lumber, paper, hydro-electric, mining, etc., attract American capital, and the Canadian capital in these industries is drawn increasingly closer to the interests of American capital, and their American markets which form their chief fields of sale.

b. The Bank of Montreal group, closely connected with the Federation of British Industries, Baring Bros., Barclay's Bank, the British Metal Corporation and the Canadian Pacific Railroad.

c. The Royal Bank group connected with Mexican investments, and large American electrical and financial corporations, the chief Canadian-American group.

d. The Canadian Bank of Commerce group in close connection with Lord Melchett (an ally of the Rothchilds) and large Canadian mining interests. It is this group which has recently bought out the American nickel interests and formed the British-Canadian nickel combine under the leadership of Melchett (Mond). (Canada produces 90 per cent. of the world's supply of this war metal.)

e. The Canadian manufacturers and iron and steel producers who are seeking to develop home industry and capture the home market.

f. The grain interests, millers, cattle-merchants and the like who find their greatest market within the British Empire and who are rapidly being thrust out of the American market through the medium of prohibitive tariffs.

This gives some picture of the conflicting interests within the country. No section of the Canadian bourgeoisie is free from the effects of Anglo-American rivalry; some sections are to some extent independent, but they are insignificant. It is this disunity and conflict that determine the course of Canadian politics; any dismissal of this fact by referring to Canada as a "colony" of either British or American imperialism is fatal, and denotes a complete misunderstanding of the nature of a colony, as well as a total ignorance of the disintegrating effects of the development of the Dominions into competitors of the home country upon the world market.

The increase of American capital and influence in Canada, the decline of the British Empire and consequently of British capital investments, and the industrialisation of Canada, has caused a decided change in the relations of the Canadian bourgeoisie with the British Government. As the Thesis of the Sixth Congress on the Colonial Question states in this regard:—

“On the other hand, the competition between various imperialist systems for influence in these semi-independent countries can also lead to their breaking off from the metropolis and even to a union with the competitors of the latter. These reasons frequently compel imperialism to reconcile itself to a certain political and economic independence of its agencies in such colonies (Dominions) which arise on the basis of its united and native strength in relation to the corresponding imperialism.” This has been borne out in fact by the Dominions; the British Empire has been forced to concede an almost complete independence to the Dominions in order to retain the much-advertised “Commonwealth of Nations.” This was stated quite clearly by General Smuts in the South African Union Parliament in September, 1919, in words that have oft been repeated since: “The British Empire as it existed before the war has in fact ceased to exist as a result of the war. The last vestige of anything in the nature of subordinate status in the relationship will have to disappear.” The following events indicate the course of this change of relationships in Canada; the demand for independent representation at Versailles, Lausanne, Locarno, Washington, and the final gaining of a seat on the Council of the League of Nations; appointment of independent embassies in France, the U.S., Japan; signing of independent treaties with many countries and independent signature of the Locarno Treaty and the Kellogg Pact; opposition to British foreign policy and the refusal to prepare mobilisation at the call of the British Government (Chanak, Irak, Egypt etc.) The King Government, representing the Liberal Party, carried on this fight, which was never resisted in principle by Britain. But the struggle for complete independence, which was only voiced by petty-bourgeois liberal elements, was never visualised in reality by the Canadian bourgeoisie; their constitutional demands have

almost entirely disappeared and they are content with their new status as a “partner” with Great Britain. This finds both economic and military justification from the viewpoint of the Canadian bourgeoisie, in the first sense because of the Empire preference enjoyed, and the existence of vital markets both in Britain and the Empire, as well as in countries within the sphere of British trade influence; and in the second sense because of the complete naval and military helplessness of Canada. It can safely be said that the struggle of the bourgeoisie for complete independence is not the perspective for the future; that on the other hand Canada is able to gain from Britain all those constitutional privileges that is necessary for its development.

In this respect it is necessary to note the grave error made by the Canadian Party in attributing to this demand for constitutional freedom, the nature of a national colonial bourgeoisie fighting for freedom from imperialist domination, and the likening of Canada to Egypt. This has been recognised as opportunist and false by the Party, since the Sixth World Congress.

This peaceful gaining of constitutional freedom by the Canadian bourgeoisie explains the almost total absence of any sentiments for annexation to the U.S. The Canadian bourgeoisie could gain nothing by this annexation as a whole, although it would possibly benefit certain sections. Only recently in the dispute over the disposal of Labrador did Newfoundland (Britain's oldest colony) threaten union with the U.S., but this was obviated by the granting of Labrador to Newfoundland. The question of annexation to the U.S., however, will probably arise in a far from peaceful form in the coming Anglo-American war.

The role of the Liberal Party under the King Government is clear. Representing the most powerful Canadian interests, it seeks to utilise the Anglo-American conflict for the benefit of the Canadian bourgeoisie as a whole; in this sense it is playing a flagrantly opportunist role and one that will lead to disaster. Necessary to both British and American imperialism, it plays the game of granting concessions and at the same time resisting both groups, the while seeking to build a powerful national economy and to assume a somewhat independent imperialist attitude in the struggle

for markets for Canadian manufactured and agricultural products.

The coming war will bring all these festering contradictions to a head, and in this lies the chief task of the Communist Party, of correctly estimating the forces at work, and rallying the Canadian masses against the war danger. Three roads are open to Canada in the event of the outbreak of Anglo-American armed struggle:—

- (a) Neutrality. Canada playing the role of salesman to the conflicting Powers, with the inevitability of later being drawn into the conflict on one side or the other.
- (b) Declaration of war with Great Britain against America.
- (c) Declaration of war with the U.S. against Great Britain.

It is difficult to prophesy which road the Canadian bourgeoisie will take, but it is absolutely inevitable that no matter which of these actions is taken by the Canadian bourgeoisie, that chaos and civil war will result. In the camp of the disunited bourgeoisie, sections of which adhere to American, British or have independent interests, severe chaos and disruption would immediately ensue, causing a governmental crisis that would rock the country. The population itself is a basis for internecine warfare; sections of it are loyalist, that is, rank British imperialists; other sections are of American extraction and birth, with ties across the border; the greatest powder magazine, however, consists in the French-Canadian masses, who number almost one-third of the total population, speak French, are nationalist in character, and who resisted the last war by force of arms. This heterogeneous population will be hopelessly divided no matter what action is taken in the next war. However, one thing more is certain, that the relationships of Great Britain with the Dominions, and particularly Canada, will undergo tremendous changes. The Dominions reserve, and will demand, the right for independent declaration of war. In the words of a prominent British military specialist spoken in March of this year, "If Great Britain stopped to consult the Dominions she would lose the war, and if she did not consult them

she would lose the Dominions." The Canadian bourgeoisie, in taking this independent step, as it will be forced to do, will disintegrate the Empire, and in that sense only will constitute a progressive force. But its progressive character will stop at that; it is and will remain the enemy of the Canadian workers and poor farmers.

That the Canadian bourgeoisie is acutely aware of its fatal position is clear from the numerous writings and statements upon the subject that appear from time to time. In the debates in the House of Commons upon the Kellogg Pact, when Bennett, the Conservative leader, declared, with reference to the war preparations of the U.S.A., that: "When our great neighbours talk of war against Great Britain they are talking also of war against Canada," the Liberal Premier, King, retorted that such a jingoistic speech was calculated to "throw doubt upon the good faith of the neighbouring republic." Commenting on this, the *Toronto Star*, Liberal organ, stated:

"It does not call for much intelligence to enable one to know how, in the event of war, this country would be smashed and torn by the contending forces, and no matter what happened at sea or anywhere else, this country would emerge smashed and broken and no longer British. Of that there can be no doubt. No valour could save us from being ground under overwhelming forces as Belgium was, with no powerful neighbours to intervene as in her case. . . . All the fine dreams that Canadians as a people now indulge in of going on as a great and free British nation would be over and done with in the red glare of war. The one supreme foreign interest of Canada is to build and preserve the greatest goodwill between Britain and the United States."

In a recent book by two international lawyers, entitled *Canada and World Politics*, the following statement appears: "In the event of war it is improbable that the effective control of Ottawa (the capital) over the people of Canada could last more than three or four weeks." Commander Kenworthy in his recent book on *Peace and War* declares: "Yet this would mean a terrible war on Canadian soil. Automatically the Americans [in the event of Canada uniting with Britain.—J. P.] would invade Canada, and Britain, fighting both in

the Pacific and Atlantic, would forego other naval campaigns, including colonial raids and trade attacks, so as to permit the throwing of as many British troops and aeroplanes from all parts of the Empire on to Canadian soil in as short a time as possible. If Canada were invaded a long-drawn-out and bloody land and aerial warfare would follow to add to the horrors of the naval campaigns."

It is clear, then, that Canada, no matter what jurisdictional action is taken by its bourgeoisie, is destined to be a battlefield in the not far distant future. The King Government has openly entered the British bloc against the U.S.S.R., is embarking upon a battleship-building campaign, as well as strengthening its aerial, chemical and military arms of warfare. In preparation for this coming crisis and to ensure the co-operation and loyalty of Canada, Britain is increasing its imperialist propaganda within the country, and even making an attempt to once more export British capital. It is certain that any attempt to under-estimate the power and influence of British imperialism in Canada would lead to a total misunderstanding of the relationship of forces.

This, then, is a short summary of the perspectives that lay before the Communist Party, not only of Canada but of Great Britain and the United States, perspectives which are organically bound up with the whole tactics and strategy of these parties. As one of the principal theatres of the gigantic world conflict, Canada is destined to play a decisive role in the international politics of the future. The following conclusions can be summarised as of the most profound importance, for the Canadian Party particularly, but also for all sections of the Communist International :

1. The chief enemy of the Canadian workers and poor farmers is the Canadian bourgeoisie, which is developing as an imperialist clique, possesses no characteristics of colonial oppression, but is a partner in the imperialist schemes of British and American finance capital.

2. Nevertheless, the Canadian bourgeoisie

is hopelessly disunited, sections of it finding common interest with the American imperialists, others with the British imperialists. This bourgeoisie, in common with all others, is an inveterate enemy of the U.S.S.R., and is party to the war plans of Great Britain against the First Workers' Republic, as instanced by the feverish war preparations that are now going on.

3. In the event of the outbreak of the Anglo-American war a revolutionary situation will inevitably occur within the country, which will complete the disintegration process of the British Empire, and at the same time confront the workers of Canada, under the leadership of the Communist Party, with a favourable situation for decisive struggle for power.

4. The task of the Communist Party is to ruthlessly expose the lackeys of the bourgeoisie within the ranks of the Canadian proletariat and farmers who are giving abject assistance to the imperialist schemes of the Canadian bourgeoisie, and to continually place the war danger before the eyes of the masses. The Party must prepare for struggle by raising concrete slogans, against both American and British imperialism, and against being dragged by the Canadian bourgeoisie into either one of the two imperialist camps. However, the danger lies ahead of confusing this with any movement for neutrality that may arise among sections of the bourgeoisie, and the most careful means will have to be taken not to repeat the past error of placing the Party in the camp of any bourgeois opposition movement.

The revolution that faces the Communist Party is a proletarian revolution, and the culmination of the ever-deepening contradictions within Canada into open warfare places upon the Party the historic task of creating a Workers' and Farmers' Republic. This is the only "independence" to which the Party can subscribe.

Upon the correct estimation of this conflict in Canada alone can the future tactics and policy of the Canadian Party meet with ultimate success.

How Not to Fight Militarism

L. Alfred

ACCORDING to the Swedish Communist press, the Communist deputy Edoff Andersson put forward the following motion in the Swedish Parliament during the military debate :

"That Parliament requests the Government to prepare during the coming year proposals for the abolition of the present military system within three years."

No doubt comrade Andersson had the best intentions, and desired to expose the unwillingness of the Swedish bourgeoisie, its Parliament, its Government, and its social-democratic lackeys, to carry out disarmament ; but the objective effect of such an appeal to the bourgeoisie and its institutions on such a matter is exactly the contrary, for it promotes the illusion that disarmament by means of parliament, and without the proletarian revolution, is not impossible, particularly in the special conditions obtaining in Sweden. The exposure of bourgeois and social-democratic pacifism is urgently necessary and immediately possible. Comrade Andersson's proposal, however, makes this exposure dependent upon the pacifist manoeuvres of the Government and the social-democrats, for it will only be apparent after a few years whether or not the Government will keep its eventual promises of disarmament.

Unfortunately, the motion is pacifist not only in its objective effect, but is also based to some extent on pacifist illusions. This is obvious from the following passage in the motion :

"The demand to abolish the military system is the demand which formerly had been put forward by the organised working class, and which should be put forward now, not primarily because of the expenditure on armaments, but because this demand is one to abolish the weapon of the capitalist class against the working class."

"The abolition of capitalist militarism would be a step towards a new order of society,

for it would deprive capitalist society of one of its strongest supports ; and if the working class has the power to abolish that military system, society will be transformed according to the will of the working class."

Comrade Andersson's motion, and particularly the arguments on which it is founded, belong to those "incorrect and frivolous methods of fighting war" on which Lenin wrote in 1922 :

"I remember that on the question of fighting war a number of declarations were made by our Communist deputies, both within Parliament and outside its walls, which contain terribly incorrect and frivolous ideas on fighting war. I think that these statements, even if made after the war, must be resolutely opposed, and the names of the speakers openly stated. The condemnation of such a speaker may be softened if that serves a purpose, but none of these cases must be passed over in silence, for a frivolous attitude to this question is an evil which surpasses all others, and which it is impossible to condone." (Lenin : *On the Work of Our Delegates to the Hague.*)

Comrade Andersson's motion and the remarks quoted above were made in the year 1929, more than ten years after the war, when the experiences of the world war have been thoroughly and clearly evaluated by Lenin and other representatives of international Communism, and when the Communist International has many times (the last time at the Sixth World Congress) thoroughly dealt with the questions of tactics and principles of fighting war, including the question of disarmament, and has in its decisions clearly and precisely formulated the Communist attitude to these questions.

It would be an error to conclude from this that the decisions of the World Congress are unknown in the Swedish Communist Party. The Manifesto of the Swedish C.P. issued on 2nd April, 1929, correctly formulates the basis of Communist tactics in fighting war. The Manifesto runs :

"Imperialist war and armaments are not fought by bending the knee to the oppressors, by appeals and resolutions addressed to the organisers of war. Real peace and disarmament can be attained only by the complete destruction of capitalism."

Four days after the publication of this Manifesto, on 6th April, 1929, the Communist deputy, comrade Andersson, brought in a motion in Parliament which is nothing but an "appeal and resolution addressed to the organisers of war," and which is likely to prevent the workers from clearly seeing that disarmament can be obtained only by the destruction of capitalism.

Comrade Andersson's motion and the idea expressed in the Swedish Party Manifesto, are incompatible. For comrade Andersson appeals to the bourgeoisie and its institutions, his remarks suggest that capitalist militarism must first be abolished, and that then society will be "transformed according to the will of the working class," *i.e.*, the revolution will be accomplished. The Manifesto, on the other hand, says unmistakably that appeals should not be made to the organisers of war, to the institutions of the bourgeois State, that the destruction of militarism is possible only *after* the victorious proletarian revolution, and is even unthinkable before.

Not disarmament, but the arming of the proletariat and the disarming of the bourgeoisie, is the revolutionary way of fighting war and militarism. There is no other way for the proletariat, not even in Sweden. This must be openly stated. But the arming of the proletariat and the disarming of the bourgeoisie are matters which can never be demanded in a capitalist State, because they are not dependent upon the capitalist State, upon the parliament of the bourgeoisie and its government, because only the proletariat, by its will and its revolutionary action, can accomplish these tasks.

Let us again emphasise the fact that the Communist International does not put forward the demand for the abolition of the military system and for disarmament. This is not because the C.I. needs war as the prelude to revolution, as Kautsky declares. Peace is one of the objects of Communism, and the C.I. consistently and stubbornly fights for this

object. But for the Communist International to demand disarmament would not mean consistent fighting for that object; that would merely help to spread the utopian idea that world peace is possible before the world revolution. The objects of Communism, including world peace, can be realised without an imperialist war, but not without civil war. The question of fighting war must be considered in connection with the basic problems of the proletarian revolution, otherwise one falls, willy nilly, into the errors of pacifism.

The Communist International fights militarism, not abstractly, but in its concrete manifestations: conscription, the civil militia, mercenary armies, the militarisation of the young, etc. This is the only possible way of rallying the working masses to a serious revolutionary struggle against militarism, an object which cannot be achieved by demanding disarmament.

In 1916 Lenin wrote on this question: "The opportunists would rejoice . . . if we were to lose ourselves in the cloudy distances of some vague sort of disarmament, to save ourselves by flight from painful reality. Disarmament is such a flight from hateful reality, but by no means a struggle against it." (*Lenin on the Slogan of Disarmament.*)

The slogan of disarmament has now been adopted by pacifist swindlers. Its objective purpose is to draw a veil over imperialist war preparations, to speed pacifist illusions, to distract attention from the only method which will lead to success—the proletarian revolution. Under the slogans of fighting "any war" and "any militarism," the fight against the revolution, against proletarian insurrection, against the oppressed peoples' struggles for emancipation, against so-called "red militarism" is now being waged.

THE SOVIET DISARMAMENT PROPOSALS

If this is so how are we to understand the Soviet Government's disarmament proposals? Are not they, too, hypocritical, and designed to hide the war preparations of that government? Are they not calculated to arouse pacifist illusions among the workers, the more so as it is well known that the Soviet Government consists of Communists and enjoys great

popularity among the workers of capitalist countries? Should these proposals therefore be supported by Communists in the capitalist countries.

All these questions were exhaustively answered in the Theses of the Sixth World Congress. We take this opportunity of repeating and explaining the ideas of the theses.

The Soviet Government's disarmament proposals are distinguished from the phrases and projects of the imperialists and their social-democratic parties in that their purpose is not to spread but to destroy pacifist illusions. Although it was perfectly clear to the Soviet Government that the imperialists who talked of disarmament would not in actual fact disarm, their proposals were by no means hypocritical, for they are not in contradiction to the policy of the Workers' State, which is not an imperialist policy, but a policy of peace, corresponding to the interests of the working masses. The disarmament proposals of the proletarian State, sabotaged and distorted by the capitalist governments with all manner of excuses and tricks, are definitely designed to convince the workers of the world of the sincere desire for peace of the proletarian State, and to tear the hypocritical peace mask from the faces of the imperialists.

Had the Soviet Government done nothing about the imperialists' peace swindle, had it obstinately refused to take part in the negotiations concerning disarmament and peace, it would have played into the hands of the imperialists, who are on the look-out for any credible argument which will serve the purpose of assuring the people that the only obstacle in the way of world peace is the Soviet Union. The best possible answer to the cunning peace manoeuvres of the imperialist warmongers was the simple proposal of the Soviet Union, which exposed the poisonous intrigues of the imperialists and proved indisputably to the working masses of the whole world that the Soviet Union stands, not for phrases on disarmament, but for disarmament in fact.

It should be emphasised that this method of exposing the imperialist disarmament swindle can be used only by a proletarian State. Where the proletariat has not seized power it cannot use this method, for in such cases it would not lead to an exposure of the bourgeoisie, but

rather to a concealment of the revolutionary struggle against war. Communists should make no secret of the fact that they are preparing for the forcible overthrow of bourgeois society. But if a man says to his enemy: "Disarm yourself to-day, so that I may kill you to-morrow," he will not be taken seriously. One is compelled either to keep silent on the revolution, or to leave the demand for disarmament alone.

Dealing with the question of war, and the attitude of the proletariat in capitalist countries towards the Soviet Government's disarmament proposals, the Sixth Congress declared:

"This difference in the methods of fighting pacifism between the proletariat of the Soviet Union and that of the capitalist countries involves no contradiction. It does not follow that Communists in capitalist countries should not use the Soviet Union's disarmament declaration for purposes of agitation among the masses. On the contrary, the disarmament policy of the Soviet Power must be used in agitation more energetically and to a greater extent than before. The way to do this is not to put forward the same proposals in the different countries, but (1) to recruit support for the Soviet Union as the protagonist of peace and socialism—for its defence against imperialism; (2) to use and to demonstrate the results of the Soviet Power's disarmament policy, the unmasking of the imperialists, in order to root out all pacifist illusions among the masses, and to point out the only way to disarmament and peace—the arming of the proletariat, the overthrow of the bourgeoisie, the establishment of the proletarian dictatorship." (Section 64.)

The incorrect attitude quoted in the above paragraph indicated the urgent need for a more thorough study of the questions of principle and tactics involved in fighting war. Such study is essential for a correct attitude towards the concrete, practical questions of war and military policy, and for the dissemination among the masses of correct ideas on fighting war.

All this applies particularly to preparation for the International Day against imperialist war, when the revolutionary proletariat will demonstrate its will to peace and its strength in the fight against imperialist war.

For the Forthcoming Plenum of the E. C. C. I.

C. Lapinsky's Report on the International Situation (Conclusion)

The "Third Period" in International Politics

I. THE PREDOMINANCE OF BASIC ANTAGONISMS

TURNING to consider the world political situation, we can lay it down that in this sphere also, the chief feature is the predominance of basic antagonisms over the antagonisms of a more local and transient character. Such a feature always indicates the existence of a critical period, a period of crisis, and is the harbinger of coming storms.

A development of this type always results in the antagonisms which are more local and transient in their scale and character, gradually coming within the orbit of the antagonisms which are on a world scale and decisive in their character, being engulfed by these, following their laws of development, and, in the last resort leading to the same ends.

In order to illustrate this conception, I remind you of the development of the first imperialist period, which led to the world war. During several decades following the Franco-Prussian war, there developed innumerable, diverse antagonisms between the interests of the various powers. But the emergence and development of these antagonisms did not prevent it from being a period of the peaceful development of capitalism, similar to that of the earlier development of capitalism which lasted from the close of the Napoleonic wars until the revolutionary disturbances at the end of the first half of the century, and practically to the Crimean war. And only a higher capitalist development—capitalism's entry into the stage of imperialism—brought with it, as an inevitable consequence of the development of monopolies, an extreme intensification of relationships, which developed into a struggle for world hegemony between the two mightiest capitalist powers of that time—Germany and Britain.

Somehow or other, the local antagonisms between the various States had to become part of the general system. The deciding and universal elements of development took charge: every State was forced to choose between the chief protagonists in the coming world conflict. But as we know, this did not happen in a moment. Right down to the actual beginning of the war, and even during its first stages, many States were still vacillating.

For decades, French policy was essentially vacillating between an orientation towards Britain and an orientation towards Germany. Even politicians who are regarded as classic exponents of the idea of revenge, such as Gambetta, not to mention politicians of the type of Jules Ferri, in their search for compensations for lost Alsace and Lorraine (but in fact in the endeavour somehow or other to ensure France's rank as a great power), allowed themselves to be drawn into an active colonial policy, and thus gradually slipped into hostility to Britain. To a certain extent Bismarck connived at this development, the culminating moment of which was the stormy Fashoda incident, when France was led to the very threshold of an armed conflict with Britain. At the same time, on the other side of the Rhine, the basis of Bismarck's policy was, as we know, the endeavour to avoid, at all costs, the emergence of a too homogeneous system of alliances. The policy of "reinsurance" by maintaining close relations with Tsarist Russia, even while being allied with Austria-Hungary, was ended only with the fall of Bismarck, being for that matter afterwards revived in more mongrel forms. In the same way, Britain also, on the threshold of the twentieth century (and almost down to the outbreak of the war), when the outline of the imminent world conflict were already indicated by the emergence of the triple

entente against Germany, continued for many years to endeavour to come to an agreement with her German rival on the most disputed and decisive issue of naval armaments. And Tsarist Russia, in its turn, still continued to seek German friendship, although bound by an alliance with France. I need but mention the famous episode of Biorke, when Nicholas II. concluded a treaty with Wilhelm which was, in effect, a direct betrayal of his French ally. Such men as Bismarck, and afterwards Witte in Russia, were continually thinking of throwing one bridge or another across the abyss dividing the system of European alliances. This dual system of alliances developed by no means in a moment, and it by no means acquired an inevitable, irreconcilable character all at once.

The period of vacillation, which was a special form of transition period, came to an end after the final miscarriage of the many attempts to reach an agreement between the two chief antagonists; Britain and Germany, who incarnated the decisive antagonism of the epoch of pre-war imperialism. From that moment all had to make their choice. There arose a single barricade across the world. Every capitalist State was forced to place itself on one or other side of that barricade. There was no longer room for neutrals—such were the dictates of history.

A similar course of development is observable at the present time. Out of the chaos of the post-war state of capitalism, out of the absurdity of all kinds of local conflicts and disputes, we now have a crystallisation of the decisive factors which indicate the most important world antagonisms. With the same inevitability as that of the last pre-war period, albeit with the same or analogical vacillations and hesitations, all local factors are gradually yielding place, are becoming subordinated to those leading elements which are conditioned by all the logic of the latest capitalist development, and which arise, as it were, out of the very heart of capitalism. That is undoubtedly the symptom of the approach of more critical, more stormy times. That is the symptom of the "third period."

Of course, this development is not being manifested in a single moment, although in our age of the decline of capitalism and the social revolution everything develops at a much greater rate. The antagonisms of a local and

temporary nature are not at once absorbed into the system of all-embracing, central antagonisms.

And, of prime importance this, the development is this time the more complex inasmuch as we have in the new circumstances not one "barricade," as during the first imperialist period, but three, around which the countries are grouping themselves. Now we have to deal not with one central antagonism but with three antagonisms, each of which is a central, world antagonism. The Sixth Congress considered of prime importance three main categories of facts. The Congress distinguished an intensification of antagonisms: (1) between the leading imperialist Powers, Britain and America; (2) between the imperialist exploiters and the awakening colonial peoples; (3) between the capitalist world and the Union of Soviet Republics.

Not any one of these antagonisms can be reckoned as of purely local importance, such as is the considerable antagonism between Germany and France: an antagonism which filled the history of the first post-war period, and to some extent the first period of stabilisation also. But, despite all its importance, even this antagonism is being thrust into the background by the more essential world antagonisms, is in one way or another being interwoven with them, is being drawn into their system.

Needless to say, these three decisive conflicts cannot be strictly delimited. The struggle for markets, for instance, which is playing the chief role in the process of crystallising the Anglo-American conflict, is not without influence on the formulation of relationships between the capitalist world and the U.S.S.R. also, although the antagonism between these two historical factors is in its basis first and foremost a class antagonism. But we can declare without reservation that the first of the three specified conflicts, *i.e.*, the struggle between the British Empire and the United States for world hegemony, is the most general inter-imperialist conflict of the capitalist world of to-day.

The second conflict grows out of the mighty movement of the colonial peoples, which constitute the majority of the population of the world, and are now finally passing from the position of being the subject of exploitation to

the role of an active, independent factor in the world historical process. Here the revolutionary development breaks into the economic development of capitalism, creating an entirely new situation and new laws of development.

Finally, the third fundamental antagonism, that between the whole world bourgeoisie and the great country of the socialist revolution, is the decisive social conflict of the whole epoch. For the first time in history the antagonisms between the bourgeoisie and the proletariat have grown to the dimensions of an international antagonism. We see that by comparison with the first period of imperialism, which led to the world war, the world situation has become incomparably more complex and many-sided.

2. RESTRAINING FACTORS

In the realm of economic and political phenomena we have not only to do with the development and intensification of antagonisms. There are also present a number of phenomena and tendencies which retard, complicate and protract the development of the process leading to direct armed conflict. We have already indicated the increasing interlocking of extremely heterogeneous capitalist interests, which are being confined less and less to purely national frontiers. We have quoted the book by the Director of the Washington Economic Institute, in which this ideologist of international finance capital affirms that "the world has reached a point in the development of its organised economic activities where national boundaries are of relatively little significance, notwithstanding the numerous economic barriers that have been erected by political States." This "development of organised economic activity," which finds expression in innumerable interlockings and fusions, is undoubtedly complicating the whole development and in certain cases preventing the gun from "going off of itself." We may cite the example of the Dawes Plan, which in 1924 undoubtedly discharged the European atmosphere for a time, as can be seen by comparing the situation which followed its introduction with the condition of half peace, half war, which reigned in Western Europe until 1924, and which had its clearest demonstration in the French invasion of the Ruhr.

Development in the direction of armed conflict is also complicated by the universal instability of internal political development in, at any rate, all the European and Asiatic capitalist countries.

In a number of European countries, and in Britain first and foremost, the petty-bourgeois liberal and petty-bourgeois reformist elements, in the struggle for parliamentary power, have to take the attitude of the masses into account and arm themselves with democratic pacifist phrases. In the last resort these phrases serve only as a more dangerous method of deluding the masses, which are led into error concerning the decisive tendencies of imperialist development, concerning the true policy of the determining capitalist groups and the degree to which the reformist and middle parties are subjected to them. This chicanery becomes doubly cynical and doubly dangerous when it is a question of an aggressive policy towards the Soviet Union and the colonial countries. Incessant campaigns of lying and slander against the country which is constructing socialism, not only completely neutralise the possible indirect effect of the reformists' pacifist demagoguery, but create the moral atmosphere necessary to the policy of hostile encirclement and the preparation of war on the U.S.S.R. As history has shown, reformism has become the party of armed struggle against the socialist revolution. This one fact alone will, with the arrival of definite circumstances, fling reformism into the camp of armed struggle against the country of socialist revolution. We have already been witnesses of this in the case of Poland in 1919-20.

So far as the colonial peoples are concerned, during the whole of the post-war period we have observed in both the decisive colonial countries, France and England, the absolutely indubitable fact that the reformist parties have given their active support to the aggressively imperialist policy of the bourgeois governments. We can all still remember, for instance, how the British Labour Party, with MacDonald at its head, betrayed all the positions on the question of sending British troops to China. The leaders of the Labour Party have not uttered one word, either at their last conference in Birmingham or in their election campaign, concerning Egypt, where the

British imperialists are suppressing the struggle for national independence by armed force and have dispersed an insufficiently servile parliament. As we know also, the Simon Commission counts official representatives of the Labour Party among its members. In a word, we have a complete united front with the imperialist bourgeoisie, and government politicians do not stint their words of praise for the Labour Party leaders and their patriotic support of the official policy.

In accordance with all this, colonial wars and semi-wars have become something in the nature of a chronic phenomenon, something which does not disturb the general picture of peace. Pacifist phraseology is simply not applied to the colonial peoples. The Monroe Doctrine and the British reservations to the Kellogg Pact connote that an enormous section of the colonial world (including Egypt, although it is not mentioned by name) is officially removed from the official pacifist schemes. The prohibition of war is not extended to this part of the world. After the Pan-American Conference in Santiago in 1923, in his speech, which included the latest official interpretation of the Monroe Doctrine, Hughes, the U.S. Foreign Secretary, stated that "The United States reserves to itself the right of definition, interpretation and application" of the Monroe Doctrine. So, too, in his main note on the Kellogg Pact, Chamberlain made the proviso that this pact was not to restrict Great Britain's freedom of action "in certain regions, the prosperity and integrity of which constitute a special and vital interest for our peace and safety." And on this issue the *London Times* wrote: "There are, however, certain parts of the world where backward races exist to whom fighting is still the most natural method of settling a dispute, and for whom force is still the one convincing argument." (*Times*, 20th July, 1928.)

Thus, within the confines of the indisputable "spheres of influence" of the decisive imperialist States, war activities are quite legal. Here military activities simply do not form part of the conception of war, in the strict sense of the word. But as we have seen by China's example, even in the more important disputed spheres of influence, the decisions of international conferences (the Washington

Conference in the case under consideration) proved unable to prevent war activities (which of course are not recognised as war).

So that, at any rate so far as colonial wars are concerned, the internal political instability of the capitalist countries and the coming to power of the reformists and the middle parties connected with them cause no essential change, do not act as restraining and retarding elements. That instability brings with it a certain temporary restraint only in the inter-relationships between imperialist Powers. The vacillation and half-heartedness of the petty-bourgeois parties here make themselves felt in the search for compromises, in the attempts to smooth over the contradictions, in the pacifist futilities, which occasionally and for a brief period retard and confuse the inevitable development. Thus the arrival of a Labour or Lab.-Lib. Government in Britain may bring with it isolated manifestations of a more conciliatory attitude towards America, may create a certain illusion of a breathing-space, which in the last resort will only sharpen American appetites.

Without doubt the fear of the working class, the fear of revolution, remains a more real restraining element. In August last year, at a session of the Inter-Parliamentary Union, even the ancient reformist, Eduard David, expressed his conviction that any "future war between the Great Powers will swiftly and inevitably be transformed into a savage civil war in all States." The fear of seeing this transformation of imperialist war into civil war undoubtedly constitutes one of the few real factors making for bourgeois-reformist pacifism. For that matter the reality of this factor is altogether conditional. For the decisive imperialist Powers are more and more coming to conceive of any future war exactly as a kind of civil war, directed against a revolutionary country or countries (which on this basis could be represented as a violator of the peace, and so as coming under the application of the corresponding articles of the League of Nations Covenant).* The conception of civil

* In an article on the Kellogg Pact the "Times" considers it one of the pact's defects that it does not foresee one of the chief contingencies against which the interested countries would need to retain a free hand, i.e., an uncontrolled right of

war, in a counter-revolutionary sense, is more and more becoming blended with the conception of international war. The bourgeoisie is now openly announcing the slogan of the transformation of international war into civil war. We have already experienced the blending of these two conceptions during the Polish-Soviet War of 1920, and during the armed intervention in China.

None the less, the existence of this connection, even in the event of a premeditated transformation of the coming war into a war against revolution, involves an additional risk to the bourgeoisie and leads it to be cautious in its choice of the moment.

Finally, the complexity of the whole present situation by comparison with that prevailing before the world war also provides a certain restraint; the modern world, as we have above noted, is now divided not by one single central antagonism (such as the Anglo-German antagonism of former days); together with the central inter-imperialistic antagonism of our day (the Anglo-American antagonism) we have a development of decisive and central antagonisms of another kind—the antagonism between the world of individual ownership and the country constructing socialism, and the antagonism between the colonial peoples passing into the realm of revolution and the imperialist countries. Each of these decisive antagonisms has its own peculiar logic of development, and the lines of that development, crossing and intersecting, result generally in a much more complex phase of development than that of the 1914 conflict. The development of purely imperialist antagonisms may in one circumstance restrain and complicate the process of bringing the class war against the land of revolution to its head, but given a different circumstance it may on the contrary accelerate the conflict with the revolutionary country. In definite conditions that conflict with the land of revolution might even play

war. That contingency is civil war. The "Times" puts it thus:—

"Do not changes in the forms of government and rapid adaptations of social organisation contain germs of new conflicts, which will not easily be settled by any general formulæ, however widely professed? Is there not implicit in present conditions a danger of civil war at least as great as that of international war?" ("Times," 27th August, 1928.)

the role of a diverting manœuvre, i.e., it might arise as the result of an attempt to create a united front of the imperialist powers by force of "accomplished facts." Here, everything depends on the particular situation arising, and that cannot be foreseen in all its details.

Such, approximately, are the most important elements which may exert a restraining influence on the tempo of development of the decisive antagonisms of our day. We have noted the highly conditional importance of these restraining elements. We could not pass them over in silence, since without them all the dialectic, and all the zig-zag features of the development (just as in the realm of economics) would remain incomprehensible. But in any case we are free from illusions; the hope that the "organised economic activities" will finally overcome the role of "national boundaries, notwithstanding the numerous economic barriers that have been erected by political States" is merely the Utopia of the ideologists of American finance capital, who are counting on obtaining "control" over the world, through the powers, resources, and "peaceful" penetration, by the automatic action of the United States' financial might. As we know, the United States Naval Department does not share that Utopia. Reformist pacifism merely combines the Utopia "of super-imperialism with the supplementary Utopia of its own production: the Utopia of a gradual consummation of socialism and disarmament by peaceful methods and with the benevolent participation of the capitalists. In fact, the "economic barriers erected by the States," and which have ostensibly to disappear in face of the higher organisation of finance capital, are becoming still more numerous and cumbersome. We have already noted the increase in the protectionist wave. The fiasco of the free traders' "bankers' manifesto" is a generally admitted fact. This constriction of the economic world of capitalism of which we have spoken above, and the impossibility of regaining the previous tempo of development (despite the enormous successes in the technical field), remains a deciding factor.

What is the international way out of this blind alley? In a certain public speech Professor Turner announces: "Truly, it is a straitened world. A world compelled by invincible forces to self-constraint, to union, to agree-

ment, is adapted only to suicide." Another no less well known American scientist, I. Baumann, writes in the *World*: "Inevitably there must come either war or a system of pooling and rationing in view of the diminution of all the most vital resources." And after citing both these scientists, the historian of American foreign policy, the participant in the Paris peace and Washington conferences, Professor Blackslay, adds in his own name: "The world is growing smaller, its resources are becoming more restricted, whilst the competitive struggle over those resources and over markets for disposal of manufactures is becoming more intensive, industry and finance are so organised that an unfavourable situation or political instability in any sphere is reflected on the prosperity of other countries. The United States is closely interlocked with other countries by strengthening financial associations: in these conditions it is clear that the policy of the United States of America also the policy of the world as a whole, must have in view a closer international co-operation both economically and politically." (*The Recent Foreign Policy of the United States, 1925, p. 321 and 325-6.*)

Thus the way out of the constriction, imposed upon and openly recognised by capitalism, is the "pooling" system, the combining of resources, agreements, self-restrictions adaptations under the threat of "suicide," such as a war evidently would be. In all this only one thing is true: there is an undoubted tendency towards the growth of a kind of interdependence, and towards an intensification of the network of organised international connections. Following on the continental and world trusts, the "co-operation of the (emission) banks," the fixation of world prices for certain commodities, the centralisation of international exchange speculation, the organisation of international committees for transfer, "super-banks," etc., we have an unbroken stream of conferences of foreign ministers, the organisation of political exchanges attached to the League of Nations, a vigorous creation of "regional" and world agreements and pacifist schemes and machinery on a continental and on a world scale. The economic "interlockings" are leading also to a certain amount of political super-structure. But from all this to draw the conclusion that with the

demonstrated curtailment of the world the capitalist Powers are growing less militant than when they found the world more spacious, is one that only "scientific" theologians can make.

In our analysis of the main features of the international-political situation we shall necessarily come to conclusions analogical to those following from an analysis of the economic situation. The competition between the decisive central antagonisms and the international political "interlockings," makes the present state of "equilibrium" increasingly unstable, ponderous and immense, and increasingly streaked with all kinds of surprises, complications and conflicts. And here, as in the economic sphere, the "organisation" of the world is becoming increasingly confused, irrational, absurd and contradictory internally to the point of savagery. Here also the "pacifist" creation and maintenance of peace, which is the official aim of every politician, is growing into a Tower of Babel, into a competition of world pacifist schemes (behind which is concealed the preparation of the war for world hegemony) into the fusion of the conception of the "international" war with that of counter-revolutionary war, with that of "civil" war against the revolutionary countries, into a final and dissolute confusion of the very conceptions of war and peace, just as the ten-year "disarmament" agreement is serving merely as a cloak for a frantic armaments race.

Both war and peace have been transformed into the same feature: into extreme economic rivalry. As one American author, the vice-president of the U.S. Tariff Commission, formulates it: "War is no longer merely an armed conflict, it is also an economic struggle. From this point of view it is an aggravated form of trade competition." (Culbertson *International Economic Policies, N.Y., 1925, p. 331.*) Such is the latest reincarnation of Clausevitch's well-known old formula that war is merely a continuation of politics with other methods. But the converse has become the truth: peace is only a weaker form of war. The dividing line between peace and war is here being eliminated to a certain extent. The most frantic rivalry for a world grown more restricted has become the law of the period of capitalism's decline, but a law complicated by

the entry of the colonial peoples on the scene as an active historic factor and by the triumph of socialism in certain parts of the world.

These phenomena can be seen at the basis of all the three decisive antagonisms of our time. Each of them is in some way interlocked with the others. Not one of them appears in a "pure" form. The action of one is strengthened by the action of another. Thus the elimination of the enormous areas occupied by the Soviet Union, from previous world capitalist circulation must of itself indirectly intensify the rivalry between the capitalist Powers; for it is clear that the more restricted the basis of exploitation becomes, the more severe must the rivalry also become. The struggle against the colonial and semi-colonial peoples, who look to the U.S.S.R. as the only country which has declared war against all forms of exploitation, inevitably intensifies, as does the struggle of the Imperialist Powers against the U.S.S.R. This connection was revealed to everyone when the wave of the Chinese revolution in 1926-27 reached its highest level, but in its potential form this connection never disappears. And only the turpitude and hypocrisy of the everyday bourgeois propaganda can reduce everything to a mere matter of Soviet "propaganda," and can fail to observe the natural historical connection between the two phenomena, which is independent of any kind of propaganda whatever, and for which geographical distances do not exist. And finally, the antagonism between the capitalist world and the U.S.S.R. is, out of all these three decisive antagonisms, the one of the highest significance (as Lenin himself emphasised), for here, all the antagonisms interlock and fuse: the struggle for an extension of the world market; the struggle for the unrestricted exploitation of the colonies; and the higher, extreme, antagonism of the period—the struggle between the bourgeoisie and the proletariat. Consequently, it is here that the antagonisms achieve their highest intensity. Thus we see that all the central antagonisms we have mentioned subordinate all the other, more local, antagonisms to themselves, and at the same time are interlocked one with another, and their boundaries cannot be absolutely fixed. In 1920 Lenin sketched the connection between all world events and the struggle of

the imperialist Powers against the Soviet movement in the following words:

"The second governing idea of our theses (he is speaking of the theses on the colonial and national issues) is that in the present world situation, after the imperialist war, the mutual relationships of the peoples, the whole world system of States, is determined by the struggle of a small group of imperialist nations against the Soviet movement and the Soviet States, at the head of which is Soviet Russia. If we leave this out of account we cannot rightly consider any national or colonial issue, even though it were a question of the most distant corner of the world." (Speech at Second Congress of the Comintern., 26th July, 1920. *Collected Works*, new edition (Russian), Vol. XXV., p. 352.)

Since Lenin uttered those words there have been many changes in the world situation, and yet even to-day they retain all their force. In its historical line the "struggle of the imperialist nations against the Soviet movement" remains the basic, the most important background of the whole world picture, even though at various moments the tone of the background may not emerge so clearly. As for the inter-connection between all the central antagonisms of the epoch, that emerges still more clearly, still more definitely, than when Lenin uttered the above words. Any intensification of the emancipation movement in any of the decisive colonial countries leads, one may say, automatically to an intensification of the relations with the Soviet Union. An activity, purely economic, market in its nature could combine with the activity of other factors only from the moment when, with the progress of the restoration of the capitalist mechanism (*i.e.*, of capitalist "stabilisation") the problem of disposal of commodities was laid bare as a central economic problem. The elimination of the colossal expanse of the Soviet State from the orbit of capitalist exchange was bound to intensify the struggle among the capitalist States for the remaining markets. And on the other hand, this intensification of the problem of markets was bound to lead to a redoubling of the tendency towards the armed overthrow of the proletarian dictatorship. Here all the factors come to one end: historical experience, and that experience becomes

the more interesting because it is bound to be doubly clear at the moment that the revolution captures any of the decisive capitalist countries.

3. THE DECISIVE ANTAGONISMS

Each of these central antagonisms must be the object of special study. Here we deal with them only briefly, in order to outline the general course of development, the general disposition in the structure of events, so to speak.

We begin with the Anglo-American antagonism. The world war, which led to the break-up of Germany and turned the law of unequal development to the advantage of America, made this antagonism quite inevitable, setting it in the place of the previous Anglo-German antagonism. During the first ten years after the war the rivalry between the two capitalist Powers went on in the economic sphere and outside "politics," so to speak. This was conditioned by a number of factors: the universal exhaustion after the war, the continuation of a state of "semi-war" in Europe, the indispensability of Anglo-American "co-operation" in order to restore the disintegrated capitalist circulation (and first and foremost, currency and credit circulation), and finally, a certain withdrawal on Britain's part in the first political trial of strength at the Washington Conference, consummated by Britain's "voluntary" renunciation of the alliance with Japan. The antagonism still preserved its diffused character, although the common base was apparent.

For the present period the characteristic feature is, that this antagonism has passed into a higher political phase; it has entered the scene of open political struggle, raising the question of the methods and resources for the struggle. That struggle is concentrated around three issues:

The first issue is that of naval armaments. Both the Powers (as did Britain and Germany in their time) have entered the phase of difficult, prolonged and so far fruitless attempts to come to agreement. And in the course of this Britain is hastening to arrange an ally at her rear in the form of France, whilst the U.S.A. has entered upon an enormous construction of armaments with the object of forcing Britain to yield.

The second issue is that of the so-called freedom of the seas, *i.e.*, the question of trading rights in war time. The U.S.A. is no longer agreeable to Britain having sole control of the sea roads during wartime, since this forces America to the necessity of taking active part in the conflict, and that inevitably on the side of Britain.

The third issue in the political struggle is that of "pacifist" rivalry. Each country is striving to take under its control the task of "international peace." Britain's method is to exploit the scheme of the League of Nations, which is essentially a part of the Anglo-French "Entente." With this scheme is bound up all the military and colonial might of the strongest land of militarism—France, and all the complex and mighty system of the British Empire. The existing division of almost the whole colonial world between the two decisive colonial powers: Britain and France, is in one form or another covered and sanctioned by the League. The League is the incarnation of the post-war Versailles legitimism, it is the organ for maintaining the "status quo." On the contrary, American "pacifism," the pacifism of the mightiest country in the world, yet one which is still only just winning itself a corresponding "place in the sun," concentrated in the policy of the "open door," represents a more flexible, more fluid system, one better preserving its possibilities for the future. In accordance with this, the League is more than a scheme, it is, as we know, a whole complex mechanism. But the American pacifist schemes, such as the pan-American alliance, in general, retain the more rudimentary form of doubtful agreements such as the Kellogg Pact, in which no mechanism like that of the League of Nations is involved. To outward view the rivalry of these pacifist schemes is something on the lines of a noble competition for the more certain guarantee of peace. In fact, it is a struggle over the issue of who is to "control" peace and war between the nations, who is to decide the question of the "legality" of war in each separate instance, who is to compel the participation of others in that war. Hence the endeavours of Britain and France by one way or another to draw the United States into the orbit of the League. Hence also the United States' vacillations between the hope of being able to hold her own in the League itself, and

the calculation that she will better safeguard her independence and her hegemony by the more gradual method of "isolation," together with fluid peace agreements such as the Kellogg Pact. In this sphere of higher and more complex intrigues, the struggle of the two decisive imperialist States for world hegemony, finds perfect expression.

The intensification of the Anglo-American antagonism has already manifested as one of the factors in the re-orientation of British policy in relation to the strongest Continental power: France. Here we have an eloquent example of how with the entry of the central world antagonisms on the scene, they embrace the other less essential antagonisms, even those of a Continental scale, and draw them into their system. Is not that a sign of the times?

In this sense, there is the restoration of the "Entente" which had its clear expression in the famous "naval compromise," that restoration is undoubtedly a remarkable fact. Will the fact of a "left" government coming to power in Britain lead to a complete destruction of this new "Entente"? That is still an open issue, although the whole system of the present-day "equilibrium" is undoubtedly much more precarious than that of the pre-war days. The leaders of the Labour Party have demonstrated their entire adherence to the "continuity" of foreign policy. As we know, MacDonald was the joint author of the "Geneva Protocol," which embraced many of the fondest aspirations of France; at the London conference of 1924 the same MacDonald by no means displayed any especial liberality towards the German side. Nor, finally, may we forget that in the determination of the policy of the Conservative Government no small role was played by the colossal changes in the latest methods of waging war. There has been an extraordinary growth in the importance of submarine, air and chemical warfare, and all this led to an increased importance in France's strategic positions in regard to her British neighbour, by depriving Britain of the traditional advantages accruing from her island situation. In the event of a conflict France, with her enormous war resources, could be only the ally or else a most dangerous enemy of Britain. The British Admiralty's sudden outburst of affection for France is merely the con-

verse side of the fear which France inspires. A further accentuation of the Anglo-American rivalry would lead inevitably to a struggle between Britain and America for the decisive influence in French policy. So far France is cleverly exploiting this state of affairs in order to consolidate her already strong positions.

All this sets its impress on the middle-European "problem" also. The aforementioned facts have transformed the German "problem" preponderantly into a problem of Franco-German relationships. To a considerable extent Britain has renounced her post-war role of "protector" of conquered Germany, of mediator and arbiter between Germany and France. The Paris conference of "experts" can hardly essentially bring with it anything more than some transitional decision. The Allies' demands do not allow of any radical reduction of the German tribute. The reparations problem is essentially a problem of "transfer" and a problem of inter-allied debts. But the problem of "transfer" (i.e., of converting large sums, reckoned in foreign currencies) comes up always against the same old problem of markets. Only a maximum development of export can assure Germany the necessary payment resources. And the problem of inter-allied debts, which in the last resort have to be wiped out by Germany, is in dependence on the lack of desire on the part of the United States to subject her former allies' obligations to any further reduction. Hoover, the nominee first and foremost of the industrial concerns, has even the reputation of being a particularly irreconcilable opponent of revisions of agreements on war debts.

Of course, with the increasing diminution of America's internal debt, the question of payments on these allied debts is becoming less and less an issue of financial importance, and increasingly a political weapon which she will not let out of her grasping hands cheaply. But for this very reason it is difficult to foresee all that the future may bring with it in this regard. In order to emphasise the extent of the possibilities concealed within that future, I cite a few lines from the work of a certain American banking "expert."

"If an agreement were realised between France and the United States, if it became possible to co-ordinate policy in the Pacific Ocean, giving especial attention to the exploit-

ation of Indo-China as a naval basis in the event of a possible armed conflict, it would then be possible to regulate the payments on more favourable conditions. To ensure this, the United States might receive certain unimportant French colonies in the Carribean Sea, paying more than the market price for them. The appointment of Claudel, an expert on Eastern questions, as French ambassador to Washington in 1926 would render such conversations possible." (W. R. Batsell, *The Debt Settlements and the Future*, Paris, 1927, p. 124.)

All this sounds rather like a poor joke, or, perhaps, the fruit of an idle imagination. But how eloquently crude it is! What ideas do not get engendered in connection with the debts problem! The purchase of "unimportant" colonies, a naval base in Indo-China—not so very far from Singapore!

Consequently, America's unconditional and complete renunciation of the idea of revising the inter-allied debts (and consequently Germany's reparations burden) would get her nowhere. We should not forget either, that America's banking capital, which is bound up with the problem of international credit, is itself interested in cleansing the channels of world currency-credit circulation from purely "political," i.e., State indebtedness. Thus in the U.S.A. there are also internal contradictory elements.

But in any case all this is the "music of the future." So far, the reparations problem serves as a focussing point for the intercrossing and refraction of all the innumerable contradictory elements in the modern capitalist world, and the intercrossing of these elements is hardly likely to permit of anything more than a transitional, temporary decision at the present international conference. It is difficult to conceive of any new "plan" playing the same role of turning point, by its political and economic consequences, as did the introduction of the Dawes Plan in 1924. At that time, this assembling of the first reparations mechanism indicated the beginning of the "stabilisation" of European relationships; it closed the era of extraordinary chaos and anarchy in international economic and political relationships. At the present time such a sharp break is not possible. Of course, any considerable reduction of the reparations tribute, its "com-

mercialisation," the creation of any more perfect reparations mechanism, would be bound to create new binding threads between modern Germany and the Entente powers. That is indisputable. But the re-organisation of the Dawes system will not settle either the problem of Germany's Eastern frontiers, or the question of national union (i.e., union with Austria) or the question of the developing contradictions between the country's economic strength and her international political situation, a contradiction which finds its highest expression in her degradation to the level of a second-rate war power.

At the same time, the intensification of the Anglo-American antagonisms and the growing financial link with the United States must inevitably complicate the so-called "western orientation." For "the west" is itself becoming a dialectical conception. In these conditions it is difficult to regard the policy of bourgeois reformist Germany as a completely homogeneous and stable system. With a growing *rapprochement* with the capitalist Powers this policy will become more and more a triangular one, i.e., a policy of manoeuvring between the countries of the Entente, the U.S.A., and the Soviet Union. Of course, any prolonged complication of the reparations problem, any crisis in the Dawes system, would involve a certain weakening of the connections leading to the West. On the other hand, the arrival from any quarter of a *fait accompli* in the sense of war operations and a temporary alliance between America and the "Entente" Powers along the class front line, would establish a completely new situation, of which it is difficult in advance to see all the definite forms and all the possible consequences.

In every way the situation here is one of instability, contradictoriness and a many-phased quality of development.

Whilst dealing with this same aspect of a changing world situation in connection with the intensification of antagonisms between the two imperialist giants, Britain and the United States, we ought to stop to consider the new situation in the Mediterranean (here the characteristic feature is Britain's mediation between France and Italy), and even more in the Pacific (where the characteristic feature is Britain's endeavour to effect a *rapprochement* with Japan). But owing to the lack of time I

must pass over these problems, merely noting their place in the general scheme of events.

I must also leave it to others to consider the second decisive antagonism of our day, the militant antagonism between the countries exploiting the colonies and the colonial peoples. This antagonism is destined to play an increasing role month by month in all the dynamic of modern development. How swiftly the attention of the British imperialists turned from their Chinese to their Indian anxieties, when they had hardly succeeded in sweeping back the first wave of the Chinese revolution! Truly we cannot complain of the weak tempo of historical development. And how characteristic is the impotence and the distraction of the British Labour Party, the possible governmental party of to-morrow, in face of the events in India, the unswerving development of which is compared by the Indian correspondent of the *Times* to the irresistible advance of a Juggernaut!

4. THE THREE PERIODS IN THE DEVELOPMENT OF ANTAGONISM BETWEEN THE CAPITALIST WORLD AND THE SOVIET STATE

Finally, permit me to deal in greater detail with the third decisive antagonism of our time, which sets all the capitalist world in opposition to the country constructing socialism. We have already noted that this is an antagonism of the highest historical importance: in it is embodied the greatest world antagonism of the entire epoch, the antagonism between capitalism and socialism, between the bourgeoisie and the proletariat, and consequently it partly engulfs, partly deflects, the other antagonisms into itself.

What are the basic historical factors in the unceasing, constant hostility of the capitalist world to the republic of the Soviets? These factors can be schematically reduced to three:

The basic and decisive is the social, class struggle, the struggle of the bourgeois-capitalist counter-revolution against the proletarian revolution. And the struggle for the further enslavement of the colonies has to be related to this.

The second factor can be called the economic or imperialist in the broadest sense of the word: the striving to extend the markets for capitalist industry by *force majeure*.

The third factor might be called the international political, the imperialist factor in the more narrow sense. This factor, having a less universal, territorial character, arises preponderantly from those separate countries (predominantly Poland and Britain), who are hungering for this or that part of the territory of the Union, and which take a hostile attitude to the consolidation of any strong State whatever on the European and Asiatic east, to a certain extent even independently of its social and class character. This third factor is an additional stimulus with a more restricted radius of operations.

All these factors taken jointly, but especially the first two, and the first, above all, make the hostility of the capitalist world to the land of the socialist revolution the chief law of development of the entire epoch, make the danger of war on the U.S.S.R. essentially and historically permanent and inevitable. Only superficial reformist or liberal wittings, who cannot see farther than the end of their nose, and have regard only for the events of to-day, can fail to see this or deny its existence. The only question at issue can be that of fluctuations in the degree, in the actuality, of that danger, or in the alternation of moments of "breathing space" with moments of direct menace.

What are the chief factors making for a "breathing space," for a temporary protraction and complication of the development of the conflict? Again, they can be reduced to three main factors:

The first, which we call the social class factor, is the active opposition of the working class, the fear of revolution with which they inspire the bourgeoisie.

The second, which we call the economic factor, is the impulse towards the exploitation of the existing market possibilities, already available and developing under the Soviet regime. This is market opportunism, so to speak. The extreme need of markets is also reflected dialectically in its own way. It first drives towards aggressive action through the call for "all together" to open the market by force with the "prospects" lurking within it, of breaking down the regime of monopoly of foreign trade and the whole Soviet structure out of which that monopoly grows; then, on the other hand, the same extreme necessity of

markets impels them to a "*rapprochement*" with the land of Soviets, to a real exploitation of the existing possibilities. The crisis conditions of capitalist trade and industry and the competition of capitalist countries especially help to strengthen this second tendency. Both the tendencies can be active at the same time, each finding support from certain bourgeois strata and countries.

The third factor, which we call the international-political, is the profound antagonisms among the various imperialist powers: at certain, occasionally prolonged periods of time, these antagonisms render difficult the formation of a united front for armed struggle against the Soviet Union.

Taken in the aggregate, the combination of these three factors (of which only the first category has a decisive importance) gives as a result a state of instability as the most characteristic feature of the whole system of inter-relationships between the world of capitalism and the land of socialism: that instability of course harmonises with the general picture of universal instability which is so characteristic of all the present-day relationships, whether economic, social, international or internal.

But the foregoing is merely a general analysis on the abstract plane. In different circumstances the separate factors of both categories (i.e., of conflict and of breathing space) acquire different force, conferring a corresponding coloration and tempo on the international situation. Historically we can here also draw a broad generalisation and distinguish something in the nature of three periods!

The first period, which coincided with the emergence and consolidation of the Soviet regime in military battles, was characterised by a higher intensity of the first, decisive factor, of the first category, i.e., of the social-class struggle, passing into the international realm: the struggle between capitalist counter-revolution and the revolution acquired the character of an open foreign military intervention. On the other hand, during this period, which partly coincided with a still existant world war, the factor which emerged most strongly was the third factor of the second category, i.e., the antagonism among the imperialist powers, which had not yet ceased their war operations or who afterwards consummated those operations with an enforced peace. But

during the Polish-Soviet war the first, social factor, of the second category was manifested most strongly: i.e., the active opposition of the working masses to a counter-revolutionary war against the land of proletarian dictatorship. The contradictoriness, the "dialectic" of development thus reached its highest development during this period.

The succeeding, second period was characterised by a temporary drop in the activity of the counter-revolutionary class factor. Having subdued the first wave of revolution at home and in consequence feeling rather less strongly the immediate force of the social menace coming from the East, the capitalist powers wandered in the labyrinth of contradictions and absurdities created by the system of peace treaties. America "isolated" herself. In a certain sense Japan, rejected by Britain at Washington, was also "isolated." The operation of the antagonisms among the western-European powers, with its effect of restraining the class conflict with the Soviet Republic, continued to be manifested quite clearly in the "peace" conditions. Only with the overcoming of the Ruhr paroxysm did the "era of democratic pacifism" arrive. With the fresh participation of America, the antagonisms between the European States were smoothed over. The danger of the U.S.S.R. would have grown in corresponding degree, but the powers were absorbed in the restoration of the mechanism of capitalist economy, for during the preceding years they had come to realise the menace of its disintegration. At the same time the universal reaction of broad worker and even petty bourgeois masses against the continuation of the destructive war in other forms led everywhere to the dominance of pacifist phraseology, which was reconciled but poorly, with the open preparations for war on the U.S.S.R. After the possibilities of the internal market had proved to be swiftly exhausted, there was the beginning of the first searches for new market possibilities, which included the Soviet lands among them. With this search was associated ideologically the foggy hope of a gradual degeneration of the Soviet regime by the inclusion of the Soviet Republic in the world economic orbit. ("Lloyd Georgeism" in its different forms and variations.)

At the same time financial capital began to

restore its hegemony. Centripetal tendencies still predominated in British policy, being dictated by the vital necessity of restoring European capitalism. Anglo-American "co-operation" became the higher law of the corresponding "pacifism." In fact all this period of European development took its tone more and more from American capital, which abandoned its "isolation" for the sake of the "salvation" of Europe. The "era of democratic pacifism" opened the door to the "stabilisation" period.

Not one of the factors of either the first or the second category emerged with decisive force. The period was in general openly transitional.

The "third period" gradually crystallising on the basis of "stabilisation" and emerging clearly in approximately 1927, brought with it a sharp change in the situation. All the three conflicting factors: "counter-revolutionary class," "economic" and "imperialist" emerged with new force, and at the same time, fusing and interlocking. The comparative growth in economic strength and the return of openly reactionary governments to direct power (or the consolidation of Fascist governments) strengthened the offensive tendencies among the decisive sections of the bourgeoisie. The revolutionary movement in the colonial countries, and in China first and foremost, accentuated these tendencies, leading to a formulated outbreak of hatred. The counter-revolutionary class factor emerged sharply. At the same time the problem of the markets acquired extreme severity. Objectively and in the consciousness of the capitalist class the entire process of "stabilisation" (rationalisation, reparations and so on) hung on the problem of distribution. At the same time there was an increase of disillusionment in regard to the possibility of a gradual "re-education," of a gradual overcoming of the Soviet regime by its "peaceful" attraction into the world capitalist economic orbit. These illusions of "Lloyd-Georgeism," which the Trotskyist talk about as "Thermidor" and the decisive economic dependence of the Soviet Republic on the capitalistic world temporarily provided with fresh nourishment, were finally dispelled. This gave a fresh stimulus to the assumption that the problem of markets for capitalism in the East (the last remaining great potential markets) could be resolved by methods of violence

and force, and not by methods of "peaceful" gradualism. The operation of the "economic" factor interwove with the operation of the class counter-revolutionary hostility. To the imaginations of the most militant elements in the capitalist camp, the same way out was presented from both the social and the economic cul-de-sac. There was a simultaneous and parallel intensification in the question of the third factor—the imperialist factor in the narrow sense of the word. In the British conservative camp adventurist-imperialist elements gradually got the upper hand—the police, the military, the officials of the Indian department and the colonial department, the Asiatic "patriots," colonial capital—in a word, a heterogeneous coalition of defenders of "vested interests," and everything that is old, a coalition which would not be averse to cutting all the Gordian knots with one stroke. In Poland, adventurist-Fascist elements, a turbulent military Mafia came into power, with a strong impulse towards their British protectors, and representing traditionally the purely territorial appetites for part of the Soviet Union.

The process of the internal evolution of Polish fascism, accelerated and complicated in its tempo by the colossal economic, social and international difficulties which it came up against, has led of recent days to an undivided dictatorship within the fascist camp itself of the most unresting and unrestrainable militarist clique.

At the same time, European reformism, once more frightened by the enormous outbreak of the class struggle in Britain in 1926, everywhere accomplished yet another further phase of open evolution to the right, becoming still more closely interlocked with all the mechanism of the bourgeois capitalist State, and thus weakening all the restraining tendencies in that State. In the preceding period social-democracy was preponderantly the expositor of Anglo-American finance capital which was striving to overcome the worse forms of anarchy in international relations with a view to the restoration of the mechanism of capitalist economy. By pouring new juices into the capitalistic organism, and thus again strengthening the centrifugal tendencies behind every national State barrier and stimulating the class energy of the bourgeoisie, the

"stabilisation" process evoked a corresponding evolution on the part of the social-democrats. In all countries social-democracy is becoming the most flexible, the most "modern" politically realist guide of militarism, albeit hidden under pacifistic phraseology. (The German social-democrats build cruisers, Paul Boncour is the author of the French 1927 proposals on the question of "restriction" of naval armaments and the co-author of the naval "compromise" of 1928, and so on). The "left-wing" social-democracy, recognising its baselessness and frightened by the fresh explosions of the class struggle (the British, 1926, General Strike, the Vienna rising) are now openly capitulating to the "right-wing" reformists, either renouncing their "left-wing" phraseology or else giving themselves over to the most platonic and meaningless "left-wing" verbal chicanery, which is the worst method of deluding and corrupting the masses, who grow accustomed to phrases which bind their authors to nothing whatever, to the old impotent grousing, and to reconciliation with the hegemony of militarism and the preparation of war on the land of revolution.

Meantime, on the other side of the barricades the Soviet Republic was entering on its reconstruction period, on an era of accelerated and unswerving expansion of its industrial production, thus awakening new hopes among the leading sections of the working class in the West and a new confidence in the ultimate victory of socialism, but by that very fact accentuating the alarm of the whole reformist bourgeois world. At the same time new and considerable economic difficulties and contradictions, growing out of our own, out of socialist stabilisation, even infuse new life into the old dilettante conceptions of the approaching "end."

In distinction from the second period, in the international realm (and first and foremost, in regard to the U.S.S.R.) this third period is impressed with a pure British, Conservative-imperialist policy, in which the centrifugal, imperialist and class counter-revolutionary tendencies predominate.

All this in the aggregate has greatly increased, and is inevitably further increasing, the danger of war. Any policy of hostile encirclement and economic boycott logically leads

to war. The breaking of relations with the U.S.S.R. and the Arcos raid at one time compelled even "Vorwaerts" to beat the alarm and to talk about the danger of war complications. (In exactly the same way the revelation of the Anglo-French "naval compromise" resulted in a detailed elucidation of the minds of the German social-democrats.) Thus the accentuation of this antagonism also constitutes a distinctive feature of the "third period."

Does that mean that in this regard development is moving towards conflicts along a straight line, without coming up against any obstacles? That of course cannot be affirmed. Here also development is many-sided and complex, as it is in the sphere of the other central antagonisms of our day. And at this stage the operation of the various factors of the second category, *i.e.*, of the restraining elements, comes into evidence. First and foremost the social factor. The process of capitalist "stabilisation" has strengthened the offensive tendencies not only in one stratum of society, the capitalist elements, but undoubtedly it has in new forms quickened and strengthened the activity and revolutionary spirit of the working masses. This revived activity, this growth of class consciousness and class energy is revealed in various degrees and in various forms, but the actual fact of that growth is not open to doubt. It strikes one clearly in Germany and in France. Everywhere the reformists are defending their positions from the new pressure of the leftward-moving masses, with great difficulty, by new exertion of effort. But even in Britain, where after the defeat of the General Strike and the miners' lock-out, the years 1927 and 1928 were a period of the greatest ebb of strike wave for a decade, the victors in the 1926 struggle, the Conservatives, feel far from comfortable. At the elections they will suffer either overwhelming defeat or at the very least a considerable reduction in seats and a decline in prestige, and possibly the necessity of an alliance with the Liberals; in other words, a return to the old coalition. The only question is the extent of the defeat awaiting them. The Conservatives will be saved from this defeat neither by their "victory" of 1926, nor by the restriction of trade union rights, nor the abolition of the miners' seven-hour day, nor the suppression

of India and Egypt, nor the despatch of troops to revolutionary China, nor the break with the Soviet Union. It is true the enormous majority of the working class will still give their votes to the cowardly, arch-opportunist Labour Party, which is entirely tied to the tail of the bourgeoisie. But that party is already feeling the growing pressure of the working class acting on its class instinct, its class hopes and demands. It is characteristic that the closer they are to the elections, the more definitely do the leaders of the Labour Party have to declare in favour of restoration of relations with the U.S.S.R. These leaders will afterwards delude the masses a hundred-fold, but the above-mentioned fact of itself shows the direction in which the masses are tending. At the recent Birmingham Congress, both in the Labour Party Programme and in MacDonald's speeches there was no mention whatever of restoration of relations with the U.S.S.R. At the present moment, on the eve of the elections, both Henderson and MacDonald are loudly defending the renewal of "recognition."

The second, *i.e.*, the "economic" factor, is also exercising restraint. The problem of the markets is again manifesting its "dialectic." The severity of the whole economic situation, the threat of a credit crisis, the depression which has replaced a favourable situation in various countries, the increase in unemployment, are all having the effect of transferring the drive towards markets to more "peaceful" efforts, at least among certain sections of the manufacturers, to exploit and develop the existing possibilities opened up by the reconstruction period of Soviet economy.

Finally, the growth of centrifugal, imperialist tendencies in all the capitalist States as the inevitable consequence of "stabilisation" is leading to a new intensification of the international-political antagonisms within the capitalist camp. The clearest fact in this sphere is the Anglo-American rivalry. We have previously pointed out that it is already complicating all western European development. In the system of double-crossing which determines the policy of present-day Germany the line of the "western orientation" is of itself becoming more complex; Germany finds that her support in the U.S.A. provides a certain

counter-balance to her one-sided tie to, and dependence on, the Entente Powers. All these are merely details, but in the definite circumstance we are considering they are not entirely without a transient political significance. We have already dealt with the prospects of the Paris Reparations Conference and the limitations of its possible results. The difficulties of agreement between Germany and Poland are not only in the political sphere on the frontiers issue, but even in the incomparably less ticklish question of the trade agreement, the difficulties have proved to be much more considerable than could have appeared to anyone who, forgetting the existing and intensifying antagonisms, imagined that some "super-plan" of international stabilisation would be simply and swiftly enforced on both countries. In this regard there has been a characteristic "evolution" of the German social-democrats, who whilst in opposition were convinced advocates of Polish-German *rapprochement*, and who, on finding themselves in power and drawn still closer to the dominant agrarian and capitalist classes, had to "disillusion" themselves of the idea that this *rapprochement* could be accomplished easily. In any case, the antagonism arising from the struggle for expansion of Polish and German capitalism proved to be strong enough to have as a result a state of treatyless trade relationships which has now lasted four years. On the corridor issue Conservative Britain, forced to seek an alliance with France, has of recent years given least support of all to Germany's pretensions despite her unceasing attempts to draw all the forces of Germany into the struggle with the Soviet Union. (The advent to power of the Lloyd Georges and Snowdens might bring with it certain changes in this regard.)

Such in a very general outline is the picture of the inter-crossing tendencies. The tendencies making for development towards armed conflict, the war danger, remain the decisive and the most important ones; they are founded in the very nature of the antagonism, and as we have seen, in all the logic of development of the third period, the characteristic of which is the intensification of the decisive antagonisms of the epoch and the subjection of all other antagonisms to them. But that development is not proceeding, nor can it proceed along a

straight line. Here also, as in all the other spheres, the result is the extremely unstable situation, which is so characteristic of the whole epoch.

Crisis and instability, the absence of any firm, "normal" equilibrium, a profound confusion and contradictoriness of development, a fluidity in all the historical reality, an incessant flicker, which likens it to a bad movie, and on this super-mobile and badly lit background a growth of operation of all the central antagonisms of one day—such is the picture of the situation, and it is one profoundly volcanic in its character.

5. "WHICH WILL COME FIRST?"

In this situation we hear the question from various comrades: Which will occur first, the imperialists' attack on the Soviet Republic or an "internecine" struggle among the imperialists themselves? If the question be asked in that form there can be only one answer. Probably the attack of the imperialist enemies on the Socialist Republic will come the earlier. For the antagonism of the bourgeois capitalist world towards the land of proletarian dictatorship is undoubtedly an antagonism of the higher historical order. For on the historical plane the bourgeoisie's hatred for the socialist proletariat is undoubtedly, indisputably stronger than all the other antagonisms. Consequently it is difficult to imagine a cruder and more dangerous error than to declare that the danger of war on the Soviet State is "less real" than that of war among the imperialist States.

But is the reality completely exhausted when we have said this? Have we not already seen that towards the end of the last world war the ruthless struggle among the capitalist powers was combined with war on the Soviet State? (engendering a "supplementary" war on the part of the newly risen Poland against the proletarian State). The present developments lead to an extreme interlocking of all the antagonisms. And even the growing hatred for the Soviet Union arises, as we have already seen, out of various sources:

not only out of the class counter-revolutionary antagonisms (which generally play the decisive role) but out of the economic market considerations, and even out of the coarse territorial appetites. Consequently the war with the Soviet Union, despite all the welding effect of the social class antagonism on the capitalist States, is arousing other appetites at the same time. One war easily creates a favourable situation for another. We have seen how the Great War created a favourable situation for a whole series of "little" wars (Polish-Soviet, Greco-Turkish, the seizure of Vilno etc.). The circumstance of any international war might easily be exploited by the Polish adventurers always ready for an attack on the U.S.S.R. A war on the U.S.S.R. may become a starting point for a war between separate capitalist robbers, but the fact of a development of war between the imperialist robbers would not unquestionably guarantee the U.S.S.R. from attack by one or another robber who would desire to exploit the "opportunity" and all the situation of war licentiousness. Any modern war contains the threat of world war, which in some way or other would draw everybody and everything into the vortex. The whole secret of the idea of "pacifist" ideology, the ideology of the League of Nations, and also essentially of the Kellogg Pact, is that henceforth "neutrals" cannot and ought not to be. Neutrality is stigmatised in advance as an international crime. The whole world, armed to the teeth, has to become one solid fighting camp in the struggle against the presumed "violators of the peace." At the same time the "international" war is increasingly conceived of as essentially a civil war against revolutionary countries, i.e., as a counter-revolutionary civil war.

Consequently it is difficult to prophesy so dogmatically which will come first. One war may give the signal for the other, the one is interwoven with the other. And a conflict between separate capitalist robbers cannot and must not have the effect of diverting our attention. The danger of war against the country of revolution is historically the most real, the most evident, the closest of all the possible dangers.

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