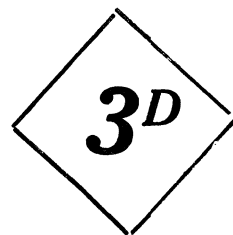


THE COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL



Official Organ of the Executive Committee of the Communist International
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Devils in the Guise of Men

rd thing to say, but it must be said Communist Parties in the capitalist ow badly you are still carrying on the he inhuman terrorism of your deadly

artyrs and heroes everywhere in the ment. It cannot be otherwise in the which has ever taken place for the ited mankind. But the suffering and rs, and their heroism, are in them- to break down the terrorism of the ents. This requires a struggle of ions of proletarians, a struggle which rties must organise and lead.

ommunists who console themselves with hite Terror is a sign of the weakness rule, a two-edged sword. It is, of before the imperialist world war, in ullest development of capitalism, the enerally able to assert its class domi- ving recourse to a regime of terror. in the present epoch the bourgeoisie ndations of its class domination are to allow it to run things within the former "constitutionalism." But for uggle the recognition of this is of nce than a clear recognition of the resent stage of the class struggle, the enormous political importance which ake to under-estimate; that in several s terror and provocation are already as in the art of government as applied ses in their struggle against the revo- it of the toiling masses.

prey is so cruel as the bourgeoisie s at stake," said the Danish writer, n the 'nineties of the last century. ay to-day?

f course, class justice in those days movement of the past also used to be ition from time to time; cruel prison ses of ill-treatment of prisoners are But what are, for instance, all the the "Socialist laws" in Germany in he thousands of victims from among

the German revolutionary workers since the w ginning with the cruel murder of Karl Liebknecht Rosa Luxemburg? Russian Tsarism was notori- fore the war for its oppression of the Labour ment, and its misdeeds were then unparalleled much greater and more cruel horrors had to b through by the proletariat, in those bourgeois ' cratic republics" that were carved out of Russi the imperialist war!

It is only during the last eight or nine yea White Terror has become the regular system class rule of the counter-revolutionary bourgeo system as characteristic of the bourgeois rule epoch as the Inquisition was characteristic Catholic priesthood's dominance in the later Ages. This system is not equally developed in al tries, but there is everywhere the tendency to the old system, class rule by means of bourgeois lation, by the "modern" system of White Terr- main form of which is Fascism.

We give here a few facts as typical example the countries of White Terror.

* * * * *

IN Finland the bourgeoisie endeavoured in 1918 the revolution, to destroy all the active forces revolutionary Labour movement. Over twenty sand workers lost their lives in the concentration and prisons during about five months.

Two years later a Left Socialist Labour Par permitted to exist legally, but only in order to fa the attack on the new active forces. Since then p cal mass arrests of members of the legal Labour sation, accompanied by farcical court proceedings been the order of the day in Finland. Memt Parliament have also been frequently arreste sentenced.

Prisoners under examination in this countr been frequently tortured by the political police. usual methods are beating with sticks, rubbin squeezing the chest (with the fist through a damp squeezing men's sexual organs, etc. A revolue worker, Vaino Kujala, of Uleoborg, was tortu death during his "examination" by the Viborg rana" (Intelligence Department) and was finally "drowned" in a bucket of water.

Devils in the Guise of Men—continued.

In the autumn of 1924 a workman, Kallo Serenius, was arrested on suspicion of Communist agitation among the soldiers. The Okhrana in Teryoki wanted to extract from him information about his "accomplices." He was tortured for three nights. He was tied stark naked to a seat until he fainted. On the third night his feet were brought so near a coal fire that they were scorched; this made him faint again. As the "examination" was absolutely without result the victim was declared not guilty and released after three weeks.

Many similar examples could be given. In the Autumn of last year, comrade Jamarl Makinen was ill-treated with particular brutality by the Viborg Okhrana. As a result of this he was for a time half-blind and will never be quite his former self again. He tried to put an end to his suffering by taking poison, but the poison was not strong enough.

The prison regime in Finland is barbarous. But now the Finnish Government is engaged in preparing prison reforms: flogging and a diet of bread and water! This is called "reform" in White Finland.

* * * *

IN Esthonia death sentences (and more frequently executions without trial) have been usual phenomena from 1919 to the present day. Not only members of the Central Committee of the Communist Party, such as comrades Kingisepp and Kreuks, but all leaders of the independent Labour movement who could be got hold of, have been simply broken physically.

The trade unions have been destroyed and prohibited. There is, of course, a "Parliament" in Esthonia, and even a "democratic universal franchise." But if the workers send to parliament anyone except the candidates of the bourgeoisie, or of the counter-revolutionary Social-Democratic Party, these elected workers' representatives, as well as all the other candidates of the workers, are at once arrested.

This was the case in 1923-24. The chairman of the Communist Parliamentary fraction, comrade Tomp, was sentenced to death and shot. The secretary of the fraction, comrade Raudsepp, was tortured to death on the "electric chair." All this happened before the desperate revolutionary rising of December 1st, 1924. After that matters became even worse. There was a wholesale application of all the most devilish tortures, such as "electrical baths," blows on the abdomen, tearing of ears and such like.

There are at present nine hundred to one thousand political prisoners in jail, three-fourths of whom are invalids, including many suffering from consumption as a result of frequent incarceration in dark punishment cells.

* * * *

IN Poland, Madame Stephanie Sempolovska, who has been working for thirty-one years among political prisoners and whose authority is recognised by everyone, has published an open letter containing the following statements:

"The total number of political prisoners in Poland at the present time is six thousand. Their number has never been so great since the revolutionary years of 1905-06.

"One is forced to admit that the position of

political prisoners in the Polish jails is at present much worse and more agonising than in the Tsarist prisons in Warsaw after 1905.

"In the spring of 1925, when everything was peaceful and calm, three thousand two hundred White Russian and Ukrainian peasants were arrested in the three frontier provinces. They underwent all the tortures of the preliminary police investigation. After prolonged incarceration (sometimes for more than 10 months) nine-tenths of them were declared 'not guilty,' and were set free. The remainder still wait trial.

"Between June 1, 1925 and June 1, 1926, the Police Courts passed sentences on 2,431 persons charged with political offences. During the same period there were 6,757 new arrests.

"To any earnest investigator these figures and data are sufficient proof that there is something utterly abnormal and criminal going on in this sphere of our life.

"My long activity among the political prisoners has bound me to them for ever.

"I have never asked them about their political opinions. I loved and appreciated what all of them have in common apart from their Party views: self-sacrifice for an idea, freedom of thought, and aspirations for the dawn of a better future."

As may be seen, the bare figures disclose the true nature of the "Government of moral stabilisation" (Pilsudski's Government).

Among the political prisons in Poland, pride of place as far as prison atrocities are concerned, must be given to the "Holy Cross" (Kelze) Prison. Every year 150 of the 400 inmates of the "Holy Cross" die of tuberculosis and other diseases.

* * * *

ROUMANIA since the end of the war has been one of the worst White Terror centres. In Bessarabia alone over 15,000 people have been done to death by the authorities in charge of the occupied territory between 1918 and 1925. Frequent mass arrests, mass trials, mass hunger strikes in the prisons, and mass tortures, are there the order of the day. We will only say a few words about the methods of work of the Roumanian "Siguranza."

The "Siguranza" is a special organisation of secret political police, which covers the whole country. It has its own administration and its own telegraph service. During its "examination" of people arrested, the "Siguranza" uses the most terrible methods of torture in vogue in the Middle Ages, improved by the achievements of modern technique. An escaped prisoner from Kishinev (a fellow prisoner of the heroic Bessarabian champion of the fight for freedom, Sasha Gurev, the engineer) who came to Vienna in July, 1925, gave the following information about the technique of torture used by the Siguranza to a reporter of the Vienna "Abend":

"The engineer, Gurev, was tortured under the supervision of the Chief of the "Siguranza" himself. When he fainted, water was poured on him, and then he was placed on a red-hot iron plate in order to 'wake him up'—in the words of this noble Chief of Police. The following instruments of torture were used:

Devils in the Guise of Men—continued.

1st Grade: horse-whip, iron stick, rubber stick, cat-o'-nine tails.

2nd Grade: thumb-screw, red-hot needle pressed under the finger and toe nails, and into the flesh, jamming the fingers in a door, applying electrical current to ears, nose and gums.

3rd Grade: breaking the lower arm in six places by means of a big carpenter's vice, stretching the victim on a kind of Procrustean bed. (Hands and feet are tied with ropes which are fastened to the bed through winches. Four men begin to turn the winches, with the result that the upper arms and feet are wrenched out of their sockets). They also scraped the calves of his legs with a pork-butcher's knife, pierced a knee-cap slowly and pumped water into the victim."

These tortures were inflicted for 30 days on end, in the presence of his wife and his five and six year old children.

* * * * *

ITALY has already become much more famous for the horrors of its Fascist regime than ever it was for its art. We will give here only a couple of examples, both of which happened recently:

On March 5th, 1926, leaflets were distributed in a factory in Venice. The Carabinieri (police) were at once summoned, and 49 workers were arrested. They were soon set free, with the exception of one worker who was suspected of being the originator of the "crime." This worker was beaten until he told from whom he had received the leaflets. The workers denounced by him were immediately arrested and flogged, after which they were tied to a bench and compelled to swallow urine and mud.

In May, in Arfua Petrarca, a worker known to be a Communist was shot down without any reason whatever, by Fascists whom he had met by chance. Thirty workers have been murdered in this fashion throughout the country between April and June.

After the last attempt on Mussolini's life, workers were arrested in the streets haphazard (in Rome about 600 arrests took place in two days, and several hundred more in other big towns). In Bologna, a worker was beaten in the presence of his wife and children until he died from his tortures.

* * * * *

BULGARIA has also become so notorious through its monstrous White Terror that it is hardly necessary to say anything about it here. According to the report of two doctors who have escaped from Bulgaria, Dr. Krestanov and Dr. Nakev, a regular torture chamber exists in the head offices of the police for Liaptchev province, in which men and women under arrest are ill-treated in the most inhuman manner in order to compel them to make damaging statements. This torture chamber is a room on the first floor of the office. It has padded walls in order that no sound should reach the outside.

On the floor there are iron sticks, wooden appliances, rubber sticks, whips, and all sorts of instruments for squeezing different parts of the body, enemas to inject camphor oil, and a mass of other instruments of torture which only a satanic mind could devise. The

two doctors were most cruelly tortured, only because a student who had also been tortured there (like them, he did not belong to any political movement) had said they were his acquaintances. After this, it is easy to imagine how revolutionary workers are treated by these devils in the guise of men.

* * * * *

WE limit ourselves here to these striking examples taken from facts collected by the International Red Aid. There are many more countries of White Terror than those enumerated here: Latvia, Hungary and Spain, for instance. Even worse bestialities are systematically perpetrated in India, Japan and Korea, as well as in Brazil, Chili, Peru and Venezuela. Great Britain, France, Germany and the United States of America are on the road to a fully developed system of White Terror. It would be a mistake to imagine that White Terror methods are not yet being applied in these countries.

The four main features of the White Terror, as a system, are as follows:

1. Counter-revolutionary dictatorship, resting on armed bourgeois class war organisations.
2. Systematic provocation.
3. Torture as a method of examining political prisoners.
4. Efforts to destroy physically all the active forces of the revolutionary Labour movement.

COMRADES, ARE WE POWERLESS, UTTERLY HELPLESS, IN THE FACE OF THIS DEVILRY?

Only so long as we do not know our own minds. As yet our Parties do not know how to carry on an effective struggle against White Terror.

First of all we must learn to expose terror and provocation more effectively. Every capitalist hyena-Government endeavours, of course, to keep this system more or less in the dark. Their deeds of darkness cannot very well stand the full glare of daylight. Often large sections of the toiling masses have no real idea of the bestialities which are perpetrated. It is our duty to organise systematic and continuous activity to expose the whole system.

This should be done not only in the press, in the courts of justice and the parliaments, but above all among the masses, in every factory, wherever workers congregate. It is certain that the toiling masses, and even large sections of the petty bourgeoisie, the peasantry and the intellectuals, will protest against this system provided they are told the whole revolting truth.

We must learn to create such an atmosphere everywhere among the people that the beasts of the White Terror—those highly-placed, as well as the hangman's assistants—are made to feel in an unmistakable manner the contempt, the indignation and hatred of the people wherever they show themselves. These monsters must be made to understand that their conduct towards their victims is not a matter of indifference to the people.

Secondly, we must bring into the dock, politically, much more effectively than we have so far done, those who are mainly responsible for the White Terror. The Government courtiers and Party leaders who want to hide with their white gloves the blood on their hands should be nailed to the pillory, both at home and abroad. In the past, even a Tsankoff has been able to travel

Devils in the Guise of Men—continued.

from land to land without a storm of indignation being raised. We must end such passivity.

* * *

AND the Social-Democratic gentry who in all White Terror countries denounce Communists to the police, who at times are aiders and abettors of the terrorist system, and always and everywhere hush up, minimise and excuse its black misdeeds—they, too, must be called to account.

When a Friedrich Adler sends a telegram of protest—as he recently did—on behalf of the Second International against terror in the Soviet Union, what is this but an impudent attempt to divert attention from the White Terror? The fellow knows perfectly well that these Menshevist agents of the Rusian emigrés, caught red-handed doing counter-revolutionary work in the Soviet Union, are living in excellent prison conditions. He also knows full well of what atrocities the Social-Democratic leaders in Poland, Esthonia and Bulgaria have been guilty, as lackeys of the White Terror. He knows all his Noskes—he knows about the pact between the Hungarian Social-Democrats and the Horthy regime. He wants to divert the attention of the toiling masses from all this, and hence he sends protests, not to Warsaw or Sofia, but to Moscow.

Comrades, you must learn to carry on an effective campaign against all the dark figures of the White Terror! When you can deal with the White Terror so effectively that this system becomes politically harmful

and dangerous to the bourgeoisie, the latter will be at the end of its tether.

Yes, White Terror, is a two-edged sword which can wound its own wielder—but only if the Communist Parties shake off their passivity in regard to it, if they refuse to turn the other cheek. An iron will to fight against White Terror must be created among the millions of proletarians in all countries through the indefatigable work of the Communist Parties, spurred on by our fiery revolutionary hatred. Once it is there, woe betide the bloodhounds and their masters!

Struggle against White Terror is an international task which is of particular importance at the present juncture. The present general capitalist offensive in industry against the proletariat receives systematic support through the White Terror directed against the Communist movement. The Communist International is everywhere the only solid force which is determined to resist the offensive of the magnates of capitalism.

But we pledge ourselves to be a match for them! We are the International which will overthrow the tyrants. We will fight in serried ranks. Even if some vacillating elements, frightened by the enormous difficulties, leave—as happens at present—their post or even endeavour to disorganise our ranks, we will show that no one is able to shake the iron discipline of our front!

For we have unshakable faith in the power to victory of the proletariat.

Our call above all is to the revolutionary proletarian youth:

ON WITH THE FIGHT AGAINST THE WHITE TERROR!

Leninism or Trotskyism?

By Jan Sten

THE recent conduct of the opposition in the Soviet Communist Party, the attempts to organise an underground fraction and the relapse into Trotskyism of the 1925 opposition personified by comrades Zinoviev and Kamenev, sharply emphasise the need for a thorough discussion, an explanation of the points of disagreement between the majority of the Soviet C.P. and the opposition. This opposition has now come forward as an alliance of all the fractional groupings which ever openly opposed Lenin in the past.

At every turning point in the process of the revolution, whenever new and acute problems have arisen, there has inevitably been some vacillation in various sections of our Party (surrounded as it is by an overwhelming petty bourgeois majority), a lack of understanding of the new tasks has made itself manifest, and lack of faith in the possibility of victory has been engendered.

All these deviations from real Leninism made by the former oppositions have now found expression in the ideology of the "united opposition."

Just before the October Revolution, and also during the revolution, a small section of the leaders of the Bolshevik Party began to disbelieve in the possibility of a victorious proletarian rising. This distrust was most clearly expressed by Zinoviev and Kamenev. Kamenev based his arguments on the idea that the

bourgeois-democratic revolution had not yet been completed, and that, therefore, to struggle to hand over power to the Soviets would mean, in his opinion, the defeat of the immediate Socialist revolution; it would be an attempt to skip the stage of a peasant revolution. Kamenev did not understand that the revolution at that time had already reached the stage when the bourgeois democratic revolution was changing into a Socialist revolution, and that because of this the Soviets had to be turned into organs of proletarian dictatorship. Trotsky did not drop his incorrect theories, and imagined that the Bolsheviks had come round to the point of view of his theory of "permanent revolution." In 1922 he announced this clearly in his preface to "1905."

At present we have a new relapse, a new eruption of the errors of Kamenev, Zinoviev and Trotsky. Our revolution is again at a turning point; we have directly, practically, arrived at the point where we start laying the foundations of Socialist economics. We have entered the second period of "NEP." Comrade Stalin says on this:

"... During the first period we based our work on the development of agriculture. At that time Lenin said: 'In restoring national economy, we must begin with agriculture.' At that time the so-called 'Workers' Opposition' and certain supporters of comrade Trotsky disputed this; however

Leninism or Trotskyism?—continued.

it turned out that Lenin and his Party were correct. Now, during the second period of 'NEP,' the development of national economy is based on the development of industry. If we want to push the national economic system, including agriculture, still further forward, we must put the main pressure on the development of industry. We thus see that the centre of our attention is shifted to the problems of industry. The strategic task was and remains the same: to build the foundation of Socialist economy."

And it is just at this turning point in the development of our revolution, when we are tackling the tasks of building up directly the foundations of Socialism, that the united opposition has clearly revealed its capitulatory nature, its lack of trust in the possibility of a successful social revolution and of successful Socialist construction under the conditions that rule in the Soviet Union. The New Economic Policy, having restored markets and trading relations, has made a certain growth of capitalist elements in the countryside inevitable. The opposition has so exaggerated this tendency of capitalist elements to grow that the central role of the middle peasants has been neglected, and therefore, the task of strengthening the alliance between the proletariat and village poor and the middle peasant masses has been abandoned by them.

Can we build Socialism?

In the eyes of the opposition the growth of capitalist elements has become such a tremendous force as to change the Socialist nature of our industry and of the other commanding heights in Soviet economics. Hence, they did not see the possibility of directing the way in which the great majority of peasant farms are supplied with goods, along with new non-capitalistic channels. The opposition completely revised the Leninist conception of the "NEP" revision and the perspective of subsequent Socialist construction was perverted and distorted.

The commonest question around which disagreement with the 1925 opposition concentrated is the question as to the possibility of building up Socialism in one country alone. The opposition, through comrades Zinoviev and Kamenev, have denied and still deny this possibility. They have rolled right over to Trotsky's way of looking at this question.

The fact that Russia is a technically backward, petty-peasant country, disconcerts them. At one of the

meetings of the Political Bureau, prior to the Fourteenth Party Congress, comrades Zinoviev and Kamenev said the proletariat could not construct a complete Socialist society, because of the technical backwardness of the Soviet Union. Comrade Zinoviev in his booklet on "Leninism" went so far as the absurd idea that we can build Socialism, but that does not ensure the possibility of building *up* Socialism. ("Leninism," p. 293.)

Instead of dealing with the question concretely and dividing it into the two concrete tasks which confront our Revolution, comrade Zinoviev lumps them both into one, pulling out quotations which are absolutely irrelevant to the question.

A Crude Error

Our revolution has on the one hand to overcome the internal contradictions existing in our country—on the other hand to overcome the external contradictions between a country proceeding towards Socialism and all the capitalist world.

Comrade Stalin says: "Our country represents two groups of contradictions. One group of contradictions are internal contradictions, between the proletariat and the peasantry. The other group of contradictions are external contradictions, between our country as a country of Socialism and all other countries as countries of capitalism. . . . Whoever mixes the first group of contradictions (which can certainly be overcome by efforts in one country) with the second group of contradictions needing the efforts of the workers of several countries for their solution, makes the crudest error against Leninism and is either a confused thinker or an incorrigible opportunist." (Stalin, "On the Results of the Fourteenth Party Congress.")

And it is this confusion of thought, this mixing of the two contradictions, of which comrade Zinoviev is guilty. That the victory of Socialism in one country is possible means that it is possible for the workers to overcome, on the basis of their own forces, the contradictions between the working class and the peasantry. But as the Soviet Union lives in the midst of the capitalist world, to overcome internal contradictions does not mean a final victory for Socialism. There still remains the threat of military attacks, the danger that Socialist construction may be undermined by world capitalism. Only collaboration by the workers of all countries can preserve the Soviet Union from intervention, can ensure the final victory of Socialism. The external contradictions can only be solved by the international revolution.

"The Permanent Revolution"

To deny that it is possible to outlive the contradictions between the workers and the peasants as separate economic categories, within the limits of one country, follows directly from the theory of "the permanent revolution" of comrade Trotsky.

"Contradictions in the position of a workers' government in a backward country with an overwhelming majority of peasants, can only find their solution on an international scale, on the arena of the world proletarian revolution." (From the preface to comrade Trotsky's book "1905.") By basing their argument as to the impossibility of Socialist construction in the Soviet Union on the technical backwardness and petty peasant nature of our country, comrades Zinoviev and Kamenev

The Review that all serious
students of the Working-
Class Movement
should read
is the

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openly pass over to Trotskyism and Menshevism. Such talk is simply a repetition of old Social-Democratic arguments. These stereotyped objections outwardly resemble Marxism, but actually go against any clear analysis of the concrete realities of the Russian Revolution. Lenin alludes to this peculiarity in Social-Democratic criticism in his notes against the Menshevik, Suchanov.

"They (the Mensheviks) are quite foreign to the idea that, although universal laws prevail in the development of world history, yet isolated phases of development which constitute peculiarities in the form or in the speed of these processes are not excluded, but on the contrary are highly probable. And it never even occurs to them that Russia, which lies between the civilised countries and those countries that have been dragged into civilisation for the first time by the war, between the countries of the East and the ultra-European countries, was bound to reveal certain peculiarities as compared with the natural and general line of world development. These distinguish the Russian revolution from all previous revolutions in West European countries, and to some extent introduce certain novel phenomena into it as a result of its contact with the Eastern countries.

"The conclusion, which they learnt by heart during the development of Western European Social-Democracy that we are not yet ripe for Socialism, that with us—as various 'learned' gentlemen among them have expressed it—the objective economic premises for Socialism do not yet exist—this conclusion is, for example, fearfully stereotyped. And it never occurs to anybody to ask: could a people faced by such a revolutionary situation as arose in the first imperialist war, could this people, because their situation was hopeless, not plunge into a struggle which would give them at least some chance of getting more favourable conditions for the further growth of civilisation?"

The Coward's Excuse

"Russia has not reached such a stage of development of the productive forces as to render Socialism possible.' This is the sentence with which all the heroes of the Second International, Suchanov among them, of course, are strutting round, decorating themselves with it like a peacock's feather. They repeat this indisputable statement in a thousand tones. But it seems to me that it is not decisive in summing up our revolution."

In the words quoted above Lenin points out clearly that the fact that Russia when the Revolution started had not attained the level of development of productive forces necessary for building up Socialism is not a decisive factor in estimating the later chances of Socialist construction in the Soviet Union. While the basic formula of historic materialism, that the level of development of productive forces determines all the rest of social and historic development, is a general law of universal history, this does not mean (as Lenin correctly points out) that there cannot be separate phases of development in universal history which are peculiarities either in the form or in the order of this development. The specific features of the revolutionary situation, determined by the correlation of class forces internationally and within the country, gave us a chance to create a proletarian regime by revolutionary means,

and to Socialise big industry, and thereby provided the first elementary pre-requisites for the subsequent development of Socialist construction. This fact is the most important historic peculiarity of the Russian Revolution. Comrade Trotsky has not made himself clear as to this decisive peculiarity, and comrades Zinoviev and Kamenev are now also failing to understand it.

Russia's Turning Point

All this discussion as to the possibility of Socialist construction, as we have already pointed out, broke out at a turning point in the economic construction of Socialism in our country. We have got to create a new perfected technical basis for our industry, and for all our economic system. When it became clear that this was a practical task, which we must start to tackle to-day, doubts entered the heads of certain comrades—can this be tackled by means of our internal economic resources alone? The same comrades who showed hesitation during the October Revolution, once more hesitated at this new decisive turning point of the revolution. In this the October errors of comrades Zinoviev and Kamenev find a new expression. When you deny that it is possible to build up Socialism within the limits of one country, you raise the question as to whether the October Revolution was justified.

Having slipped right down to Trotskyism on this most important question, comrades Zinoviev and Kamenev have also revised the Leninist theory of the NEP.

The main strategic task pursued by the Party during the change over to NEP was emphasised and clearly defined by Lenin. "The replacement of requisitioning by taxes is its principal significance: from military Communism to a correct Socialist foundation." (Lenin, *Collected Works*, vol. 4, p. 372). All comrades Zinoviev's and Kamenev's misunderstanding of the NEP lies in their not seeing that the NEP is a way to lay the foundations of Socialist economics. Zinoviev pictures the NEP as a permanent retreat. He has completely failed to see the internal dynamics of development during the NEP.

A Pleasure Trip?

Comrade Zinoviev says: "It is, therefore, incorrect to picture things as if the retreat, which the NEP indisputably is, were not a retreat at all, but only some sort of a pleasure trip, or a journey on a smooth road, merely a method of smooth, painless transformation into Socialism, a process unaccompanied by dangers. . . . We must say clearly and unambiguously now, after Lenin, that the NEP was a retreat." (Zinoviev, "Leninism," p. 227.) The NEP is accompanied by dangers, it is not a way of painless transformation to Socialism, for it expresses the acute struggle of the growing Socialist elements in our industry against the elements of capitalism. But the NEP is nevertheless a way of building up Socialism, a means of laying the foundation of Socialist economics. This is what comrade Zinoviev has failed to see. Considering the NEP as a retreat and nothing more, Zinoviev calls Soviet State industry and our entire economic system as a whole, State capitalism. "The Nep is State capitalism in a proletarian State," (Zinoviev, "Leninism," p. 234.)

It is quite correct to say that during the transition from military Communism to the NEP, we made a strategic retreat. This strategic retreat resulted, as

Leninism or Trotskyism?—continued.

Lenin pointed out, from the country's not being able to move directly forward in a straight line to Socialism. It proved impossible to arrange and organise Communist production and distribution, in its full volume, all at once. When this impossibility became clear, it was necessary to think about intermediary links, transition stages. And State capitalism in the form of concessions, mixed companies and leases, had to be used as such a link. During the first days of the NEP, when the main task was to stimulate production, Lenin raised the question of applying the methods of State capitalism on a wide scale; that is how we must understand Lenin's statements that we "retreated to State capitalism"; it is incorrect to interpret this statement as meaning that as a result of this retreat our entire economic system has become State capitalist.

Nationalised big industry was in a state of ruin at the commencement of the NEP, and could not play a decisive role in our economic system. Practically speaking, State capitalism did not play as big a part as was at first supposed. This meant that it soon became possible not only to centre attention on increasing production, but also that it became essential to make sure that this development should take place in Socialist forms. This meant that the retreat could be stopped, and we could begin re-grouping our forces with the object of developing a forward movement on the rails of the NEP. These separate stages of the NEP, and the change from retreat to attack, are quite inaccessible to comrade Zinoviev's comprehension.

The Retreat in 1921

The retreat to the NEP passed through several stages. The change from food requisitioning to the food tax was brought up at the Tenth Congress of the Russian C.P., in the spring of 1921; this food tax implied free sale by the peasants of the amounts of grain remaining over in their hands after they had paid the tax, and therefore, made the demand for free trade necessary. At first it was exclusively local trade that was spoken about. It was presumed that complete freedom of the market was not necessary, that on the basis of freedom to exchange products, it would be possible to link up industry and agriculture. But experience soon showed that the retreat made in the spring of 1921 was inadequate, and that a still further retreat must be made.

This subsequent retreat was proclaimed by Lenin at the Moscow Provincial Party Conference in October, 1921. Lenin emphasised that the retreat which had been made in the spring had not proved to be enough to allow us to stop the retreat and begin to go over to the attack. Lenin said:

"It was proposed to exchange more or less Socialistically, as a whole, State products for agricultural products and by this exchange of goods, restore heavy industry, as the only basis for Socialist organisation. But what occurred? What happened was this—you all know it very well from practice, and it was clear from all that happened in our press—this trading exchange failed: it failed in this sense—it became buying and selling. We must realise this now unless we want to hide our heads under our wings, unless we want to play at being people who do not see their own defeat, unless we are afraid of looking dangers straight in the face. . .

That is why we are in the position of still having to retreat in order that we may pass over to the attack in the future." (Lenin, "Collected Works," Russian Edition, vol. 18, part I., page 398.)

"Learn to Trade!"

A further retreat was made and Lenin issued the slogan of "Learn to Trade"! Under conditions of buying and selling it was necessary, in order to serve the interests of big industry and to connect it up with agriculture, to face the task of utilising trade as a transitional economic form. The representatives of the opposition have particularly emphasised the fact that money circulates and trade exists in our country; they believe that this is the weightiest proof that under the NEP our economic system as a whole should be called State capitalist economy. But this only underlines once more that the defenders of this standpoint only deal with surface appearances, instead of analysing the correlation of the various social and economic phenomena, and their connection with our transitional economic forms as trade. For the solution of this problem we have exact indications by Lenin in his book, "The Development of Capitalism in Russia."

"Consequently, in application to Russia, there must be a solution of the problem: is trading and money-lending capital connected with industrial capital, do trading and money-lending, as they disintegrate the old methods of production, lead to capitalist or any other systems of production? These are questions of fact, questions which should be solved in relation to all aspects of Russian national economy." (Lenin, "Collected Works," Russian Edition, vol. 3, p. 139.)

The Retreat Ended

Lenin said at the Eleventh Congress of the Russian C.P., in March, 1922, that the organisation of mixed companies shows that we had succeeded, even although only to a small extent in collaborating with capitalist elements. Lenin said that the first reconnoitring had been done, and that we could already begin to sketch out the direction in which we would have to move to get the right re-grouping of forces. As to our methods of collaboration with capitalist elements, a collaboration which is only a new form of the class struggle, Lenin said:

"Of course, they will still beat us inside society, beat us so much that it will be several years before we can put things right again. But that does not matter. This will not be a victory; it is only a skirmish which shows that we are holding our own, and can already stop the retreat.

"This skirmish has established that only a negligible quantity of agreements can be made with the capitalists; but nevertheless these agreements have been made. We must learn by this how to act in the future. It is time to stop worrying, yelling and fidgeting.

"The retreat has ended. Our main way of working, how to work with the capitalists, has been mapped out. We have got hold of our samples, even though in a negligible quantity." (Lenin, "Collected Works," Russian Edition, vol. XVIII., part 2, page 36-37.)

Leninism or Trotskyism?—continued.

In stopping the retreat, Lenin points out that the Party and the working class are faced with the task of building up Socialism. And this means the transition from retreat to attack. This construction of Socialism must be conducted in such a way that the proletarian State, having in its hands the overwhelming majority of the means of production, is capable of linking up with the private interests of the wide masses of peasants and leading them along the path towards Socialism.

Time to Attack

The 1925 opposition of comrades Zinoviev and Kamenev, have not yet grasped all these fundamentals in the Leninist theory of the NEP. Having noted that the process of differentiation among the peasantry is speeding up, they imagine that a simple restoration of capitalism is going to take place in the countryside. They do not understand the co-operative plan of an alliance between the poorer and middle peasant farms and Socialist industry.

At the beginning of the NEP Lenin considered co-operation to be one of the forms of State capitalism. He made this estimate of co-operation because he thought that in the towns, in restoring industry, the methods of State capitalism would have to be applied on a much wider scale than has actually been the case. When it became clear that big industry is reconstructing itself by its own powers, the perspective of an alliance of village co-operation not with State capitalism but with Socialist industry became clear. On the basis of this new situation, Lenin stated that now the mere growth of co-operation coincided with the growth of Socialism. This meant that it was to extend the attack, actually to build up Socialism, overcoming the contradictions between the working class and the peasantry.

When this turning in the economic life of the country made itself apparent, when the "ration" period ended and it was necessary to emphasise sharply that the time for laying the foundations of Socialist economics had arrived, the time to extend the attack, comrade Zinoviev began repeating that the NEP is retreat, a retreat, again a retreat. He did not understand the new situation, and the new tasks at all. Having exaggerated the process of capitalist differentiation in the countryside, and not understanding that the main methods of struggle with the growing strength of the "kulaks" was (at present) to draw the middle peasants into Socialist construction and to strengthen the alliance with the poor and middle peasants, comrade Zinoviev not only went right over to Trotskyism in his general estimate of the possibility of building up Socialism, but also on the peasant question.

The peasantry are transformed into one hostile mass, from which as much as possible must be pumped in order to accelerate the speed at which industry can be extended. In this practical question of how to industrialise the country, comrades Zinoviev and Kamenev have entered the path which leads to Trotskyist undermining of the workers' and peasants' alliance. To shake the workers' and peasants' alliance is to weaken the proletarian dictatorship. The attempt to turn the Party into a collection of fractions and groupings pulls in the same direction. Comrades Zinoviev and Kamenev have completely capitulated to Trotskyism on this question, the role of the Party, also.

The main differences of opinion between the majority of the Soviet C.P. and the united opposition are differences between Leninism and Trotskyism. There cannot be any doubt but that all the sound elements of the International Communist Movement, when they have examined the details of these differences and their political and theoretical meaning, will give a firm and determined reply: "Against Trotskyism—for Leninism!"

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For a Mass Communist Party

By G. Manuilsky

AT the present time very important re-groupings are taking place in the working class movement throughout the world. What kind are they, and what is the new distribution of forces in which the Comintern has to solve the old problem of *the struggle for the masses*?

Not very long ago we all agreed unanimously that the period of stagnation in European reaction had been left behind, that we have before us the beginning of a new wave of the world working class movement. The British General Strike and the Lock-out of the British miners (unprecedented in their dimensions) are a good proof that this estimate was a correct one. No matter how treacherous the General Council was in this strike, no matter how deep the disappointment of some of the weaker elements in the working class movement because of the defeat of the strike, the undisputed fact remains that the British General Strike is one of the biggest events that have happened since the October Revolution.

The attempts of the bourgeoisie to stabilise capitalism at the expense of the working class cannot, in our estimation, change the conditions of the world working class movement. Such attempts not only do not end or weaken the class struggle; on the contrary, they help to sharpen it, and to make more revolutionary the proletariat in the "stabilised" countries.

A New Wave Rising

This healthy revolutionary perspective is connected with the changes in the relation of forces which have taken place within the working class during recent years. The balance of forces within the world working class movement, as it emerged after the post-war split, is now being radically changed. Within the Social Democratic Movement, and also within the Amsterdam Federation, the movement of the rank and file is definitely shaping towards an approach to the Communists, for joint efforts on a class struggle basis. Disappointment in the coalition politics of the Social Democrats, a growing realisation of the need for joint resistance to the organised attacks of capitalism, the worsening of the conditions of the working class, the tremendous growth of unemployment—all this inevitably pushes to the Left those elements of the working class who have so far followed the Social Democrats and the reformists.

The interest of the Western European proletariat in the first land to establish the dictatorship of the proletariat, as well as the signs of a new world war approaching, helped greatly in this direction. The defeat of the British General Strike, the attempts of the General Council to break up the Anglo-Russian Committee have, of course, had an effect on the speed at which the European proletariat is becoming revolutionary. But it would be useless pessimism to think that one single defeat, no matter how great, can stop the rise of the working class.

There is no room, among those who are carrying out the everyday preparations for the revolution, for those who think that the road of the proletariat is one

of easy and speedy victories. And we, Communists, would be merely grumblers and lacking in faith if we admitted for a moment that the relations between working class forces which took shape after the world war mark a final limit for our attempts to reach the masses until the time of the last decisive battles. Therefore in order to counter the Social-Democrats and Amsterdam, who are feverishly holding on to the old divisions, we must tackle the problem of undermining these divisions between sections of the Labour movement, our united front tactics, and bringing new groups under our influence—for the present ideologically—finally uniting all the Left elements of the working masses under the banner of the Revolution. We are meeting direct resistance, when trying to solve this problem correctly and successfully on the part of sectarian groupings inside some of our own Communist Parties, and know that only by *overcoming* this resistance can we make our Communist Parties stronger mass organisations.

Even in the first stage of this struggle it was possible to foresee where this tendency (which is dying out) was leading. If the rising wave of the world working class movement had been more rapid, if the British proletariat had succeeded in winning even a partial victory, these dying tendencies would have disappeared much sooner and more easily. The temporary defeat of the British General Strike, and the difficulties met in building Socialism in the U.S.S.R., have revived them for a time. These tendencies embody the "wing" of the working class movement that screens itself under Left phrases but stands much nearer to the ideologists and leaders of Social Democratic reformism than to the proletarian Social Democratic masses, who are slowly but surely paving the way to Communism.

"Holiday" Communists

So we have the following distribution of forces within the world working class movement: on the one hand a considerable proportion of those working class masses who until now have been outside our control and under the influence of the Social Democrats. This section of the proletariat, which is its fundamental basis, is moving from Right to Left; on the other hand in our own ranks we have a wing taking the opposite direction, going from Left to Right, towards the Social Democrats, although it employs Left phraseology. How fast this process will move, and when it will finish, is difficult now to foresee. To-day is different from August, 1914, in that this sort of process goes much slower now, and is less likely to be noticed by the common, inexperienced eye. Instead of dizzily swift transformations, there is a slow sliding down of some disappointed elements into the Social Democratic swamp.

Socialist reconstruction in the U.S.S.R., the swinging over of the wide masses of workers through the trade unions—these are problems which a Communist Party cannot solve in a few days. It requires heroic efforts throughout many years; and people who come to the working class during a "holiday" and abandon it at the first serious difficulties are incapable of such work.

For a Mass Communist Party—continued.

The whole history of the Communist International is full of striking examples of such disappointed gentlemen who have withdrawn from the Communist movement. But these people did not simply leave the movement; they have attempted to justify their withdrawals by making "Left" criticisms. This was the case with Froissard, who far a long time before his betrayal of the French proletariat criticised the Comintern, from the "Left," for its tactics on the united front. This was the case with Tranmael, who accused the Norwegian Communist Party of opportunism because it put forward the slogan of a workers' government. And when Tranmael broke with the Comintern, he justified his action before the Norwegian workers by the fact that the Comintern imposes on the Norwegian Party the organisational principles of centrism, which in reality, is the organisational principle of the Social Democrats! The same was the case with Höeglund, who accused the Comintern and the Soviet C.P. of "national limitations" expressing themselves in attempts to transfer the Russian Bolshevik experiences to the Western European sections.

Similar accusations were at one time brought forth by Angelica Balabanova, who demanded that the Comintern should go back to Zimmerwald, just as

Korsch is now doing. The German workers with Left tendencies, who do not yet see clearly either the direction in which the present groupings of the world working class movement are going, or the opportunist precipice to which they are being dragged by the servants of the bourgeoisie and of the Social Democrats, must think over these examples very seriously.

The problem for the Communist International is first of all how to check these contradictory processes, which occur inside the working class, and to mark a correct tactical line in the struggle for the masses. We must carry through this policy in such a way that, while attracting new masses from the working class to our Communist Parties, we must not lose a single good revolutionary, *real-Left* worker.

Recent years of development of the Comintern have given a picture of extremely loose elements in our organisations. A thorough study of this, and the strengthening of the existing Parties is just as important as attracting into our Parties new masses of the proletariat striving towards Communism. And in this struggle for mass parties we must show the same enthusiasm, the same healthy proletarian faith in the justice of our aim, as in the days of decisive battles. Only so shall we be able to put up a determined resistance to the moods which drape themselves in the toga of "Left" discontent.

Hungarian Nobles and the Second International

By V. Strasser

AN economic rapprochement with Soviet Russia is once more all the talk in Budapest. It is another question whether this is again only a manoeuvre on the part of Bethlen. But the question is written and spoken about, discussed everywhere, and arguments for and against are being sought. Amongst others, the Second International provides an argument against rapprochement.

There have appeared on the scene two Counts (Hadik and Apponyi), who have borrowed their "very important" anti-Soviet arguments from the Zurich arsenal kept by Otto Bauer, Vandervelde and Jouhaux, etc. They are arming themselves with genuine Zurich resolutions of the Second International directed against the Communist International, and are looking to the ideas of the Second International for support in the struggle against the Soviet Union.

Count Hadik, a big landowner and a representative of the Hungarian feudal aristocracy, has said in the "Pester Lloyd":

"Every step which we in Hungary take in the direction of the Third International will tell against our greatest interest, which is to carry through successfully and as soon as possible, the process of enlightenment initiated by the Second International. Any step of this kind would also interfere with the movement which aims at imbuing the Social-Democratic workers of our country with the spirit of the Zurich resolutions, so that they may have nothing in common with Bolshevism. Those who are leading the workers

along this path are serving the well-considered social interests of the State."

What the Count means by the "process of enlightenment as to Soviet Russia initiated by the Second International" is perfectly clear. The Second International agitates and creates fractions in Soviet Russia, and with this the Count is in agreement. He is also very anxious not to hurt in any way the Social-Democratic workers of his country (meaning, of course, the Social-Democratic leaders allied to Horthy and Count Bethlen). He is afraid that their spirit might be tainted by contact with Bolshevism.

Diehard on Reformists

Count Apponyi, an aged political fire-eater, is also a big landowner and feudal aristocrat, and joins with his fellow aristocrat. This is what he says in the "Pester Lloyd" on August 9th, 1926:

"I am not yet prepared to pass definite judgment on the so-called swing towards Russia. . . But one cannot help sharing Count Hadik's apprehensions as to the present Soviet regime. Although Hungary's influence on vital politics is but small, it would certainly not be opportune to strengthen, through a connection with Soviet Russia, the Third International, i.e., the present Russian Government, at the expense of the moderate elements among the workers."

Count Hadik makes himself heard once more by

(Continued on page 15.)

Our Party and the T.U.C.

By the Executive Committee, Communist Party of Great Britain

THE article in the last issue of the "Communist International" under the signature of two of our comrades, and which has the backing of the E.C.C.I., has been written under a complete misunderstanding of the line followed by the Party before and during the Bournemouth Congress.

The main portion of the article consists of an analysis of the Bournemouth Congress. This analysis is grotesque and is a clear proof that the authors were suffering from a complete lack of material on the subject they set out to discuss, for if a true account had been given of the work of the Party previous to and during the T.U.C., the criticisms of the Party which appear at the end of the article would be seen to be absolutely false and impudent.

We are given in the article 9 points summarising what happened at Bournemouth. In all these points there is no mention of the fact that a joint group of Party and Minority Movement members carried on an energetic struggle against the General Council from the first day of the Congress until the last. Day after day the struggle between this group and the now consolidated bureaucracy was the principal feature of the Congress, yet it has passed completely unnoticed in the article of comrades Murphy and Arnot. This Minority Group and the Party are the subjects of a bitter attack in the current issue of the "Labour Magazine," the official organ of the Labour Movement.

There is no question of the fact that but for the activity of the Party before and during the Congress, questions like the General Strike, More Power to the General Council, Industrial Unionism, International Unity, would not have been discussed at all.

This omission of the work of the Party and Minority Movement is all the more remarkable since we discover in subsequent parts of the article references to the existence of a new opposition in the Congress. Comrades Murphy and Arnot, modestly correcting the Party, have noticed a new Left-wing at Bournemouth which no one else has noticed, and have failed to notice the Party fraction whose activities were reported in the capitalist Press in Britain and were the subject of full and complete telegrams in the Russian Workers' Press from the Bournemouth Congress.

The ignoring of the Party fraction is linked up with the following remarkable statements:

"It has been possible for a T.U.C. to be held without any discussion of the General Council's responsibilities."

"The General Council escaped without any censure for devoting only a brief paragraph to the General Strike."

It is astonishing to find comrades with the audacity to write about the Bournemouth Congress without knowing that the Minority Group did sharply criticise the General Council for its responsibilities in refusing to prepare for the General Strike and in calling off that strike and betraying the workers. The Minority Movement delegate, Tanner, in a widely reported speech, described the General Council as traitors, cowards and

weak fools. If this is not censure then language has no meaning.

We are told further on: "It is clear that in this Congress there was a very high temperature existing below the surface coolness. This is explicitly pointed out by Ellen Wilkinson in her article in 'Lansbury's Labour Weekly.'"

The writers of the article quote the opinion of Ellen Wilkinson in order to avoid referring to the proof of the high temperature which is contained in the support accorded by Conference to the resolutions so energetically fought for by the Party and M.M. Group.

"On all important questions there was a steady minority of not less than 700,000."

It is impossible for the writers to escape mentioning this vote, but they depict it as purely spontaneous in order to avoid giving any credit to the Party and M.M. Group.

The tendency to completely ignore the Party is further exemplified in the statement:

"At Bournemouth two speakers dealt with the subject of Unity. The first was the Chairman, Mr. Pugh, the second was A. A. Purcell, who besides being one of the prominent members of the General Council holds the position of chairman of the Amsterdam International."

In view of the censures contained on our Party at the end of the article, it is necessary to protest sharply against such conduct as is exemplified in the above quotation.

How Not to Do It

This deliberately conveys the impression to our foreign comrades—many of whom cannot be expected to have followed the Congress in all its details—that the Party and the Minority Movement were silent and that the principal people who dealt with International Unity were Purcell and Pugh. It is on record that the whole of the forenoon of Friday, 10th September, was devoted to this question, that on the General Council's report comrades Tanner, Horner and Elsbury attacked the General Council for sabotaging international unity, and it was in response to vigorous attack of the minority fraction that Purcell delivered his speech. Subsequently on the debate on the international resolution, it was again the Minority Group in the persons of Tanner and Elsbury who played the premier role. To mention two Right-wing speeches, omit all references to the efforts of the Party and M.M. members at the Congress, and to leave the actual struggle waged at Congress out of account, is an excellent example of how the Bournemouth Congress ought not to be analysed. It is comrades Murphy and Arnot and not the Party who must correct their methods.

It is simply not true to say that "the leaders of the General Council were compelled to bring forward the Scarborough resolution affirming the need for international unity." The General Council brought forward no resolution. They would have preferred to have had no discussion. The resolution on international unity

Our Party and the T.U.C.—continued.

appeared on the agenda in virtue of the activity of the Party and M.M. The General Council would have preferred to have shirked all discussion on international unity, and could have done so if those resolutions had not been placed on the agenda, compelling it to define its position. It was not merely the general mass pressure but the concrete activity of the Party and M.M. Group at Congress which forced the General Council to say where it stood.

We are then told:

“All forces and organisations must be viewed in relation to the Strike. In the short space of this article it is possible only to select three things: the General Council, the new Left Wing that is arising, and the Communist Party.”

Again the Minority Movement is completely left out of the picture. But what is this “new Left Wing” that comrades Murphy and Arnot have discovered? They talk of “the new genuine Left Wing that has already brought under its influence a million and a quarter of British proletarians and has found its expression in energetic opposition to the General Council.”

A New Left Wing?

“The leaders of the new Left, unknown figures emerging from the real movement of the workers, appeared for the first time on the scene during the General Strike, then in the Miners’ Federation Conference (where a majority showed itself more Left than Cook, rejecting the Bishops’ Memorandum.)”

There was no new Left Wing at Bournemouth. There was the Party and Minority Movement fraction, whose leaders are not “unknown figures emerging from the real movement of the workers and appearing on the scene during the General Strike,” but comrades who have been active in their unions for many years and who figured prominently in previous Trades Union Congresses.

Again the Party and the M.M. are ignored, this time in favour of a phantom “new Left Wing.”

This discovery of the new Left Wing deserves to rank with the other discovery that Pugh, the protagonist of class collaboration in workers’ education, the leading official of the social-pacifist Iron and Steel Trades Confederation, was a “Left Winger” even of the Purcell type. Pugh is and was a determined Right Winger on all questions.

We cannot, of course, but agree with the writers of the article, though all of their examples are not convincing, that there is a stronger, a clearer and a more revolutionary feeling among the masses than there was at the time of the Scarborough Congress, but this new feeling has created not a new Left Wing but a situation which is more favourable for the Party and the Minority Movement.

The Communist Party and the M.M. realise the importance of this situation, and are endeavouring to utilise it to the fullest possible advantage, but every Party worker who realises the work that the Party is undertaking in this direction will treat as insulting the suggestion that a new Left Wing is growing up outside the Minority Movement, and that the Party and the M.M. must take care that this “new Left Wing should

not be allowed to stray into barren activities and policies.”

The Party and M.M. are not outside any Left Wing but are the active directing elements of all the Left Wing forces which are manifesting themselves in the British Labour movement to-day. The whole paragraph lecturing the Party is an outrage on the intelligence and an insult to every Communist worker in Britain.

One further statement before we pass on to the alleged mistakes of the Party. We are told that a few months back Cook was the most Left of all. This is sheer nonsense. At Scarborough, at which both the writers of the article were present, Pollitt and the Party and M.M. fraction showed themselves much more Left than Cook.

Those “Million Workers”

As to the million workers who have now, according to the writers, shown themselves to be more Left than Cook, again the Party and the M.M. is not mentioned. We are told that a majority of the Miners’ Conference showed itself more Left than Cook by rejecting the Bishops’ Memorandum. We are not told that that majority was composed of many individuals who are more Right than Cook, but who were compelled by the rank and file in their Districts to vote against the Memorandum. We are not told by the writers of the article of the Party and M.M. campaign against the Memorandum, and of the attacks delivered at the Miners’ Conference against the M.M. by Herbert Smith and others on account of M.M. propaganda advising the rejection of the Memorandum.

When we come to the alleged mistakes of the Party we are, of course, not told that comrades Murphy and Arnot being members of our Central Committee are responsible for the policy of that Committee as much as anyone, and if the Central Committee has made mistakes, they are their mistakes as much as anyone’s.*

Let us be quite clear as to what the charge against the Party is. No one would think it worth while denying that in the complex situation which has followed the betrayal of the General Strike the Party made a number of errors of omission and commission. A mistake was made, and has been acknowledged with regard to the Russian trade union manifesto on the General Strike. It is easy to criticise such mistakes months after they have been made. That, however, is not the charge which comrades Murphy and Arnot have levelled against the Party. Their charge is that mistake has followed mistake until we now have a definite Right tendency in the Party which must be corrected. It is that charge which we are called to meet. Its refutation is easy.

The General Council

We are told about vacillations to the Right, which are based on “an inadequate comprehension of all the tremendous profundity of the moves that have taken place inside the British proletariat. This lack of understanding was first displayed in a number of errors connected with the Anglo-Russian Committee. The refusal to criticise sharply the treacherous position of the General Council was also a grave error.”

It is absurd to suggest that there has ever been on the part of the Central Committee of the British Party

* Comrade Murphy’s telegram acknowledging this has appeared in the English, but not in the Russian, French, and German editions of the “Communist International.”

Our Party and the T.U.C.—continued.

a refusal to criticise sharply the treacherous conduct of the General Council leaders. On May 12th, when the General Strike was called off, our Party telegram to Locals characterised the treachery of the General Council, as did our manifesto on May 13th. Week after week since then the Party has sharply criticised the General Council for their activities before, during and after the General Strike. In connection with the attempts of the General Council to sabotage Anglo-Russian Unity, the Party sharply criticised this attitude.

If the writers of this article care to turn to the official organ of the Labour movement, "The Labour Magazine," for October, they will find how bitterly the General Council resent the continuous attack which has been made upon them by the Party.

"In particular we have adopted a mild attitude towards the Lefts of the Purcell type."

Perhaps this refers to the endeavours of the Party fraction at Bournemouth to swing the largest possible vote against the General Council, including Hicks and Purcell. It is not true that we have adopted a mild attitude towards the Left of the Purcell type, as our telegram on May 12th and our manifesto on May 13th show. Our open letter to Ben Turner and John Bromley in the "Workers' Weekly," our article in the "Workers' Weekly" entitled "Small Thanks to You, Hicks and Purcell," and our exposure of Purcell's "March on London" scheme, and also the attacks on Hicks and Purcell during the meeting of the Anglo-Russia Committee show that we have repeatedly taken the opportunity to make clear to the workers our position with regard to the sham "Lefts" on the General Council.

"The British Party has practically not criticised Cook at all."

An Extraordinary Statement

This is an extraordinary statement. Comrades criticising the Party might at least be expected to read the weekly organ of the Party. Cook was criticised in the "Workers' Weekly" after the postponement of the June 25th Conference ("Workers' Weekly," July 2nd), on Wage Pronouncements ("Workers' Weekly," July 9th, 16th and 23rd), on the Bishops' Memorandum (Workers' Weekly" and Press statements); on T.U.C. action ("Workers' Weekly," 17th and 24th September and October 3rd); on sowing illusions about the Government ("Workers' Weekly," Sept. 24th).

If comrade Arnot when in Moscow believed that the Party had not sufficiently criticised Cook, he is now, after hearing Cook's expressed resentment at our Party criticism, a sadder and wiser man.

"The erroneous policy of the C.P. was particularly clearly shown at the Conference of the Minority Movement and at the T.U.C. at Bournemouth."

Neither the Party nor the Minority Movement is mentioned in the analysis of the Bournemouth Congress. The good work of the fraction is completely ignored, and then at the end of the article, without advancing any facts, we are told that the erroneous policy of our Party was particularly clear. Yes, clear to those who can see phantom Left Wings, but cannot see the achievements of their Party.

We are further told: "A much bigger error, fraught with possible grave consequences, was the decision made

at the E.C. of the Minority Movement to restrict themselves to a mild criticism of the General Council."

The Party does not in any way share the opinions embodied in the resolution of the Minority Movement, which was not, however, drawn up in view of the T.U.C. and is not in the terms mentioned by the writers. Surely in criticising the Party for the actions of the E.C. of the Minority Movement, the comrades concerned might have had the elementary decency to discover whether the Party shared the view of the Minority Movement or not. It is completely false to say that the Minority Movement resolution, which has never been operated, and which will come up we understand, for re-discussion at a subsequent meeting of the E.C. of the M.M., had any effect on the actions of Party and M.M. members at the T.U.C. or was in any way the basis of their activities there. Indeed most of them did not know of the existence of such a resolution at the time of the T.U.C. It is pitiful to see E.C. members slandering their Party on such slender grounds.

An Insult

It is equally an insult to our hard-working and energetic Party and M.M. group to say "that they did not concentrate all the force of their blows on the treacherous position of the General Council." Never was the report of the General Council so energetically criticised.

With regard to the question of the withdrawal from Parliament, this was advocated as a demonstration. The proposal was that the Labour members should not return to Parliament after the vacation, but should carry on a campaign for the levy and embargo and the dissolution of Parliament. It was not proposed as a final withdrawal from Parliament, but as a demonstration during a campaign to secure dissolution. Whatever else may be said about it, it is not an incomprehensible demand, but a demand which is being widely echoed by the workers all over the country, as the debate at the Margate Labour Party Conference shows.

Then we are told: "Only superficial observers would write in the "Workers' Weekly," on September 10th, that 'as compared with Scarborough, Bournemouth is a step back.'"

Again, Party members in foreign countries will be misled by comrades Murphy and Arnot. The impression is left that this statement was made in a complete Party analysis after the Bournemouth Congress, whereas it was made on the second day of the Congress and mainly compared the first and second days' proceedings with that of Scarborough. Taking the Congress as a whole it is wrong to say that "as compared with Scarborough, Bournemouth was a step back." The very differentiation which has driven the sham Left out into the open, which got a vote of 848,000 for more powers to the General Council, whereas last year it was simply referred back to the General Council, which got 1,200,000 votes for an R.I.L.U. and I.F.T.U. Conference, is a step forward; but any honest man would have known and seen that this slight error was corrected (a) in the reports from Bournemouth which all the time contrasted the Congress, i.e., the delegates—with the General Council, and (b) in the following week's issue of the "Workers' Weekly."

The Party Press stated in a sufficiently clear manner that the crystallisation and consolidation of the revolutionary Left Wing under the leadership of the Party

Our Party and the T.U.C.—continued.

and M.M. at Bournemouth is a step forward. Bournemouth took place at a time when the line of division between the working class Left, led by the Party and the Minority Movement, and the Right Wing was sharper than at the time of the Scarborough Congress. The Left Wing of the Purcell type had to choose, and they chose the Right Wing.

At the same time Bournemouth showed more than "that a tremendous step forward had been made by the working masses." It also showed a tremendous consolidated bureaucracy which was powerful enough not to allow a clear expression of the great progress which the British working masses have made during the last six months. A rapid differentiation is taking place in the working class movement, and the bureaucracy is rapidly consolidating itself against the mass of workers.

It is, therefore, a mistake to try to describe a Congress like the Bournemouth Congress in a one sentence formula. It is a mistake to treat the Congress as a homogeneous whole. This mistake was committed by the writer of the leader in the "Workers' Weekly" on September 10th, which was written while the Congress

was proceeding. It is also committed by comrades Murphy and Arnot in the article under discussion in relation to the Scarborough Congress a year ago. There the Conference is treated as a homogeneous whole, and all mention of Party and M.M. activity is omitted.

With regard to the statement that the E.C.C.I. shares the viewpoint of comrades Murphy and Arnot, the question naturally arises, their viewpoint on what? It is necessary to say quite plainly that up to the moment of writing, three weeks after the Bournemouth T.U.C., the Party has received no criticism of its policy in relation to the Congress from the E.C.C.I., and that with regard to its general policy the Party wishes to state clearly that it has not received a single detailed criticism of any action or policy from the E.C.C.I. since the beginning of the General Strike, just as it did not receive a single lead from the Presidium which it had not already decided upon and in most cases applied itself.

The article does not help the Party in its work, but will serve one useful purpose. It will give our new members an excellent example of how leading E.C. members ought not to behave in relation to the Central Executive Committee of which they are a part.

**Hungarian Nobles and the Second International**

(Continued from page 11.)

declaring (in the "Pester Lloyd," Sept. 11th, 1926):

"I have already pointed out that the Second International has expressed the hope that Russia will enter on a path in international politics which will lead towards the League of Nations and the tasks with which the latter is identified.

"Only in this way, and bearing this particular point in mind, can my demand be understood: That with respect to Russia we must endeavour to recognise and make use of the real meaning and the real significance of the difference which exists between the Second and Third Internationals.

"If the Zurich resolutions of the Second International had happened to coincide with the Bela Kun regime in Budapest, it would no doubt have had a shattering effect on the Soviet regime in Hungary. Who knows if we could not have got over the revolution of 1919 without the Roumanian occupation, if the Hungarian workers, most of whom were already dissatisfied with the Bolshevik system, had had the verdict of the Second International before them in reckoning with the rulers of Hungary."

The noble count is, of course, guilty of colossal stupidity with respect to this retrospective prophecy. But it should be borne in mind that even without the

Zurich resolutions, the Second International had from a military viewpoint a shattering effect on the Hungarian Soviet Republic. At that time Tusar, a Social-Democrat, was Minister for Foreign Affairs in Czecho-Slovakia, four Social-Democrats were in the Yugo-Slavian Cabinet and two in the Roumanian Cabinet. As everyone knows, all three States made war on Soviet Hungary!

The General Council and the General Strike

By A. J. BENNET

The General Council's "Secret" Report on the General Strike is analysed, and its "defence" against its critics is shown to be a tissue of inventions and evasions.

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The German Ultra-Left

By Clara Zetkin

L EFT elements in the Comintern, class conscious proletarians who feel instinctively and realise fully that only revolution can set you free, be up and doing! All Communist Parties, and the International itself, are in danger of degeneration and dissolution. Support the opposition minority in the Soviet C.P.; they, under the leadership of comrade Zinoviev, the Chairman of the Communist International, are fighting against this peril! It is a clear-cut struggle against the majority of the Soviet C.P. led by the "ultra-Right" (comrades Bukharin and Stalin). "Left elements," do not delay! The cause of the opposition minority is your cause, and you must make it the cause of the entire International!

This is the rallying call, the call to action to be found in the "Memorandum" in which the "Weddinger" opposition and the "Urbahns group" have published "Some Material on the Russian Question."

This call is a battle-cry against the Central Committee, against the great majority of the Communist Party of Germany, and at the same time against all the Communist Parties and the Executive of the International, which identified themselves with the unavoidable decision made by the Central Committee and the Central Control Commission of the Soviet C.P. Be it so! It will soon be seen that the call does not come from the mouth of a revolutionary lion or from that of a lion's mate, but from the gaping mouth of a very ordinary petty bourgeois person, Master Zettel.

Important Documents

The "Memorandum" boasts of "important documents explaining the standpoint of the Russian opposition" and also "documentary material on the Russian question." But lo! and behold! The main part of the publication contains absolutely nothing by way of documentary material, except the hackneyed phrases and prophecies of the German ultra-Left, from Katz to Mrs. Fischer, on the causes, character and effects of the conflicts within the Soviet C.P. In addition to this a few quotations from "the Right" and "the Left" and in the appendices, evidently as "important documents," speeches by comrades Kamenev, Lashevitch and Glebov-Avilov at the Fourteenth Party Congress of the Soviet C.P., as well as cuttings from various publications which illustrate "the ideological vacillations of N. Bukharin and his disciples," and are to discredit the theorist of the "Stalin majority." The "important documents" make only one thing quite clear: the perfect organisation of the connection between the ultra-Left and the opposition fraction in the Soviet C.P. They bear unmistakably the trade mark: "Made in Moscow."

In their explanations of the differences of opinion in the Soviet C.P. and the swing to the Right within the Soviet C.P. and the Comintern, the ultra-Left shed tears of sorrow over the world revolution, so cruelly abandoned and exiled to the Russian steppes of "national self-limitation." Meanwhile reformist and bourgeois tears of joy are being shed over the evolution of Bolshevism from formalist unreasonableness to political and statesman-like discernment. History will brush aside

with a rough hand both tears of joy and tears of sorrow alike, and will show that they were shed somewhat prematurely.

Systematic Deception?

The authors of the "Memorandum" state most emphatically that the "fundamental questions of the Russian Revolution and of world revolution are at stake." This leads one to suppose that the pamphlet will contain exhaustive and convincing material on these questions, the basis for the "Russian discussion," will contain facts and figures. For quotations and logical deductions put down on paper (which is proverbially patient) can prove anything and nothing. Their correctness or incorrectness must be confirmed by such obstreperous things as facts and figures. But no trace can be found in the "Memorandum" of any such convincing and incontrovertible material on the fundamental questions of the Russian Revolution and of world revolution, even if one has recourse to a magnifying glass.

And yet there does exist an exhaustive many-sided and accessible literature on this subject. Do the ultra-Left authors perhaps imagine that the lies and distortions with which the "Memorandum" opens (and which are characteristic of the authors) can make up for the absence of any serious material?

It is asserted that comrades are being "systematically deceived" as to the "intensity" and "acuteness" of the conflict in the Soviet C.P., and as to its nature and effects, all the more so as the opinions of the Russian opposition are being systematically suppressed. As an example of this the "Memorandum" goes on to say that not a single article by Zinoviev, not a single speech or statement, has been made accessible in full to the Communist Party except in a garbled form. As to the "systematic deception" and the "systematic suppression of the opinions of the Russian opposition," the pamphlet is evidently hinting at the decision of the Enlarged Executive of the Comintern, that the Russian question need not be discussed either at its sessions or in the other Communist Parties.

Eight Months Ago

The situation at that time sufficiently explains this decision. It only imposed silence on the well-disciplined and loyal majority of the Parties; it did not prevent the ultra-Left leaders—with utter disregard for discipline and on the strength of their own fraction's reports from Moscow and of the reports in Social-Democratic and bourgeois papers—discussing the conflicts in the Soviet C.P. at aggregate and public meetings. Of course, entirely without "fractional distortion. . . ."

The decision of the extended Executive was not dictated by any need or intention to employ "systematic deception." When the extended Executive was in session the differences of opinion between the majority and the minority of the Soviet C.P. had not yet reached the stage of poisonous and disruptive fraction-mongering by the opposition. The "Stalin group" believed the Leninist tradition of iron discipline and the unshakable unity and integrity of the Bolshevik Party would win.

The German Ultra-Left—continued.

The Congress, its supreme authority, had decided; and the Party organisations had almost unanimously accepted the decision. This, certainly, did not put an end to the clash of opinions—the existence of great problems kept that alive. The discussion had been, however, transferred from the fierce heat of political strife to the milder atmosphere of objective scientific examination and discussion. The majority wanted conciliation and fraternal collaboration with the opposition. To carry the discussions into the International and its Sections would inevitably fan the flame of dissension and passion.

Avoiding Disruption

Moreover the Parties in Germany, France, Italy, Norway and other countries had not yet fully recovered from internal crises. Given the state of affairs prevailing at that time, the “discussion of the Russian question” could not but have had a disruptive effect.

Even a blind person could feel, with the help of his stick, these reasons for the decision of the Extended Executive. But the ultra-Left “Memorandum” must drag in the idea of “systematic deception to disguise a lie.”

It declares the recall of comrade Zinoviev from the Political Bureau of the Soviet C.P., and the “campaign which has been initiated on an international scale to discredit him completely,” to be only “a transition stage to a campaign all along the line against all Left elements in the Comintern.” But why? It is a question “of using this campaign against the Chairman of the Comintern to strengthen the open or secret tendencies in all the Parties towards the abandonment of Communism, to get rid of all Left elements, which would clear the way to the liquidation of the Communist Parties and the Comintern.”

The ultra-Left sanctimoniously warn the “Left elements” not to fall victim to this “campaign,” but to meet it with full knowledge and preparedness for the fray. They also magnanimously admit—by way of extenuating circumstances—that by their policy Stalin and Bukharin are only “objectively” causing the degeneration and death of the Communist Parties and the Comintern. In plain language, this means these “ultra-Right” are not working consciously to this end, but their brains are so hedged in by thick timber that they cannot see in a true light the effects of their new policy.

A Cheering Prophecy

The prophecy of the demise of the Communist Parties and the Comintern, culled from the coffee grounds of ultra-Left fears and muddleheadedness, reappears in a more complete form with respect to quite different matters. But more of this later on. As to the legend of the slaughter of the innocents, alias the international campaign for the kicking out of “all Left elements,” it is emphatically given the lie by the history of the Comintern and of its sections. The “Leitmotiv” of all the theses, resolutions and decisions of the Communist world organisation is: the Comintern is the organised revolutionary vanguard of the world proletariat, the militant extreme “Left” of the Labour movement. It rallies the revolutionary proletarian elements, it makes them adopt conquest of power as their aim, and gives them fighting strength for their struggles. It does not repulse proletarians who are not yet fully class-conscious, or revolutionary proletarians spoiling for the

fight, who call themselves “Left” with a strong emphasis on this term. It endeavours to draw them into our camp, to educate them into being conscious revolutionaries ready for determined action.

The authors of the “Memorandum” are not satisfied with two gross untruths on the first page—they have to add to them a third unmitigated lie. They swear in all solemnity that the “demonstrative fall of Zinoviev” has “naturally nothing to do with organisational matters, breaches of discipline or formation of fractions, it has to do with political questions which are deliberately withheld from the Party members.”

As one can see: all the “Right” scoundrelism of the “Stalin-majority” is carried on “systematically.” But we can set sheer facts against the manifestations of “systematic virtue.” Comrade Zinoviev’s recall from the Political Bureau and the disciplinary measures against comrade Lashevitch and others were not decided upon as soon as the differences of opinion between the majority and the minority concerning important “political questions,” had been given expression at the Fourteenth Party Congress in an acute form, in a most acute form in comrade Zinoviev’s co-report to the Party report—a very significant innovation in the history of the Bolshevik Party. At the Fourteenth Party Congress, comrade Zinoviev was elected to the Political Bureau: comrade Trotsky was not recalled from the Political Bureau by the July Extended Executive of the Party, although at the meeting of the Central Committee and the Central Control Commission he had expressed the same opinions as comrade Zinoviev in respect to “political questions,” and he had signed the “Declaration” of the opposition. Should not he have met with the same condemnation as comrade Zinoviev?

Fractions Within the Party

Between the Fourteenth Party Congress and the session of the two leading Party organs there occurred something that the “Memorandum” brushes aside contemptuously and lightheartedly, namely breaches of discipline and the formation of fractions. Comrade Trotsky had at that time no part in them. It is an indisputable fact that the “breaches of discipline and the formation of fractions” were due to acute divergences of opinion concerning “political questions.” However, another indisputable fact is that these “organisational questions” have become serious “political questions.”

Breaches of discipline and the formation of fractions paralyse the activity of a Party, they are fraught with the peril of disruption for a Party. At the Fourteenth Party Congress the opposition had already dallied with the threat of a split. Its leading representatives continued this dangerous game, and undermined the Leninist leadership of the Central Committee. In the Soviet Union and abroad, Mensheviks, Social Revolutionaries, and bourgeois radicals, as well as avowed and unavowed counter-revolutionaries, are taking up the political slogans of the minority to demand “democracy” and liberty for themselves. The fractionally organised opposition is becoming more and more the rallying centre around which all disgruntled, all anti-Soviet forces can group themselves.

All honour to “inner Party democracy,” to freedom of opinion and discussion in the Soviet C.P. But there is a limit to it, in the interests of strict discipline, unity and co-ordination. The real right of the Party to united

The German Ultra-Left—continued.

action comes before the formal rights of "democracy." The Soviet C.P. is, as the leading class Party of the proletariat, the ruling Party, the representative of the proletarian State, the executor of proletarian dictatorship. It is surrounded by enemies, it exists and carries on its work under unprecedented difficulties. Less than any other Party it can allow itself the luxury of sacrificing "pour les beaux yeux" of formal democracy the most important things necessary for the fulfilment of its historic mission.

1924 Forgotten

Without iron discipline, unity and co-ordination in the C.P., the working class cannot enforce its dictatorship or work for the Socialist reconstruction of the Soviet Union. Ideological and organisational slackness or the disruption of the framework of the Party is tantamount to breaking the sword of the proletarian dictatorship and the trowel of Communist construction. Therefore the security of the revolution needs co-ordination, unity and discipline of the Party, accompanied by fraternal discussion of contentious questions as long as this is possible—but security by means of the mailed fist if it cannot be done otherwise. No one so eloquent, thorough and persuasive in proclaiming these obvious revolutionary truths than comrade Zinoviev. He did it in the struggle against Trotskyism—the din of battle evoked by his speeches and publications still rings in our ears.

The authors of the "Memorandum," who are generally so sharp of hearing, evidently did not hear this din of battle. In their publication there is not a single word about the facts given above. They repeat instead in a halting manner the childish naive declaration of the Russian opposition that the "Stalin majority" is also a fraction. Does not this ultra-Left assertion sound like an utterance from the lips of an innocent country cousin? The majority is a fraction, ergo the minority may also consist of fractions. Everything is as well as well can be, except for just the small detail which is politely omitted: the danger of the disintegration of the Party, the danger of the downfall of proletarian dictatorship. The German ultra-Left keep deliberately silent on such "trivialities" as "organisational questions, breaches of discipline, and the formation of fractions." "One crow does not pluck out the eyes of another crow." They are silent because they are at peace with their own consciences.

Scientific

But the ultra-Left fathers and mothers of the "Memorandum" do not always skip with elephantine gracefulness over the unpleasant facts connected with the "Russian question." They would not do that! They go in for scientific thoroughness when dealing with such facts. Therefore, one paragraph of the general "documentary material" is devoted to the prelude to the Party crisis. But even this paragraph does not satisfy the confiding expectations of the readers. The ultra-Left conjure up from the history of the Party the spectre of the great Lenin as witness of the excellence of the opposition minority. For "the grouping has many of the oldest Bolsheviks in its ranks, who have certainly not lost the sense of what Party unity can achieve and what fractional opposition means." Moreover, their leader is comrade Zinoviev who, as already

stated in the "Memorandum" "was for 20 years, Lenin's closest collaborator."

The differences concerning "the fundamental questions of the Russian Revolution and the fundamental questions of the proletarian world revolution" are "not of a recent date. . . ." "In fact these same questions were at the bottom of the two Trotsky discussions." The "Memorandum" dissociates itself from comrade Trotsky's "erroneous conceptions concerning the permanent revolution," and points out "what a mixture" was the Trotsky opposition of that time, which "gave evidence of dissatisfaction with the inner Party regime as well as with the general political course." The present alliance between comrades Zinoviev and Kamenev and their one-time opponent Trotsky, however, makes it inadvisable for the ultra-Left to pay too much attention to Trotsky's errors.

On the other hand, much more space, attention and severe judgment are bestowed on Bukharin's aberrations during the period preceding the present Party crisis. The object of this is too obvious. The "Memorandum" reminds the readers with particular emphasis of Bukharin's opposition to Lenin at the time of the Brest-Litovsk Peace, of his then passionate fractional opposition to it. No Communist could identify himself to-day with the political attitude of Bukharin at that time, comrade Bukharin least of all. Nevertheless, he is represented in the "Memorandum" as a monster who is to be made to feel the full weight of ultra-Left ostracism, because of his savage opposition to Lenin and the Brest-Litovsk Peace.

Ample Whitewash

But the mantle of ultra-Left love which is spread in the "Memorandum" over another error made by leading comrades is soft and ample. This particular error is actually connected with a "fundamental question of the Russian Revolution," the fundamental question of "to be or not to be." Shortly before the Red October, comrades Zinoviev and Kamenev resigned from the Central Executive of the Bolshevik Party—a serious breach of discipline. They left it because the Party had rejected an alliance with the Mensheviks.

Lenin's two "closest collaborators" then committed even a greater sin. In Maxim Gorky's non-Party "Novaya Zhizn" they made a violent attack on a decision of the Central Committee re the organisation of an armed rising, a decision which was to have been kept secret. Lenin's indignation was boundless. He called the two comrades scabs, deserters, traitors, and demanded their expulsion from the Party. Thus the much-lauded "close collaboration with Lenin" struck a rock, just at the most difficult and decisive moment.

Comrades Zinoviev and Kamenev very soon confessed that they were wrong, and Lenin subsequently declared that they had made good their errors. But his innermost conviction was always that while the Party could pardon this mistake, it must never forget it, although this episode should never be mentioned without absolute necessity. The October episode of the two comrades was not a "chance occurrence."

Lenin criticised severely many shortcomings of comrade Bukharin as a theorist. Nevertheless, it is an indisputable fact that he considered him the "best theorist" of the Party. The "Memorandum" mentions indignantly comrade Bukharin's serious error, why should

The German Ultra-Left—continued.

it keep silent about the sins of comrades Zinoviev and Kamenev? As, according to Lenin, these sins were not "a chance occurrence," they might provide food for thought for "Left" elements.

Trifling Differences?

What has the "Memorandum" got to say about the "present political differences in the Soviet C.P."?

A hasty perusal of the questionable pages of the "Memorandum" might create the impression that the differences between the majority and the minority of the C.P. are trifling, that it is only a matter of shades of opinion. One of the main contentious questions which is given prominence is: can and should one call Soviet enterprises "Socialistic," or are they "only"—as Lenin said—of a "consistently Socialist type"? In the opinion of the opposition the difference between these two formulæ expresses a difference in character and value, a difference of decisive importance as regards the policy to be adopted in all the fundamental questions of industrial reconstruction. The difference between these two phrases describing Soviet industry is the foundation for the differences between the majority and minority conceptions.

The "Memorandum" after dealing superficially with "State capitalism" under proletarian dictatorship and with the "NEP," sums up this question as follows: the difficulties of the situation, created by the force of circumstances, have made it inevitable "to place new burdens on the shoulders of the working class. The rebuilding of industry is accompanied in Soviet enterprises by "inadequate wages" and other unfavourable phenomena. Thus it comes to pass that "the workers in the factories very naturally ask themselves if Socialism is really like the descriptions which are frequently given them by Bukharin's over-eager disciples." These are alleged to say: "that the present conditions in the factories are already Socialistic. Such an assertion can only discredit Socialism. No one in the opposition even thinks of asserting that the nationalised State enterprises are not of a Socialist type. But idealisation of the present far from ideal conditions and relations within these enterprises, giving a sugar coating to reorganisation methods, etc., is more dangerous than the brutal statement that such measures have become necessary through the delay of the world revolution."

The "Kulak" Peril

The "Memorandum" deals a little more fully with the second political difference between the majority and the minority. "The main question at the Fourteenth Party Congress was the "kulak" peril." The majority is far from denying the "kulak peril," as is wrongly asserted in the "Memorandum." But it is of the opinion that pessimistic over-estimation of this peril is as reprehensible as optimistic under-estimation.

The "kulaks" form the village bourgeoisie. They are the class enemies of the proletariat as well as of the poor peasantry. The fundamental question is: under the present extremely difficult objective conditions, should we try to win over the middle peasantry, who as a petty bourgeois section fluctuate between the proletariat and bourgeoisie, by supporting the poor peasants and carrying on a consistent class struggle against the village bourgeoisie, or, is it possible, by concessions to the rich peasants, to let the class struggle in the villages slacken

and bring the various sections of the peasantry up to the same level, particularly by raising the level of the poor peasants to that of the middle peasants?"

According to the "Memorandum," "the majority of the Soviet C.P. thinks the method of concessions to the rich peasantry the right method." Its opportunism is short-sighted and ill-advised: "experience has shown that concessions to the big peasantry, particularly in respect to such questions as taxation, the leasing of land and the employment of hired labour, have only resulted in increasing the appetite of the village bourgeoisie." The opposition "demands energetic support for the poor peasants who are at present in many ways terrorised by the 'kulaks' and who become economically dependent on them. (A large percentage of the peasantry are without horses and are, therefore, very dependent on the rich peasants.)"

Non-Leninist

According to the "Memorandum," this is an economically as well as politically non-Leninist attitude on the part of the majority. "Lenin said very emphatically in his last article that the State apparatus of the Soviet Union is unwieldy, bureaucratic, and works badly." And how differently the degenerate majority and the steadfastly revolutionary minority approach this task, although both have adopted the same slogan: make the Soviets live and active! The opposition demands "that the Soviets be made live organs by divesting them of their bureaucratism and imbuing them with the idea that they are organs for the propagation of the idea of Socialism. They must bear in mind that they are not only bureaucratic administrative organs, but above all, active representatives of the proletarian State idea and of economic construction, that the Soviet delegates in particular must always be responsible to their electors and can be recalled by them (a matter which people frequently forget)." The majority on the other hand, "has in many respects extended the franchise as laid down in the Constitution of the Soviet Union and has given petty bourgeois and counter-revolutionary elements (rich peasants, elements connected with the church, small traders, urban bourgeoisie) access to the Soviets." On paper (which fortunately for the ultra-Left leaders cannot rise up "in opposition") experience has already condemned the majority in regard to this question too. "It is admitted even by the majority that the results of this year's Soviet elections are extremely unsatisfactory. . . . It shows that elements which are anti-Soviet by nature are developing ever-increasing activity, whilst in many cases the working class stood aside sulkily and the poorest peasantry did not participate in the elections at all, intimidated by the continuous terrorism of the village bourgeoisie."

The authors of the Memorandum" have "corrected their luck" after the fashion of the French cardsharpener in Lessing's "Minna von Barnhelm." The majority has never "admitted" that the results of the last Soviet elections were "extremely unsatisfactory." These were the first elections to be preceded by an unfettered election campaign on a large scale. The number of Communists elected to the Soviets was smaller this time, but there are two main reasons for this. The very extensive election campaign mobilised new elements in the provincial towns and villages, who whilst being workers are

The German Ultra-Left—continued.

non-proletarian. At the same time the lists of candidates to the Soviets were made up with perfect freedom without any pressure from the Soviet and Party apparatus. As a result the number of Communist Soviet representatives in the villages and provincial towns has decreased slightly. But to make up for this the Communists elected enjoy greater authority, for it is the electors' complete confidence in them which has put them in the Soviets. Therefore, they will be able to carry on their task more energetically and successfully than imposed representatives, and their task is to spread, as active representatives of the proletarian State, the idea of Communist spirit.

New Voters

As to proletarian disgust with the Soviets, or decreased interest in the shaping of the political life of the country, these simply do not exist. Just as formerly the workers are the most active political force. The fact must not be overlooked that the increase in the number of workers voting at the elections was relatively smaller than the increased utilisation of their electoral rights by non-proletarian sections of the population. There is quite a simple explanation for this phenomenon. These sections of the population had only played a very insignificant part at former Soviet elections. Because of the extension of the franchise and the election campaign, their interest in the elections increased. As these sections of the population used to poll very few votes, a relatively considerable increase was bound to take place. It is not necessary to be a brilliant mathematician to find this out.

Another reason why the workers did not develop still greater political activity is the considerable number of rural proletarians who have come into industry; these are elements which, although organised in trade unions, are extremely backward politically. As to the unsatisfactory number of voters from among the very poor peasantry, surely illiteracy, political ignorance and cultural backwardness had as much to do with it as "terrorism by the village bourgeoisie."

At the meeting of the Central Committee and the Central Control Commission the majority of the Soviet C.P. examined once more the result of the Soviet elections together with the opposition minority and endeavoured to discover its causes and also the practical deductions to be made therefrom. This was done with "Bolshevik" conscientiousness and straightforwardness. The result is embodied in the resolution adopted. It points out emphatically the growing participation in elections, and the growing political activity of proletarians not organised politically or in trade unions, and of the toiling petty bourgeois sections of the population, and in connection with this phenomenon lays stress on the need to give an impetus to educational and organisational political activity. The resolution does not conceal the fact that at the last Soviet elections Labour organisations of all kinds—trade unions and co-operatives, educational and youth organisations, delegate meetings of proletarian and peasant women and even Party organisations were in some cases not sufficiently active or were active in the wrong direction. The resolution freely admits that some authorities went too far in their interpretation of the new franchise regulations, and ex-

tended the franchise to people whose participation in the elections is incompatible with the character of the Soviet Constitution.

Conveniently Ignored

The "Memorandum" ignores the attitude taken up by this meeting on the result of the Soviet elections. The resolution passed was published in the entire Communist Party press. Can it have been, in spite of this, inaccessible to the authors of the "Memorandum"? Or is it less important than some of the quotations which were extracted, as "important documents," from the "Young Communist Pravda" (Komsomol'skaya Pravda) and other publications?

The ultra-Left pamphlet has also not a word to say about the fact that comrades Stalin and Bukharin are advocating even more energetically than comrades Zinoviev and Kamenev, measures favouring the interests of the poorest peasantry, and are endeavouring to promote the development of agriculture in the direction of Socialism.

The authors of the "Memorandum" are good church people. They believe in "Roma locuta est," Rome has spoken. The Russian Opposition has spoken, its proclamations do not require to be analysed to see the motives behind them; they contain incontrovertible truths to attack which would be unpardonable heresy. One such incontrovertible truth is the alleged "experience" of fatal effects from the "pro-kulak" concession policy of the "Stalin majority." In spite of the "Memorandum," there are figures to show that the relaxation of our policy on taxation has not benefitted the rich peasants—for they have been taxed more heavily—but the small peasantry, the largest section of the village population. There can, of course, be no definite experience as yet of the effect of the legalisation of leasing land and hiring agricultural labour, because this innovation is of too recent date and the statistical data with respect to it are far from complete.

Leasing Land

The origin of these measures is the fact—even the finest opposition and ultra-Left phraseology cannot get over it—that the Soviet State is at present not in a position to place at the disposal of all the poor peasants the necessary means for them to till their share of the nationalised land. The result is that a considerable part of the poor peasantry are economically dependent on the rich peasants who lend them horses, agricultural implements, seed, etc., or till their land for them (of course at a price either in money or work on the farm of the "kulak," or for a share of the produce of the land). In reality leasehold and hired labour have continued to exist in this way. But at the time when it was forbidden by law to use hired labour or to lease land, the "kulak" compensated himself for the risk implied in any infringement of the law by squeezing out of the poor moujik as much as he could for his "assistance."

The legalisation of leasing and hiring, certainly opens possibilities which may put money into the pockets of the "kulaks." At the same time it creates conditions under which the poorer peasants can obtain more favourable leases or can become organised in agricultural labourers' unions, whereby they can resist successfully exploitation by the "kulaks."

But there is one thing which must be taken into consideration with respect to this question. The inno-

The German Ultra-Left—continued.

vations pilloried do not take effect in the atmosphere of a bourgeois revolution and a bourgeois State, but rather in the course of a proletarian revolution and in a state of proletarian dictatorship. This means on the one hand a guarantee for the economic and political measures introduced by the Soviets for the protection of the poor and the less well-off peasants, energetic support for the development of their farms, and on the other hand a guarantee that the usurious practices of the "kulaks" will be relentlessly suppressed.

To elucidate the real state of affairs is, of course, not in keeping with the demagogic character and aim of the "Memorandum." In lieu of this the "Memorandum" brings to the guillotine of ultra-Left criticism Bukharin's rather unfortunate advice to the peasants: "Enrich yourselves." Bukharin himself has, of course,

at least four times, officially and very definitely, taken the life out of this expression, which has been made so much of by opponents and enemies. It did not, of course, enter Bukharin's mind "to excite the class appetite of the class enemies of the proletariat and the poor peasantry and to demand that this appetite should be satisfied." His idea was that if the peasants are—as Lenin said—personally interested, they will endeavour to develop agriculture, and that in a big agrarian country under the leadership of the proletariat the development of agriculture and industry are necessary for the re-organisation and economic development of society towards Communism. Moreover, the "dangerous formula" did not influence for a minute the theory and practice of the Soviet C.P. Nevertheless "The Jew"—that is to say, the "ultra-Right" Bukharin—"must be burnt at the stake."

(To be continued.)

Workers' Congress in Germany

By E. Schlaffer

WITH the Workers' Congress which is scheduled to take place at the beginning of November in Berlin, the German working class enters on a new stage of the class struggle. This completely new form of struggle found its organised expression in the unity committees which sprang up all over the country, during the campaign against compensating the former Royal family. Thousands of unity committees, together with factory committees, trade union branches, consumers' co-operatives, and unemployed, tenants, sport and cultural organisations will send their delegates to the Workers' Congress.

During the referendum and the campaign preceding it, the struggle against reaction was the common bond which brought together and held together the various sections of workers represented in the unity committees. But it was only in rare cases that the unity committees understood how to develop the struggle against the clique of former aristocrats so as to combine it with the struggle against capitalist "rationalisation,"* against the monarchist Luther-Marx Government and against the reactionary Reichstag. With the rapid economic development, with the swiftly changing scenes on the political stage, the significance and purpose of these unity committees have changed also; their tasks and the political tasks of the Workers' Congress have changed in accordance with the altered situation.

"Rationalisation" in Germany has proceeded at a whirlwind rate. The German bourgeoisie, aiming simply at increasing its profits, has pursued its aim with ruthless brutality. The victims are millions of unemployed, hundreds of thousands of ruined petty-bourgeois, the small investors and the small peasants.

The struggle for world markets has now entered a new and acute stage, as a result of the economic strengthening of Germany, the inflation in France, and the weakening of the British bourgeoisie by the General Strike and the miners' lock-out. A number of capitalist

powers have put forward new claims to a "place in the sun." Among the first of these is German industry, forced to increase exports as a result of the decrease of purchasing power in the home market and the burdens placed upon it by the Dawes Plan.

The machinery of production has been immensely expended to meet inflation, has been built up for export, and cannot possibly find a market. This has forced the German bourgeoisie to unlimited "rationalisation." And by "rationalisation" the German bourgeoisie mean not so much the technical improvement of the factories as an intensification of labour, lengthening of working hours, worsening of working conditions, the abolition of social legislation—in short, more intensive exploitation of the working class.

In carrying out its reactionary taxation and tariff policy the big bourgeoisie has robbed all who work and expropriated the "middle classes." Only in this way, at the expense of the wide masses of workers could the big bourgeoisie achieve any success in "rationalising" industry.

Another method adopted for overcoming the market crisis, which affects all branches of German economy, is the immense trustification and growth of monopolies on all sides of economic life, and the limitation of production and its adaptation to those markets that are capable of buying. Enormous capitalist combinations have grown up, mainly in the last two years, during the reorganisation of the chemical and iron industries.

In addition to these gigantic trusts a development towards trusts, or combination of interests similar to trusts went on simultaneously in big and medium industries. Not a week passed but the business press announced some such new combination. The present development in Germany exceeds anything known in the pre-war period. The West European iron pact about to be concluded is designed to be the biggest international trust the world has ever known. The German electrical industry is also on the verge of new combinations. The tremendous chemical trust, already bigger than any other trust in Germany, has increased its capital by two and a half million marks. (A few weeks

* The process of speeding up, of cutting down staffs and squeezing out or buying up small concerns now being advocated in England as "Americanisation" is in Germany called the "rationalisation of production."

The Workers' Congress in Germany—continued.

ago a merger was arranged covering the dye industry as a whole.) This trust has bought out Stinnes, Riebeck and Montagne, and thereby came into possession of almost all the lignite fields of Germany. Rockefeller, the richest man in America and in the world (Standard Oil) wishes to take shares together with the British Petrol Syndicate (Royal Dutch Shell) in the German chemical trust. The Ruhr Montagne trust already operates with a capital of one and a half billion marks; but it must pay every year a "bagatelle" of 180 million marks tribute to Dutch and American capitalists.

Bankruptcies

In contrast to this tremendous concentration of capital and trustification of industry stands out the fact of 18,750 bankruptcies of small and medium-sized concerns between July, 1925 and July, 1926. More than twice the number for the financial year 1913-14. This shows us that despite the gigantic and rapid concentration of capital, the contradictions within German economy will not decrease, but on the contrary will soon break out on a higher level.

Decisive changes in the economic basis of Germany have been going on in the past few years: the capital invested in production has grown enormously while the capital which serves to pay wages (variable capital) has fallen absolutely and relatively. These facts force us to the following conclusions:

(1) The German bourgeoisie has become economically much stronger. Objectively there has been a change in the balance of classes to the disadvantage of the proletariat.

(2) The new imperialist lust for power of the German bourgeoisie, the creation of a new labour aristocracy, the strengthening of the influence of the Social Democratic bureaucracy and their open support of the imperialist policy of the German bourgeoisie goes together with the acceptance of Germany to the League of Nations.

(3) The inevitable result of trustification, which is now in full swing will be a series of new and sharper crises, and new attempts to pursue an active imperialist policy—a hunt for colonies and participation in alliances against Soviet Russia.

(4) Germany, like Great Britain, now faces the prospect of an immense army of permanent unemployed; the workless already number three millions. If it can be organised and get the right political leadership, this army of unemployed proletarians thrown out of the process of production will become a revolutionary factor of immense significance, a mass for ever up against the existence of the capitalist system of society. The Communist Party must pay more attention to the organisation and leadership of these proletarian elements, which may become declassed, and part of them may even become material for Fascist experiments.

(5) For similar reasons the Communist Party must do all it can to organise the impoverished and proletarianised middle and petty bourgeois elements and the small peasants hit by capitalist "rationalisation." All these elements must be freed from the leadership of the bourgeoisie, and organised under the leadership of the proletariat and led to the attack of the fortress of capitalism.

(6) The alteration in the balance of class forces

also corresponds to the slowly changing ideology and the growing class will of the entire working class, in the trade unions, and among the Social Democratic and "Christian" workers. Everywhere, even among the petty bourgeoisie and among the small peasants, a steady development towards the Left is noticeable and a movement for united defence against the capitalist offensive. The organisational expression of this movement is the Workers' Congress.

Trusts Happy

Without question the German bourgeoisie has succeeded so far in its programme of "rationalisation." But this has by no means abolished, or even decreased, the fundamental contradictions of the capitalist system of society; on the contrary it has sharpened them. The lust for profits and the whip of competition will drive the bourgeoisie forward along the road which, with the inevitability of natural law, must lead to social conflicts, clashes, crises, wars and catastrophes. The tasks of the Workers' Congress are to expose the policy of the bourgeoisie and its consequences for the working class—to work out a strategic and tactical plan of defence, to prepare the minds and organisations of the masses for the inevitable struggles ahead.

The leaders of trustified capital, at their recent congress of the national organisations of German industry held in Dresden, noted with great satisfaction the success which they have achieved in "rationalisation." Through the national Minister for Industry, Curtius, they declared officially that the revival of German economy was "wonderful." These gentlemen declared that the successes achieved in the economic field must be followed by an "undisturbed, carefully-planned, frictionless continuation of rationalisation" accompanied by a "corresponding political guarantee." What the monopoly lords and financial kings mean by a "political guarantee" can be clearly and unmistakably seen from the violent incitements in the bourgeois press against the Communist Party and the Red Front Fighters' League, the dissolution of various local groups of the latter, and the police attacks on unemployed and workers' demonstrations.

The German big bourgeoisie is quite conscious of the consequences of its policy. It knows that the shameless exploitation, the system of slave drivers and spies working together, the endless belt (Ford) system, the iron pressure, the black-lists, the yellow foremen—and these are only one side of "rationalisation"—form the basis on which a firm political super-structure must be erected, so that the first "political wind" may not overthrow the painfully erected structure of stabilisation. Suffering from the effects of capitalist anarchy, and led by the Communist Party, forces that will burst these chains are slowly but surely ripening in the working class. Recognising this danger to the continuance of class rule, the bourgeoisie is making feverish efforts to bring about a united front of capitalism based on capitalist stabilisation. This united front stretches all the way from the Fascist murder organisations, the "steel helmets" and the "Jungdo," all the parties of the bourgeois democratic "centre" and to the Social Democratic Party leadership in Berlin. Invitations have been extended to the Social Democrats to enter the government, the purpose being to break down proletarian resistance with the help of the Social Democracy. These invita-

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tions were made openly from the platform of the Congress of industrial magnates, and were favourably commented upon by the Social Democratic central newspaper, the "Vorwaerts."

"We Stand by the State"

Leipart and Grassman, chairman and vice-chairman of the German T.U.C. immediately replied in "Vorwaerts" to the offer of a coalition made by Silberberg, who represents the National League of German Industrialists. On the question as to whether the trade unions are in favour of collaboration with the trust magnates of Dresden Leipart replied:

"I am not giving away a secret when I declare that an *overwhelming majority of the responsible leaders of the trade unions favour practical collaboration in the Government.*

"We are convinced that it is possible to protect the just requirements of the working class more successfully by participation in the government and by direct influence on the government's measures, than by remaining in opposition."

This is a shameless attempt at class collaboration, it is *coalition with the deadly foe of the working class, instead of class struggle*—its object is to place the Social Democratic leaders of the trade union at the service of capitalist "rationalisation"; to sell out millions of organised proletarian and unemployed class comrades once more, to hand them over to ruthless exploitation, stark want and hunger. We should like to contrast this action with what the Social Democrat Hilferding says in his "Finance Capital" as to the possibility of "satisfying the just requirements of the working class through participation in the government":

"Economic power means at the same time political power. Control of industry makes at the same time for control of the State. The stronger the concentration in the economic sphere, the greater the control over the State *The open possession of the State by the capitalist class directly forces the proletariat to strive for the conquest of political power, as the only way to end its exploitation The problem of increasing wages becomes a problem of power.*" (Our italics.)

By "the conquest of political power" Hilferding does not mean a coalition policy with the bourgeoisie, as we shall see later. Let us first hear what Grassman has to say:

"Only ignoramuses and vicious people" he writes in No. 423 of the "Vorwaerts": "urge on the trade unions to enmity toward the State and industry, and a ruthless carrying on of the class struggle Not by words but through a thousand deeds, the German trade unions have shown that they stand by the State and will not let themselves be torn away by anyone The ties with the State, the recognition of its historical mission, have induced the trade unions to request also the right to participate in the leadership of industry."

Grassman also wrote directly to the employers:

"It will therefore be possible to come to an

agreement with the working class, to make sure of its co-operation. When the words 'the national community of interests' are made alive, and given meaning, better days will come for the people of the State."

Danger to Workers

The history of the eight years of the German bourgeois republic—a period marked by bloody defeats of the working class—is full of examples of the fatal and treacherous policy of the Social Democratic trade union leaders. The original crime of splitting the working class, the policy of coalition and class collaboration is bearing fruit. Now that class collaboration by the trade unions has helped the German bourgeoisie to achieve step by step its present political and economic power, to establish its dictatorship, now that the masses are beginning to recognise the real meaning of the "democratic state," of "class collaboration," etc.—these same leaders come forward once more and, in the interests of the bourgeoisie, attempt to cripple the rising will to struggle of the working class, to split it, to break down the formation of the united front of all workers.

The appointment of Breitscheid as a delegate to the League of Nations is a perfect example of the alliance between the Social Democratic leaders and the bourgeoisie, of the united front already formed in the counter-revolutionary camp. Recognising the tremendous danger which now threatens the entire working class, as a result of the policy of the German big bourgeoisie assisted by the Social Democratic trade union leaders, the class conscious part of the working class, under the leadership of the Communists, is preparing and mobilising for the proletarian revolutionary dictatorship. Against the trenches of open and hidden counter-revolution, against the dictatorship of the capitalist magnates, against the reactionary Reichstag the German working class is opposing another fighting line and another parliament—the Workers' Congress.

Not illusions of economic democracy, or a policy of coalition, urged by the Dresden magnates as the way out of capitalist chaos and salvation from the misery of the working class—these will not be the solutions proposed by the Workers' Congress; but *class struggle, the struggle of all workers under the leadership of the class-conscious proletariat to achieve their elementary needs—work and bread.*



BOOK



REVIEWS

A Communist Journal

By D.K.

"Kommunisticka Revue." The theoretical organ of the Communist Party of Czecho-Slovakia, published fortnightly, third year. 1926, No. 12—16.

BY the publication of its literature in the four most important languages, the Communist International can approach most of the active Party members in the biggest sections, in order to help them to know where they are politically and contribute to their theoretical development. But because of the difficulties of language, one of the largest Sections, the Communist Party of Czecho-Slovakia, hardly benefits at all from this. These circumstances give special importance to the periodical "Kommunisticka Revue," published in the Czech language.

The "Kommunisticka Revue" has already been in existence for three years. It emerged from the amalgamation of three periodicals of the Communist Party of Czecho-Slovakia: "Kommunismus," "Proletcult," and "Agitator." The amalgamation of these three periodicals concentrated the rather scanty theoretical forces of the Party, and thereby facilitated considerably its control by the Central Committee.

Who takes part in the work of the Magazine? A perusal of the latest issues shows us that it is mostly young Prague comrades from the Marxist Union—later the Leninist Union. The leading comrades of the Party apparently take only a small part in editing it. The lack of trained theoreticians in the Communist Party of Czecho-Slovakia should raise the question of using them to the best possible advantage. This does not yet appear to have been done, as is obvious from the fact that the contents are not sufficiently connected with the current tasks of the Party and with the events that illustrate the fighting situation of the proletariat.

Editorials expressing the Party policy on the most important current questions are, except for a few uncertain

attempts, entirely lacking. On the other hand questions are dealt with which, considering the lack of writers and of space, deserve only a very small place in the journal. For example, several articles have appeared on class differentiation in Bohemia prior to the Hussite Wars, while questions of to-day (e.g., the role of foreign capital in the economic life of the Republic, the crisis in the Czech Socialist Party) remain untouched.

Looking through the last issue it is notable that **articles concerning the Soviet Union are entirely lacking.** Important questions, which in view of the new Opposition in the Soviet Communist Party are of great importance for all Sections of the International remain untouched.

The General Strike in England and the events in China are both events of the greatest importance for every Communist. The absence from the Review of material on them except for Comrade Grunwald's article on England, makes it impossible for the Czech comrades (unless they understand German) to be well informed on these questions.

In various issues there are articles by Lenin (Nos. 13, 15, etc.). It would be useful if these good translations could be made available to the working-class public of Czecho-Slovakia in pamphlet form.

In No. 12 an effort was made to describe the movement in one of the districts (Carpatho-Russia). Unfortunately, this effort was the only one. Let us hope that this short coming will soon be altered, and that the editors will publish more such articles in the future, when necessary with their own criticism.

Finally, it is necessary to express the desire that in future the "Revue" may become the organ of the Central Committee. It must be a Marxist and Leninist weapon for political and theoretical struggle by the working class against the bourgeoisie and its lackeys, the Social Democrats.

