

THE COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL

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The Plenum of the Central Committee and Central Control Commission of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union

The Danger of War

IT is proper to consider the work done by the Plenum of the Central Committee and the Central Control Commission of the C.P. of the Soviet Union in the light of the Plenum of the Communist International in May, as well as of that of the "predictions" of the Opposition, which, in the interval between the two sittings, has shown particular energy in attempting to disorganise not only the ranks of the C.P. of the Soviet Union, but also those of the entire Communist International.

The Enlarged E.C. of the Communist International in May based itself on the indisputable thesis that imperialism would not confine itself to the war on China, but would prepare a new world war, chiefly directed against the Soviet Union, and that is why it made the defence of the Russian and Chinese Revolutions the main watchwords for all the Communist Parties and for the workers of the world.

It was the duty of the Plenum of the C.C. and C.C.C. to establish in what measure the two months between the two meetings had confirmed the correctness of the general appreciation of the actual situation made by the General Staff of the world revolution.

Going back to the resolution adopted by the Plenum of August 9th on the world situation, we have to state that this meeting, strengthened by the experience gained in that space of time, has confirmed the original judgment of the Communist International. Here is what we read in the first lines of the resolution on the Russian and international situation.

"The present international situation is characterised in the first place by the extreme tension of the relations between imperialist England and proletarian Russia, and by the military intervention of imperialism in Russia. **The danger of a counter-revolutionary war directed against the Soviet Union constitutes the gravest problem of the present situation**—(our emphasis). There is a strong tendency to aggravate the differences existing between the Soviet Union and its capitalist neighbours, which does not, however, exclude the possibility of a temporary improvement of relations from a situation analogous to war."

Another passage from the same resolution on the

International Situation, confirms the original opinion of the Communist International, according to which, England, although in a state of stagnation and decline, plays the chief role in the horde of international vultures that have entered on war with China and meditate another against the Soviet Union. The resolution declares clearly that "faced with the necessity of competition with the Continental States of Europe as well as with the U.S.A., threatened by the colonial movement, English imperialism naturally places itself at the head of the forces of the imperialist reactionaries."

Further, the Plenum declares that the working class of all capitalist countries is the chief antagonist of reaction. It declares also that the bourgeoisie understands perfectly that "war with the Soviet Union would inevitably let loose, sooner or later, all the forces of international revolution." It is self evident that the prospect terrifies the capitalist bandits. It is nevertheless necessary to pay double attention to the study of the real importance of these factors of resistance, and to the appreciation of their influence. The actual situation is such that, in spite of the serious fears that inspire imperialism, of serious social disturbance provoked by a new war, it would not recoil from this means in an attempt to escape from the results of the internal contradictions that destroy it. That is why the application of the chief lead of the Enlarged E.C. remains the most pressing task of all the sections of the Communist International without exception, and in the first place of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, called upon to organise the defence of the first socialist State, shield of the oppressed and sword of the revolting.

THE Plenum noted the measures already taken by the working class of the Soviet Union to organise its defence. The resolution on the International Situation says that "the working class of the Soviet Union has responded with enthusiasm to the call of the Party and of the Soviet Power for the preparation for defence of the proletarian State, showing, during Defence Week, the extent of its unity, and showing that it is capable of leading the peasants to the support and defence to the end of the centre of international revolution against the attacks of imperialism."

Plenum of C.P.S.U.—continued

The correlation of forces in China has undergone considerable modification during the period between the session of the E.C. of the Communist International and that of the Plenum of the C.P. of the Soviet Union. It is evident that, in its appreciation of the problems on the Chinese Revolution, the C.P. of the Soviet Union had to base it not only on the May resolution of the Communist International, but on the new lead by the Communist International in its resolution of July 14th.

The Chinese Revolution

The Plenum has sought in the first place to consider exactly the three chief lines possible to follow in reckoning with the active forces of the Chinese revolution and the tactics of the Communist International. The first is the path of the Nationalist Revolutionary United Front, with the bourgeoisie at **all** stages of the revolution. The Plenum has correctly shown this to be a right deviation, leading directly to Menshevism. The second line denies in principle the possibility of an understanding or a bloc with the bourgeoisie, **independent** of the question of the successive phases of the revolution. This second line may appear to be opposed to the first, but extremes meet, and at the bottom it springs from the same misunderstanding of the interwoven anti-imperialist national and agrarian revolutions that are now displayed in China. This second line has been called "Trotskyism."

The third line conceives of the possibility of an understanding with the bourgeoisie of the colonial and semi-colonial countries during **certain stages** of the revolution and in **certain conditions**, corresponding to the teachings of Lenin and to the Resolutions of the Second Congress of the Communist International.

The Plenum has correctly said that the Communist International has invariably followed this third line faithfully, in spite of all the difficulties which the Chinese revolution has encountered and will yet encounter.

THE strength of the line taken by the Communist International in China consisted in foreseeing in good time the transition from one stage to another, and so prepare the masses for the change by all the means at its disposal. The youth and inexperience of the Chinese Communist Party, the opportunist deviations of its leaders, often opposed themselves to the prompt and efficient carrying out of the correct and timely leads of the General Staff of the World Revolution. But these difficulties, which were after all only growing pains, were inevitable. It should never be forgotten, in following the ups and downs of the Chinese revolution, that the Chinese Communist Party has grown up amid revolutionary struggles—that it has acquired its experience under the blows of its enemies. Apart from the correct policy of the Communist International, it would not have been able to become a mass Party rapidly enough, capable of learning from its mistakes and of meeting the demands of the revolution. If the policy put forward after the events by the Opposition had been applied in China, the Chinese Communist Party would not have come out of the embryonic stage in which it was two years ago, given up to impotence and isolation.

The portion of the Plenum resolution on the Inter-

national Situation that deals with China is in complete accord with the principal resolutions of the Comintern (Seventh Enlarged E.C., May session of the E.C., and sitting of the Bureau of the E.C. on July 14th) on the problems of the Chinese revolution. It was characteristic that the Opposition did not again dare to attribute the momentary defeats of the Chinese revolution to the errors of the Party lead, and to the regime in force in the Party. It saw that the workers in the Soviet Union, as in all other countries, were already convinced that the checks due to participation in the Chinese revolution were chiefly the result of a correlation of forces that the Opposition was never able to understand. It found no answer to the part of the Plenum resolution that declares that the Chinese revolution was reaching the highest point of its development—that of the direct struggle for the dictatorship of the workers and peasants.

Economic Aspect, 1927-1928

THERE was a time when the Opposition concentrated its attacks on the economic policy of the C.P. of the Soviet Union, predicting the immediate and fatal ruin of the Socialist edifice, emphasizing the backward technique of the Soviet Union and the predominance of the peasantry in the population of the first Socialist State.

At the time of the last Plenum, the Opposition showed much more reserve on this subject. Further, in spite of its prophecies, it had to admit that certain successes and results had been obtained within the frame of the Socialist State. It is true that the Opposition did not abstain from formulating certain criticisms, certain proposals and certain demands—radical in appearance, but reactionary at bottom. One felt, however, that the concrete results obtained in the work of building a Socialist economy had routed it, and that it preferred to attack the Communist International and the C.P. of the Soviet Union on the ground of the Chinese revolution.

The resolution adopted on the economic question was distinguished by its practical character. Pointing out the new tasks incumbent on the Soviet Union consequent on the organisation of a war against the first Workers' Republic, the resolution records that "the results recently obtained permit the realisation of the programme of a national economy based on the industrialisation of the whole country, the continued growth and relative importance of heavy industry and of the working class."

This general appreciation is detached in the portion of the resolution headed, "The chief factors of the current year." There is a concise but clear statement of the facts of economic development for the period. At this time above all, when the working class is trying to strike a balance of the gains of the proletarian masses of the first Socialist State, we consider it necessary to reproduce this as fully as possible. It comprises the following points:

(1) Increase in production of State industry by 20-21 per cent. in eight months.

(2) Appropriation of more than 1,000,000,000 roubles for electrification and undertakings such as the Dnieprostroi and Semiretchensk Railway.

(3) Rise of wages during the last nine months of the current financial year by 11.5 per cent. over the corresponding period of the last financial year, with a simultaneous increase of production.

Plenum of C.P.S.U.—continued

(4) Tendency to lower prices of industrial products.

(5) Maintenance of value of cereals stored during the year and fall of selling prices.

(6) Raising of level of seed sown on special farms in 1927.

(7) Predominance of co-operative and State trade at the expense of private capital in the markets.

(8) Obtaining of **active** balance of 102,000,000 roubles in eight months in place of the passive balance of the last two years in external trade.

(9) Satisfactory balance of the State Budget in spite of the considerable deficit on railway transport.

(10) Increase in purchasing power of the rouble.

The Plenum has not confined itself to striking a balance of the results obtained in the economic field in the period. It has dealt with the gaps and failures in the work of Socialist construction. Without depreciating the importance of these, it has been able to conclude that "the economic results of the current year, judging from the preliminary reports, are satisfactory."

The Declaration of the Opposition

THE declaration made by the Opposition at the Plenum should be examined, not only from the point of view of the declaration made on October 16th last, by this same Opposition, but also from the standpoint of the resolution adopted by the Plenum of the Communist International in May. This last had definitely forbidden Trotsky to continue the fractional struggle, whilst indicating to the C.P. of the Soviet Union the necessity of taking more energetic measures to protect the C.P. against the fraction of Trotsky and Zinoviev. As is known, this was adopted at the end of last May. Nevertheless, a short time after, on June 24th, the Bureau of the Central Control Commission of the C.P. of the Soviet Union found itself compelled to place before the full joint meeting of the Central Committee and the Central Control Commission the question of the exclusion of Zinoviev and Trotsky from the Central Committee, by reason of the fractional activity carried on against the Party, after the definite instructions given by the Communist International to the leaders of the Opposition in the C.P. of the Soviet Union.

This shows clearly that the Opposition has scarcely kept its own promises, and is by no means anxious to obey the instructions and proposals clearly laid down by the supreme body in the world Communist movement. It should not be forgotten for an instant, in speaking of the new declarations and promises made by Trotsky and Zinoviev in conjunction with their followers of the Opposition. But, apart from the attitude of the Opposition to its own engagements, its last declaration aroused fears of motives of a different sort.

The declaration consists of answers given to three questions. It is enough to compare the questions and the answers to be convinced that the Opposition has done nothing to meet openly the legitimate demands of the great majority of the Plenum of the Central Committee and the Central Control Commission. To be precise,

we shall attempt to compare the propositions and the answers.

The first proposition was put forward by the Plenum in the following fashion.

"To reject the semi-defeatist theory of Trotsky on the danger of war (the thesis of Trotsky on Clemenceau) in adopting the standpoint of absolute defence, without reservation, of the Socialist Fatherland against imperialism, and to condemn the slander of the Opposition on the Thermidorian degeneration of the lead of the Party and of the Soviets."

Here is the reply of the Opposition to this clear proposition:

"We are for the defence of our Socialist Fatherland against imperialism, absolutely and without reserve.

"We are, of course, absolutely and with reserve, for the defence of the Soviet Union with the present Central Committee and the present E.C. of the Communist International.

"If, in Trotsky's letter, the passage on Clemenceau has given rise to a false interpretation of that analogy in the sense of the struggle for power through the difficulties of war, we definitely repudiate such reading of the passage in question. At the same time, we persist in our opinion that the Party cannot, during war, give up criticism, nor the correction of the policy of the C.C. if it appears irregular.

"Our proposed resolution on the international question, puts forward, among others the following slogans:

Defeat of all bourgeois States at war with the Soviet Union.

Every honest proletarian of a capitalist country should contribute actively to the defeat of "his" government.

Passage to the Red Army of every foreign soldier that does not wish to play the game of "his" masters.

The Soviet Union is the Fatherland of all workers.

We are partisans of national defence since October 25th, 1917.—(Date of Bolshevik Revolution. Old Style.—Tr.)

Our "national war" will be a war "for the Soviet Republic, a detachment of the world army of Socialism." Our "national war **will not end in the bourgeois State, but in the international Socialist revolution.**"—(Lenin.)

Not to be a partisan of the Soviet Union is undoubtedly to betray the international proletariat.

"So far as Thermidorianism is concerned, we declare that there are developing in our country a certain number of Thermidorian elements with a serious social basis. We do not doubt that the Party and the proletariat, proceeding on the lines of Lenin and inter-Party democracy, will conquer them. We demand that the Party leadership should oppose these elements and their influence on certain connections of the Party, more firmly, systematically and methodically. We repudiate the idea that the Central Committee and Central

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Control Commission of our Bolshevik Party have become Thermidorians.”

Let us try to analyse this answer. It strikes us from the first that this declaration of defence, absolute and without reservations, carries with it the phrase “of course.” Here is matter for reflection. If we go back to the acts of the Opposition during the last few months, that is to say, to the time when, by the force of circumstances, the question of the defence of the Socialist Fatherland was brought right up to one’s face, it must be affirmed that the Opposition eluded this question of absolute and unreserved defence.

WE shall not pause here on the question of the actions of the Opposition in the interval between the Plenum of the Communist International and the Plenum of the Central Committee and the Central Control Commission of the C.P. of the Soviet Union. Their character has been shown sufficiently by the resolution of the C.C. and C.C.C. on the Opposition. What interests us at present is the allusion made by Trotsky to the experience of Clemenceau.

In their declaration, the Opposition affirms that the “analogy” of Trotsky has been interpreted incorrectly. Let us try to find the real meaning of this analogy. The Opposition had been accused of weakening the Soviet Republic by its attacks on the leadership of the C.P. of the Soviet Union and the Communist International. To excuse himself, Trotsky had quoted the example of Clemenceau who, during the war, asserted the possibility of fighting against the French Government, which he considered weak and without energy, but of overthrowing it, and putting another in its place. Such was the argument of Trotsky.

Every person with commonsense sees clearly that, by his allusion to Clemenceau, Trotsky sought not only to justify his present attacks on the leadership of the C.P. of the Soviet Union and of the Communist International, but to prove that he was right to continue them and to strengthen them, even in the face of the enemy. It would not appear that it was hard work to show the need for forming a bloc so much the more united that the danger to the dictatorship of the proletariat was greater. However, every ill-informed proletarian now reports that the precedent of Clemenceau had been presented as the **programme of the latest actions of the Opposition.**

Let us now pass to the second point formulated as follows in the resolution of the Central Committee and Central Control Commission.

“To renounce the policy of splitting the Communist International. To condemn the group of Maslov and Ruth Fischer, expelled from the Communist International. To break completely with this anti-Leninist band of splitters, and to put into practice all the decisions of the Communist International.”

This demand carried with it nothing new for the Opposition. In its declaration of October 16th, it had itself recognised as “particularly inadmissible all aid to the activities of individuals excluded from the Party and from the Communist International, such as Ruth Fischer and Maslov.” During the period that passed between

the months of October, 1926 and that of August, 1927, this renegade group had appeared openly as the avowed allies of the worst enemies of the Soviet Union and of international Communism. It would appear then that the Opposition should above all give to that question the least equivocal answer. We shall see if it can be judged satisfactory.

Here is the answer to the second proposition:

“We recognise that the German Communist movement is threatened by an immediate split and by the formation of two parties. In submitting to the decisions of the Communist International concerning the inadmissibility of an organised liaison with the expelled Urbahns-Maslov group, we insist, and shall not cease to insist within the Communist International, on the revision of the decree of expulsion, considering that this decree has hit hundreds of old revolutionary workers closely connected with the working mass devoted to the work of Lenin and sincerely ready to defend the Soviet Union to the last.

“The setting up of a second party in Germany would create the greatest danger. To avoid that we consider it necessary to take all possible measures. We propose that the C.C. of the Soviet Union, takes, through the E.C. of the Communist International, the following measures to avert the danger: On condition of suppression of Urbahns’ organ, and the submission of his group to all the decisions of the Communist International, the reinstatement in the Communist International of all those who will accept these conditions, with the guarantee for them of being able to define their point of view in the press of the Party in general, and of the Communist International in particular.”

THE Opposition is silent about the criminal acts of Maslov, Fischer and others, and limits itself to stressing the presence among the expelled of “hundreds of old revolutionary workers.” All those who are such, even if not “au courant” with what happens in Germany, know that this testimonial to the Maslov-Fischer group is a clumsy falsification of facts. At the Plenum, the E.C. of the Communist International, in its resolution, has accused the Opposition of giving active support to the Maslov-Fischer group. This accusation is made with the greatest precision, and particularises the “complete political and organic alliance with the renegades of the Maslov-Ruth Fischer group, expelled from the C.P. of Germany.” This same resolution shows that the leaders of the Opposition constantly contribute to the renegades’ Bulletin of Information. This has never been refuted by those concerned. In these conditions at least, it is absurd to speak of one knows not what danger of splits.

But, after having signed an address praising the Maslov-Ruth Fischer group, the Opposition has the audacity to renew the demand presented by Trotsky to the Plenum of the E.C. of the Comintern, that is to say, the reinstatement in the Party of all those expelled from the Communist Party of Germany. The new form of the demand has one piquant detail. It is by no means a question of the C.P. of Germany. The expelled should

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engage to submit themselves only to the decisions of the Congress of the Communist International. So all those expelled from the German Party should be re-admitted into the Party, even when they continue to sabotage the decisions and injure it without a pause.

CAREFUL reading of the reply of the Opposition to the second point throws into relief the extreme prudence which the Opposition has shown on this point. If the activity of the Opposition since last summer is carefully analysed, one notices that, after the checks of its chiefs at the workers' meeting at Moscow and Leningrad, it had turned its eyes towards Europe, evidently considering that it could not count on the Russian workers, but that it could recruit youthful allies among the renegades expelled from the various Communist Parties of Western Europe. Thus is explained the fact that since the end of last year, the Opposition has detached itself little by little from the economic problems of the Soviet Union, and is specialising more and more in international questions.

The severe checks suffered at the Aviopribor, Putilov and other factories, have made them turn to the Maslovs and Urbahnses. So the Opposition, in issuing their statement, have taken the greatest care not to risk the loss of their new friends. But this prudence will deceive no one. Trotsky and his allies will soon be convinced that the campaign against Leninism will be condemned in all sections of the Communist International, as it has been in the ranks of the C.P. of the Soviet Union.

We pass to the third question. Here is the proposal of the Central Committee and Central Control Commission:

"To renounce the policy of splits in the C.P. of the Soviet Union, to condemn the attempt to create a second Party and to dissolve the fraction, undertaking to carry out all the decisions of the Russian C.P. and its Central Committee."

But the Opposition is unable to find a clear answer even to such an elementary proposition based on the very essence of the theory and practice of Bolshevism. Here is what it says:

"We strongly condemn all attempts to create a second Party, the existence of which in the Soviet Union would certainly be fatal to the revolution. We shall fight with all our might and by all means against all tendencies to create two par-

ties. We condemn the policy of splits with the same energy. We shall carry out all the decisions of the C.P.S.U. and its Central Committee. We are ready to do all in our power to destroy all fractional elements that have been formed consequent on the fight that we have been constrained to make to bring to the attention of the Party our real views, completely distorted in the press read by the country in consideration of alterations in the internal conduct of the Party."

The duplicity of the character of this answer is self-evident. The Opposition has refused to declare openly that they are going to dissolve **their fraction**.

Nevertheless the Plenum has considered that this declaration confirms the surrender of the Opposition, which, after having disavowed once more its errors, assured the Party of its desire to carry out all the decisions of the Party and its Central Committee, and on this basis, the Plenum made the following decision:

"To withdraw the resolution for exclusion from the C.C. of the Party of comrades Zinoviev and Trotsky, and to administer a severe censure with a warning."

ALL the work of the meeting and its resolutions are a guarantee of the fact that this warning is really **the last**. The future of the Opposition within the Party is now in its own hands. It may re-enter the Party and by its declaration (which is still only a timid step on the road to unity), mark the beginning of genuine unity. But, for that, it must, before everything, prove by its actions that it has decided to "carry out all the decisions of the C.P. of the Soviet Union, and its Central Committee," and proceed to dissolve its fraction. That concrete measure would have more practical importance than the finest declarations in the world. On the other hand, there is all the evidence that if the Opposition seeks once more to play with its declaration, as it has already done with its solemn declaration of October 16th, the organisers of the split in the C.P. of the Soviet Union of the Communist International will find themselves relegated to the ranks of the Maslovs and Fischers and outside the revolutionary Communist movement.

The resolution of the Plenum has been endorsed in its entirety by meetings of active militants in Moscow and Leningrad. We have no doubt of the hearty reception that it will find, not only among the members of the C.P. of the Soviet Union, but throughout the ranks of the Communist International.



The First Year of the Lenin School

J. T. Murphy

THE creation of the Lenin school was the direct sequel to the decisions of the Fifth World Congress of the Communist International made for the bolshevisation of the Communist Parties in the capitalist countries. It was intended at the time when the first plans for the school were discussed, to make of it the highest Marxian educational institution for qualified Party workers, wherein the most advanced course of study could be undertaken. The objects of the studies were defined as follows:

(1) To assist the Comintern sections in raising the qualifications of leading Party workers whose revolutionary experience must be strengthened by general theoretical Marxist-Leninist preparation on the one hand; and, on the other, by direct and active study of the organisational and political experiences of the Russian Communist Party and of the experiences and current work of the Communist Parties in the capitalist and colonial countries. To achieve this, it was arranged to cover the revolutionary experiences of European Labour in the 19th century and the general methods of struggle of the proletariat on the basis of the concrete historical situation. (This was to be studied on the basis of Marx's and Engels' works.)

(2) A general analysis of the epoch of imperialism, an outline of strategy and tactics of the international proletariat during this epoch, an analysis of the conditions and the forms of preparation for the capture of power by the proletariat in one country, and of the maintenance and further utilisation of the State power. (This was to be done primarily through a study of Lenin's works.)

(3) To study the organisational and political experiences of the Russian Communist Party in preparing for and carrying out the proletarian revolution and the utilisation of the dictatorship of the proletariat in the interests of the toiling masses of the Soviet Union and the victory over capitalism throughout the world. (This course was to be studied not only through examination of the literature on the subject but also through a direct participation of the students in the work of the Russian Communist Party.)

(4) The course was prepared on world economics and its different parts and particularly on the interaction of capitalist countries, of the colonies and of the proletarian U.S.S.R.

(5) There was to be a study of the strategy and tactical problems of the Comintern, the organisational and political experiences of the Communist Parties of the different countries and the criticism and generalisation of the experiences arising from the current work of the Communist International.

An Ambitious Programme

It is clear that this was a very ambitious programme. There had never been such a school in history; there had never even been such an attempt to draw together leading cadres of the working class parties of the world

with a view to an extended thorough study of the revolutionary problems of the proletariat.

Still more ambitious was the idea that such a course could be covered in a period of one year. This was clearly brought home to those in charge of the work on the arrival of the students directed to the Communist International by the parties. It was seen at once that whilst the students were politically and intellectually well developed and capable of further development, they had not sufficient theoretical education to go through such a course in one year. This was possibly due to an over-estimation of the theoretical level of the parties, but whatever the reason, the fact remains that it became necessary to alter the entire structure of the course and to arrange for a longer period of study on the part of the students in order to fulfil the purpose outlined. The difficulties which arose as a consequence should be appreciated. The school direction was called upon not only to furnish new plans and programmes of work, a new library, etc., but to make these changes simultaneously with the creation of machinery for the work.

The Language Difficulty

It must be remembered that very few of Lenin's works had been translated into other languages and that translators had to be found, not only for the printed material, but also for the everyday work of the school. Still more difficult was the task before the school in relation to the concrete practical work in the factories and with the Russian Party. Here every step was a new step. Neither the Party committees nor the factory committees had ever had the experience of foreign worker students working side by side with them, and the difficulties of the work can be appreciated when it is considered that every group had to have its interpreter.

A further difficulty must be mentioned in the organisation of the school apparatus. The fact that this school had to be run on the principle of active participation of the students in every phase of the administration and that this work also had to be done through interpreters will give some idea of the new ground that we were treading and the practical difficulties.

Other factors of a political character also had a very important bearing on the solution of the difficulties attendant upon the administration of the school. On the one hand was the school direction consisting of well equipped comrades accustomed to the discipline of the Russian Communist Party, most of whom had to approach the students through interpreters, and, on the other hand, were the students, unaccustomed to Bolshevik discipline, and revealing all the immaturities of the parties from which they had come. The seventy students presented, on a small scale, all the ideological problems of the parties that have yet to grow into real Bolshevik parties. In the heads of the students were the ghosts of the Social-Democratic past, the Social-Democratic associations with the present, the syndicalist associations, etc., whilst some parties had selected their candidates, not with a view to the training of Bolshevik leaders,

The Lenin School—continued

but with a view to peace and quietness in their own ranks as a result of getting rid of some awkward leaders of a fraction.

Such were the difficulties and problems which faced the school direction as the first school year opened in May, 1926.

Method of Work

How were these difficulties overcome? First of all, a word or two on the principle governing the organisation of the work of the school. The administration sought to create a body in which both the lecturers and the students could take an active part in the organisation of the entire life of the school—its academic and general administration work. This could only be done by the creation of sections, committees and commissions. This principle has been applied to every department of activity from that of the highest committee of direction of the whole school down to every subject which came up for study. This led, of course, to the creation of numerous commissions and committees, so much so, that many of the students complained of these committees and commissions, pleading for their elimination. Naturally this provoked considerable discussion and in these discussions the students reflected the life of their parties and it was easy to see to what extent they had become accustomed to collective work and collective solution of the problems of their party life. It became a question of convincing them of the necessity for this method of organisation and proving to them through actual experience the meaning of the collective solution of the problems of the parties.

Academic Organisation

Nevertheless, there was less difficulty in relation to the solving of the academic problems by this method than to the other administrative features of school life. For the whole academic work of the school a department was organised with a central committee composed both of lecturers and students. Then for each subject undertaken in the course special commissions were selected. Each of these commissions consisted of several lecturers on the subject and a representative from each student group (these students groups are language groups—Russian, French, English and German). One of the lecturers acts as chairman of the commission and one of the students as secretary. The subject commissions discuss the various questions connected with the subject, draw up the programmes and academic plans, prepare bibliographies, arrange the method of teaching, deal with the question of academic discipline and the progress of each group. The year's academic plan covered the following subjects: Political Economy, History of the Russian Communist Party, History of the Labour Movement, Party Construction, and the Russian language. The method adopted for dealing with those subjects consists of the so-called "laboratory method" though not always very strictly followed. Each subject was divided into a number of topics, each of which had to be studied independently by the students in the course of a certain period. The students were given a detailed plan of work on each topic with the literature to be read on it. Then, as a topic was studied, the lecturers arranged consulta-

tions for the students to clear up points. So much for the methods applied to the studies.

Subjects of Study

Now as to the subject matter that has been covered during the year. In Political Economy the first and third volumes of Marx's "Capital" have been covered almost completely. This constituted the main literature to which were added some of the important works of Lenin, Bukharin and others. The following topics have been dealt with:

1. (a) The fundamental stages of the inception and development of capitalism, capitalist economy.
- (b) The superficial character of capitalist economy.
- (c) The contradictions inherent in capitalist society.
- (d) Value as a regulator of capitalist economy.
2. The theory of labour value.
3. Money and credit.
4. Wage labour and capital.
5. Wages.
6. The regulators of production in capitalist economy and the distribution of surplus value.
7. Ground rent.
8. The theory of markets and crises.

In the history of the Labour movement there was given first a brief introduction dealing with the industrial revolution in England and the great French revolution. Then (a) the Chartist movement; (b) Utopian Socialism; (c) The origin of Marxism; (d) The 1848 Revolution in France; (e) First International; (f) Paris Commune.

In the courses on Leninism and the work of the Russian Party are being covered the following which will be developed very considerably in the second year: (1) Marxism and Leninism; (2) Conditions for the bourgeois revolution in Russia; (3) Russian Socialist Labour Party on the eve of the 1905 revolution; (4) the Party on the road to 1905; (5) the Party and the 1905 revolution; (6) the struggle of the Party during the period of reaction and the further rise of the Labour movement from 1905 to 1914; (7) the Party during the imperialist war, and (8) from the February to the October Revolution.

The study of the Party Construction course was taken up later than the other subjects. This course is so far considering the organisation structure of the Russian Communist Party, particularly its basic organs, the factory nuclei and their functions, and what is of particular importance, the system by which the Russian Communist Party directs the whole process of socialist construction in the U.S.S.R., and particularly the role of the party organs directly connected with the working masses.

The Practical Work

This theoretical work has been related to much practical work which was one of the most important features of the work of the school. There was a feeling in the ranks of the students that this practical work was unnecessary in view of the fact that most of them are responsible Party workers and have had considerable

The Lenin School—continued

organisational experience. Nevertheless, experience has shown, in spite of the many disappointments which attended much of the work, that this phase of the training is exceedingly important and has fully justified all the efforts that have been made to make it a success.

The Practical Work

It was regarded as essential that the students should thoroughly understand how the Party directs the governmental and industrial apparatus of the State, understand the relations between the Party, the trade unions and the Government; the political direction of the peasantry and the petty bourgeois of the cities: the solution of the national problems, etc., and especially to utilise the experiences of the Russian Communist Party in organising the work of the masses. Naturally everything in this direction has been of an experimental character, but it is undoubtedly a fact that as a result of these experiences, much has been learned by everybody—teachers and students alike.

First of all, between April and June last year, excursions were organised to give the students a cursory idea of the history of the revolutionary movement in Russia by visiting the museums of the revolution. Then relations were established with the factory nuclei in various works and later the students were divided into groups of three or five people and sent to engage in manual work in the Orecho-Zuovo Textile Mill and the Colmna Locomotive and Car Works. In these factories, despite the fact that some of the students were not skilled in the trades and did not know the Russian language, this work gave an opportunity for direct contact with the workers and active Party members. Special lectures were arranged for the students, with the aid of interpreters, on the industrial, technical and economic conditions of the enterprises, and on the structure and functions of the Party organisations in the factory. The students attended the meetings and conferences of the departments and the factory as a whole, participating in the local organisations of the workers. Afterwards each student wrote a report of their experiences which became the subject of discussion in the school.

To this group work in the factories the students devoted about eight hours per week. With the end of the first school year a much more ambitious programme of practical work was organised to cover six weeks during the summer months. The whole of the students were divided into groups of three to five, and sent to all parts of the Soviet Union. Some to Leningrad, some to Siberia, some to Tashkent and so on. As far as possible the students chose for themselves where they wanted to go. For each group a plan of work and investigation was prepared upon which each group is expected to report on return. Some study industrialisation, others the relations with the peasantry, the role of the co-operatives, co-operative credit, etc.; others the solving of the national problems and so on according to the region selected. This plan of work has been carried out with the help of the Party committees in these regions and has proved the most successful experiment in practical work yet undertaken and has exercised a profound effect upon many of the students.

Inner School Life

In addition to the planned work outlined we must not overlook the activity of the students within the school. All the students are members of the Party and naturally have a Party organisation within the school conducting Agit-Prop work and participating in the political life of the day. For example, the students participated in the Enlarged Plenums of the E.C.C.I. and arranged Party circles for the discussion of the problems examined by the Plenum. Besides such discussions, the students participated in the celebrations—the anniversary of the November Revolution, anniversary of Lenin's death, anniversary of Liebknecht and Luxemburg, Red Army day, Paris Commune, May First, etc.

Besides this phase of work there is the organisation of the trade union committee in the school. This trade union committee deals with all the questions of the school conditions and improvement of the material and living conditions, as well as general participation in the organisational work of the school. Its object is to secure the active and creative participation of all the members of the school in the entire work of the school. This phase of the work is not yet fully completed.

The Outlook

Still bigger tasks face the school in the coming year. While the work has been proceeding a large extension to the school is being built. It will be completed and ready for occupation by November, and then the school will be able to accommodate two hundred students.

In the second year course, the centre of Party practice of the students will be shifted somewhat from the work of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union towards the Party to which they will return after the completion of their course. Of course, in giving this direction to their work, connections with the general problems of the Comintern and the life of the C.P.S.U. will be maintained.

The plan of work for the new students will cover much of the ground already indicated in our description of the first year's work, but of course, with the added advantage of the lessons derived from these experiences and the active co-operation of the students who had the first year's course.

We can declare with confidence that despite many mistakes and possibly many failures to accomplish all that was planned during the last year, the foundations of the school have been thoroughly laid. The International Leninist School has got into its stride and is on the high road to the fulfilment of its task as expressed in the decisions of the Fifth Congress of the Communist International.

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The Chinese Question at the Plenum of the C.P. of the Soviet Union

K. Kreibich

THE quick succession of events in China, which is but an indication of the quick development of the Chinese revolution, and the attacks of the Opposition against the position of the Party and against the policy of the Comintern with regard to the Chinese revolution, made it necessary that these questions should be dealt with by the Plenum of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union.

The result of the discussions was formulated in a resolution, which like the previous resolutions and theses of the Russian Party and the Comintern, illuminated the whole question clearly and distinctly. Nevertheless this resolution, a few days after it was agreed to, was outstripped by events, which words themselves cannot place in an incorrect light.

The agreement and union between Wuhan and Nanking, predicted by the Comintern, which was hidden by the reactionary manoeuvres of Chiang Kai Shek, the formation of Communist revolutionary fighting forces, exerting power over events, only go to show how breathlessly fast the development of the Chinese revolution, the division of classes and the mental classification are being completed, and, with such a development, the fulfilment of the predictions of the Comintern.

Rapid Development

In this unusually rapid development, the fact is made clear that in the period of imperialism and the world crisis of capitalism, each revolutionary development occurs at a more rapid rate than formerly. If one considers how many decades it took until the proletariat and bourgeoisie parted company in the German revolution and that this development, in consequence of the policy of the German Social-Democracy since 1914 is not yet finished, then the rapid division in China must appear uncanny, so that the Social-Democrats cannot explain this swift separation between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie in the Chinese revolution otherwise than as a result of the vile "splitting" tactics of the Communists.

This rapid development is also connected with the strength of foreign imperialism in China, which likewise accounts for the fact that the Chinese bourgeoisie went over so quickly into the camp of counter-revolution and imperialism. The national revolutions in Europe, which were completed as a result of the world war, and are practically ended, have shown us that the bourgeoisie will become counter-revolutionary just as quickly as the proletarian revolutionary forces develop in their particular countries. If the German bourgeoisie became counter-revolutionary more quickly than the French bourgeoisie, and after a short flaring-up of revolution, aligned themselves with considerable rapidity on the side of feudalism and the monarchy, the reason was, that the German proletariat of 1848 was already a more dangerous factor for the bourgeoisie than the French proletariat of 1789. Since that time of bourgeois revolutions and the national

revolutions of the nineteenth century, imperialist development has changed the national revolution into a fight against imperialism. The going over of the bourgeoisie to the counter-revolution is to-day being completed in its relation to imperialism. The bourgeoisie begins the national revolution with the fight against foreign imperialism. It finishes the struggle, coming to a compromise with foreign imperialism, sharing with it the profits of the imperialist exploitation of its own country, and becoming itself imperialist. The Polish and Czech bourgeoisie developed an uncanny dexterity in that during and after the world war. Both were already standing with one foot in imperialism when the world war let loose the national revolution, which had been given up by the Czech and Polish bourgeoisie before the world war. Kramar, a leader of the Czech bourgeoisie, emphasises at every opportunity that he only came over to the side of the national revolution after the outbreak of the world war; until then he had seen the welfare of the Czech nation within the framework of the old Hapsburg monarchy, because this great monarchy offered sufficient room for the strong desire for expansion of Czech capitalism. The Polish and Czech bourgeoisie began the national revolution in the world war not as a fight against imperialism, of which they themselves were already part, but as allies of one group of imperialist powers against the others. For that reason the alliance of the Social-Democrats of those countries with the Polish and Czech bourgeoisie was just as counter-revolutionary as the alliance of the Russian Mensheviks and Social-Revolutionaries with the Russian bourgeoisie in the second Russian revolution.

The Trend of Chinese Capitalism

The Chinese bourgeoisie began the national revolution as a real revolutionary fight against imperialism. It was not yet itself imperialist; while on the other hand the pressure of foreign imperialism on China was such a frightful burden that it made every native capitalist development and therefore the development of the Chinese bourgeoisie as a class almost impossible. That drove the Chinese bourgeoisie into the camp of revolution. But it was just the weakness of capitalist development in China, the lack of a strong association of interests with capitalism itself and the effort of the victorious Russian proletarian revolution on the masses of neighbouring China which acted so that the Chinese national revolution took on a strong anti-capitalist character.

The important role and the anti-capitalist feeling of the masses of workers and peasants very soon filled the Chinese bourgeoisie with apprehension. They wished to throw off the frightful oppression of imperialism for the purpose of developing their own capitalism. At this point, however, the danger arose that the masses, before the Chinese bourgeoisie had succeeded in clearing the road for the development of Chinese capitalism, gave the revolution an entirely new direction, so that when the

The Chinese Question—continued

Chinese bourgeoisie wished to gather in the fruits of the victorious revolution, in the form of greater capitalist profits, it found that the ground had disappeared from under its feet. It is from this point of view that one can interpret the report of the correspondent of the "Berliner Tageblatt," when he wrote from Shanghai early in May: "The mass movement has become in the Shanghai area a gigantic danger for China itself."

Compromise with Imperialism

On the other hand, the strength of foreign imperialism in China accelerates the going over of the Chinese bourgeoisie into the camp of counter-revolution, of imperialism. It has, however, too many and too firm military and economic strategic positions under its control. To wrest these positions from them will require a mighty effort on the part of the masses of the whole nation. The complete victory of the Chinese national revolution over imperialism will be possible only by the mobilisation of the entire nation for this struggle. That, however, presupposes the preponderance of the working and peasant masses in the revolution and the fulfilment of their class demands. This price is too high for the Chinese bourgeoisie. That means that the freedom, that the very life of the Chinese bourgeoisie will be lost on that day when the freedom of the nation is attained. There is only one way out of this dilemma for the Chinese bourgeoisie: compromise with imperialism. The slogan of the Chinese bourgeois politicians and of the bourgeois politicians of the Asiatic nations generally. "Asia for the Asiatics," sounds very well, but it loses its attraction for the bourgeoisie of these countries at the moment when they try to make it a reality. For so soon as anything serious is done with regard to this slogan in the national revolutionary fight against imperialism, the question arises: to which Asiatics should Asia, and to which Chinese should China belong? So soon as, in the course of the development of the revolution and class differentiation, the danger arises that Asia may belong to the peasants and workers of Asia, and not to the bourgeoisie of China, India, etc., the bourgeoisie of the Asiatic countries will think it preferable to go shares in Asia with English, American and French imperialism, rather than leave it to the workers and peasants. That, however, does not prevent them from keeping up the slogans of "China for the Chinese" and "Asia for the Asiatics," just as North American finance capital has never given up the slogan of "America for the Americans," when in actual practice it had changed into the profitable truth of "America for Wall Street." It certainly sounds quite harmless when the Kuomintang adds to its programme "Development of Industry" and "Utilisation of Foreign Capital," and there are many leaders of the Kuomintang who say that even the Soviet Government placed the "development of industry" on their programme, and is endeavouring to get foreign capital. But under the leadership of the bourgeois-capitalist wing of the Kuomintang, the harmless "develop-

ment of industry" will obviously lead to a progress of Chinese capitalism and the "utilisation of foreign capital," to the imperialist exploitation of China. This exploitation of China by imperialists is not altogether bound up with the forms prevalent until now, extra-territoriality, tariff control, railway and postal supervision.

Change of Forms of Exploitation

These privileges may disappear, and in spite of that imperialism will find a way for a still more severe exploitation of the Chinese peoples and for still greater profits. In bourgeois journals voices are already found remarking that the previous forms of the imperialist exploitation of China are out of date, and the reporter for the "Manchester Guardian," Arthur Ransome, goes so far as to maintain, in a letter of March 10th, which appeared in the paper on April 25th, under the title: "How Foreign Trade suffers from Extra-Territoriality," that the abolition of extra-territoriality in the foreign settlements contributes to shorten the civil war and, therefore, will be advantageous to Chinese trade.

These glances at the situation and these comparisons show that discussion of the Chinese question and its basic elucidation is necessary not only on account of the continual change in conditions and the significance of the events in China, but also because of the general lessons which can be drawn for the revolutionary proletarian class struggle generally, from the course of development of the Chinese revolution.

The Social-Democrats and China

The problems of the Chinese revolution are in their way the problems of every revolution, and if the Social-Democrats intentionally and repeatedly attempt to portray the situation in China as one of complete confusion, as chaotic, and not comparable with the course and the tasks of the revolution in other countries, they do so only in order to find an excuse for their cowardly running away from every real help for the Chinese revolution, to make it difficult for the Social-Democratic workers to pay attention to the development of the Chinese revolution and thereby to prevent them from drawing revolutionary lessons from it.

Typical of the attitude is a phrase in an article of the "Hamburger Echo" for April 14th on the split in the Kuomintang: ". . . It is impossible to bring such a country into direct and immediate connection with the social struggles of the western countries."

They do not wish to be encumbered with the Chinese revolution. But it is just by writing of this sort that the Social-Democratic press itself shows the tremendous importance of the Chinese revolution and its class connection with the class struggle of the proletariat of the whole world. The Social-Democratic leaders concern themselves with a revolution more according as to whether it is distant either in time or place, and less when it directly touches the struggle of the proletariat. Their backing away from the Chinese revolution only shows how closely it concerns them, in spite of the fact that it is so far away.

The Chinese Question—continued

The resolution of the Central Committee of the C.P.S.U. begins with a description of the three different tactical methods open to a proletarian party in a national revolution, and cites first the Menshevist policy, which holds fast to a united front with the bourgeoisie, and ends in the working class and their party falling completely into the position of being towed along by the bourgeoisie and standing with them on the side of the counter-revolution.

Abstention Leads to Menshevism

The second policy, characterised as "Trotskyist" in the resolution of the Central Committee of the C.P.S.U., and which will have nothing whatever to do with any alliance and agreement with other classes, can only lead, at a time when the proletariat can take part in the revolution only as the left wing of the bourgeois national revolution, to the silencing of any effective revolutionary action. The tactics of Marx and Engels in 1848 show us that such a policy has nothing to do with Marxism. However, Engels, in his pamphlet, "The Bakuninists at work," showed with reference to the Spanish revolution, that this seemingly revolutionary policy of rigid refusal to associate with other classes and particularly with the revolutionary bourgeoisie, only leads in practice to the most banal coalition policy in the tow of the bourgeoisie. In consequence of that, such a policy only makes the policy of the Mensheviks easier. The mistakes of Rosa Luxemburg in the national question facilitated the treachery of the Polish Socialists and in the Czech national revolution again we saw where such a policy leads. The Czech centrists held most carefully aloof from any participation in the national revolution, and the consequence of this was that in 1917, pulled along by the Austrian Marxists, they came to the help of Austrian imperialism and after October 28th, 1918, merged themselves unconditionally in Czech social patriotism, a mistake which they could only rectify by their adhesion to the Communist International.

The third, Leninist policy is the most difficult to carry out. It does not allow the proletarian party either to feel safe and sound under the leadership of the bourgeoisie, or to take shelter behind the pseudo-revolutionary refusal to take part in any manoeuvres, in order actually to be able to remain inactive. It demands both courage and ability; but above all the immediate recognition of each change from one phase of the revolution to another, in order that the policy may be immediately altered. This policy makes great demands on the proletarian party, it gives such a party many and difficult tasks to accomplish, and it is indirectly also the source of many mistakes.

In the Chinese revolution itself the Communist Party has made many mistakes. The rapid development of the revolution, the recurring rapid changes in conditions, the continual emergence of new problems, the great difficulties and weaknesses of the Chinese revolution and above all, the weakness of the Communist Party of China, the young party of a numerically weak proletariat which has only recently entered into the class struggle, finally, the fact that the leadership of the Party was almost exclusively intellectual—all these factors explain the

many mistakes, and the temporary falling away from the Party.

But these mistakes could not be avoided by choosing, on account of the weakness of the Party, a revolutionary policy other than the Leninist one. Any other tactic than the Leninist would have led to a complete collapse of the Party. The maintenance of the Leninist policy at the price of mistakes and difficult crises was the only way to raise our Chinese Party to the heights required by the tasks brought before them by the rapid progress of the Chinese revolution in the sense of the separation of classes and of minds.

The results of the Chinese revolution and of our Chinese party prove the correctness of their Leninist policy. The resolution of the Central Committee justly remarks that the tremendous advance of the revolutionary South as far as the Yangtse, the denial of the treachery of Chiang Kai Shek by the masses of workers and peasants, and the difficulties which hinder the Chinese bourgeoisie, as the right wing of the Kuomintang, in their going over to the side of the counter-revolution and of imperialism, are all due to the Leninist policy.

Results of Leninism

These results were reached, in spite of the weakness and the vacillations of the Communist Party of China, by the pursuit of Leninist tactics. In the bitterness and brutality of the measures taken by the Chinese bourgeoisie against the Communists, the fact appears that the basic mass organisations of the Kuomintang are under the influence and the leadership of the Communists. The right wing leadership of the Kuomintang are compelled to oppose the Chinese workers and peasants, if they wish to carry out their treacherous policy. Therefore, it is becoming ever more difficult for the Chinese bourgeoisie to maintain the pretence of the revolutionary slogans in order to deceive the masses. The Communist Party by a consistent continuation of their Leninist tactics, must shortly stand out to the masses of the Chinese workers and peasants as the only effective representative and leader of the national revolution, because of organised military forces of the social revolution in connection with the uprising of the peasants proves the correctness of this idea. A firm Leninist leadership for the Party must be built up in co-operation with the Comintern and the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. The Chinese revolution in spite of all its weaknesses and defeats, is hurrying forward to victory and the social revolution is following on its heels, indeed, is already marching side by side with it.

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Germany and the Coming War

H. Neumann

(Continued from page 218.)

WE considered previously the causes which are driving British imperialism, under the leadership of the Conservative Government, to an offensive war against the Soviet Union. We examined at the same time the war aim of the British bourgeoisie and analysed their feverish activity to erect an international alliance of the most important imperialist countries as part of the preparations for intervention.

In the formation of this "Holy Alliance" bourgeois Germany plays a role of the utmost importance, indeed, a **decisive** role.

As the first world war neared its end, Lenin, with the foresight of genius, pointed to the coming co-operation of Germany in the intervention against the Soviet Republic. On October 4th, 1918, he wrote in his letter to the All-Russian Central Executive Committee on "The German Revolution":

"The most rapid changes are possible: attempts to form an **alliance between the German and Anglo-French bourgeoisie against the Soviet power** are possible."^{*}

At about the same time, that is, still before the overthrow of the Hohenzollern empire, Lenin, in his polemic against Kautsky, spoke of the possibility of a war to overthrow the Soviet power "by means of an agreement between German and Anglo-French imperialism."[†]

Without doubt the old royalist-militarist leadership

* "Report of the 5th Session of the A.R.C.E.C." Published 1919.

† Lenin: "The proletarian revolution and the renegade Kautsky."

of German imperialism was not alone in its joyful readiness for such an "agreement" with the Entente; the German Social-Democrats, who attained power on the back of the proletarian revolution, were also ready and threw themselves immediately into the arms of the West European victorious Powers, and pressed upon them their "aid" against the "Bolshevist danger." When the German working class, after their victory, break open the government archives and publish the secret documents of the Foreign Office, one may look forward with certainty to extremely interesting revelations concerning the foreign policy at that time of the majority Socialists and the "Independent" traitors to the working class.

Allies' Opposition to German Plans

The plan of an alliance against Soviet Russia of the German bourgeoisie and their Social-Democratic agents was wrecked in the years 1918 and 1919. World history changed its course. The imperialist opposition between the Entente Powers and defeated Germany became stronger, more powerful, more acute than the most pious desires for an immediate opening of the general crusade against Soviet Russia. Napoleonic, rather than Chamberlain-ic conditions were dictated to the Germans early in 1919. They had to sign the Peace of Versailles, which was a hundred times worse, more rapacious and more unbearable than the illegal peace of Brest-Litovsk, which Ludendorff a year and a half before forced on the Soviet Republic.

The Scheidemanns received thanks for their shameless break with the Soviet Government, and for their

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Germany and the Coming War—continued

counter-revolutionary armed help in the Baltic against the Red Army, in the form of the most frightful fleeing and degradation of Germany. The bayonets of Foch cut to pieces the German offer of an alliance against the U.S.S.R. The clauses of the Treaty of Versailles barred the road to the Holy Alliance, which at that time was already desired by the German bourgeoisie.

Against their own will, in opposition to their most urgent class instinct, the German bourgeoisie was compelled to resist the strangulation of Germany. For a number of years they had to direct their principal struggle against the Peace of Versailles. The pressure of their international position drove them to withstand Entente capital. Germany, defeated, disarmed, shattered, only semi-independent, played the objective role, from 1918 to 1923, of an obstacle in the way of intervention by the Entente governments against the Soviet Union. Its foreign policy furthered more than once the interests of Soviet Russia.

British and Versailles

The British imperialists recognised first and most clearly the dangerousness of this situation. Lloyd George wrote his secret memorandum to the Peace Conference at Versailles on March 25th, 1919, which was published later. In that he says:

“The greatest danger I see in the present situation, is that Germany may throw in her lot with Bolshevism, and place her resources, her brains, her vast organising power at the disposal of the revolutionary fanatics, whose dream is to conquer the world by force of arms. This danger is no longer a mere chimera.”*

The warnings of Lloyd George were in vain! French imperialism, and not British, had political control and leadership in Europe in the first years after the war. The unavoidable consequences occurred. One part of the fears of Lloyd George was shown to be excessive. The German bourgeoisie did not for one moment place “the resources, the brains, the vast organising power” of Germany at the service of the Russian proletariat. This historical task, the German working class alone can and will discharge. But the German bourgeoisie constantly pursued the “eastwards orientation,” the way of peace and of approach to the Soviet Union.

From the standpoint of the common class interests of the imperialist exploiters, from a standpoint of the irreconcilability of their interests with the existence of the Soviet Republic, the Peace of Versailles was a piece of gigantic stupidity. Lenin justly compared it to the stupidity of a man who puts forward the idiotic equation “2 times 2 equals a tallow candle,” and from this example he drew the inference “that our stupidities (i.e., the mistakes of the Bolsheviks—H.N.) are not to be compared with the stupidities which the capitalist State, the capitalist world and the Second International together make.”†

* Quoted by “Augur” in “Soviet versus Civilisation.” 1927. Page 45.

† Lenin’s speech at the Fourth World Congress of the C.I., Nov. 13th, 1922.

The coming war of intervention of the imperialists against the Soviet Union is—in the abstract—a thousand times greater and more fatal stupidity, but its objective historical inevitability is not thereby lessened by one fraction.

The capitalist world, as is well known, is not governed by the reason of philosophers, but by the noisy unreasonableness of profits. This fact has not yet been grasped either by the pacifists of all kinds or by those Communist illusionaries, who still believe in the “avoidability” of war in the age of imperialism.

The unbounded “stupidity” of the Peace of Versailles gave the country of proletarian dictatorship a chance to strengthen its power, to end the civil war victoriously, and to use the breathing space, after the wreckage of the first war of intervention, for peaceful construction of a socialist life.

The Russo-German Treaty of Rapallo early in 1922 was a heavy blow to the anti-Russian policy of the Entente Powers, and a great success for the U.S.S.R. On that Treaty, “Augur” writes:

“Let us not forget the terrible (!) results of the Rapallo Treaty, which held up the work of European reunion (!) for several years.”*

In one of his latest articles the same “Augur” declares with reckless openness:

“At the Genoa Conference, of 1922, the Allies gave to Moscow the unmerited chance of collecting the fruits of its intrigues. . . . The Allies are themselves responsible for the linking up of Berlin with Moscow.”†

Recapitulating, “Augur” declares:

“Berlin is one of the points where Moscow has succeeded in breaking through the ring of European defence.”‡

German Imperialist Development

In these phrases the international role of Germany in the first five years after the conclusion of the world war is strikingly summed up. This situation was ended by two significant world historical processes, which are developing in a parallel direction and practically simultaneously:

(1) Since the end of 1923, bourgeois Germany has achieved nearly complete stabilisation. Germany from a semi-independent, oppressed country is changing

* “Augur,” op. cit., page 87.

† “Augur” in “Germany in Europe.” (“Fortnightly Review,” May, 1927.)

‡ “Augur” in “Soviet versus Civilisation,” page 87.

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Germany and the Coming War—continued

anew into a full-blooded imperialist State, is experiencing an unexampled economic advance, is mounting for the second time the stage of active, imperialist world policy is stripping off with growing energy and increasing success the chains of Versailles, and at the same time is beginning its precipitous change from a foreign-policy of friendliness towards Russia, to a definite orientation towards the League of Nations, that is, towards inclusion in the coalition of West European powers.

British Anti-Soviet Policy

(2) Since the end of 1924, British imperialism, under the leadership of the Conservatives has gone over to a policy of the most bitter struggle against the Soviet Union, is trying to mobilise all bourgeois States for this purpose, is taking the initiative in the preparation for a new war of intervention and is directing its chief attention to the enrolment of Germany in the newly-formed anti-Soviet front.

Connected with both the foregoing developments is the serious and long-enduring crisis of French capitalism, and the breakdown of its political hegemony over the European continent.

Germany is changing more and more from an area of political depression to the focus of European policy, to one of the centres of the imperialist system. The nearer the outbreak of the new world war approaches, the greater becomes the specific importance of Germany, the more indispensable its co-operation in the intervention, the more menacing every factor which contributes to drawing Germany away from the "European war."

"Augur," who always means a war of intervention when he speaks of "ensuring peace," and always has his mind's eye on the anti-Soviet bloc when he mentions the "unity of Europe," devotes a large part of his more recent writings to the enrolment of Germany into the Holy Alliance. He formulates the problem as follows:

"This state of affairs cannot leave us indifferent because it is a menace to the stability of peace (?) in Europe. The latter will not be assured until Germany wholeheartedly accepts the principle that her European connection is more important than any link she may have formed **outside** the Continental frontiers. Otherwise Germany will be tempted mentally from time to time by the idea of revenge. . . Here we have the elementary explanation of the interests of Britain in the unity of Europe and of the inevitable opposition between British and Soviet policies. This opposition would have been born in any case, even if the Bolsheviks had not begun their ferocious attack against the British Constitution itself."*

The "Asiatic Mind" Argument

One must notice here that the publicist of the English Government does not reckon the Soviet Union as a part of the European continent, nor generally as belonging to Europe:

"Europe to-day ends on the eastern border of Poland: beyond that line we sense a strange land

* "Augur" in "Fortnightly Review," May, 1927.

which has renounced allegiance to the ideals of the white race (!). **The Union of Soviet Republics is not of Europe**, and its avowed principles are so opposed to those of the civilised world that a compromise is impossible."†

Chamberlain, speaking through the pen of "Augur" extended a direct invitation to the German bourgeoisie to take part in the coming war against the Soviet Union on the side of Europe.

"It is our honest conviction that the unity of Europe cannot be accomplished without **the co-operation of Germany** as an equal partner in any political combination which may be proposed. The experience of the past ten years should suffice to teach us this essential truth. But the Germany we have in mind is the **German Republic**, that is, a State built up on the democratic formula, with the declared intention of becoming a peaceful and useful member in the family of the European peoples. By her **geographical position** Germany is entitled to play an important part in Europe, but even more deserving are the quali-

† "Augur" in "Soviet v. Civilisation," page 88.

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Germany and the Coming War—continued

ties of her people. The war was a crime, but the brilliant way in which the Germans fought and the tenacity with which they held out against the whole world, proves them to be **true representatives of the white race**, without whom the community can never be complete or happy. It is the bounden duty of the Allies to work for reconciliation with Germany—Republican Germany naturally.”*

We have deliberately quoted these passages at length because behind their redundant phrases there are hidden facts of the greatest importance. What has Chamberlain to say at the present moment to the German bourgeoisie?

The British Approach to Germany

(1) We, the British imperialists, cannot make war against the Soviet Union without your help. Germany is plainly indispensable to the practical carrying out of the plan of intervention. The reason for that is firstly, the geographical position of Germany; secondly, its tremendous military strength (“the brilliant way in which the Germans fought”).

(2) Germany, as a country of reactionary exploitation, as an imperialist robber State (“true representatives of the white races”) has an interest in the war of annihilation against the country of proletarian dictatorship, which has “renounced” the “ideal” of the capitalist order of the world.

(3) We, the English imperialists, are directing our course towards the German Republic, to the Hindenburg democracy with the bourgeois alliance at its head, with Stresemann as foreign minister, with the Social-Democrats as reliable agents, and with a foreign policy of participation in the League of Nations.

(4) We no longer consider you as Huns, barbarians, pirates, deadly enemies of civilisation, but as a Power without which the intervention bloc “can never be complete or happy.” In the name of the completeness and happiness of the Holy Alliance which we have striven for, we are ready to deal with you as “a partner with equal rights” in any, or more exactly, in **this** “political combination,” i.e., to guarantee to you political compensation for your help against the Soviet Union.

(5) We consider the payment for your participation in the war coalition in the form of important concessions as an indispensable necessity.

We announce this policy as the “Holy duty of the Allies” in which the **holiness** refers to our own, the British interests, while we shall make the element of duty the part of the Allies, in the first place the part of France, with the help of a certain diplomatic pressure.

“Augur” states:

“The way of getting Germany into a concert of Europe is **to convince her that this step is in accord with her essential interests.**”

Chamberlain at the same time is employing various methods to impress this conviction on the German bourgeoisie: pressure and concessions. The common instrument of both these political methods is the Versailles

Treaty. All threats, all measures of coercion, against Germany come in the end to the maintenance and more intense execution of the provisions of the Versailles Treaty. The slow loosening of the chains of Versailles, the granting of promises and concessions to the German bourgeoisie. The peculiarity of this position lies in the part played by French imperialism in the re-arrangement of Anglo-German relations, and in the preparation of the war. France and its vassal States have, on the one hand, to pay the cost of the English concessions to Germany, while on the other hand, France is the most important weapon which England has in order to exercise political compulsion on Germany so soon as that question arises.

An Anti-Soviet United Front

All contradictions between the chief imperialist Powers are in this way grouped round the central point of the conflict between England and the Soviet Union. All individual conflicts and minor differences between England, France and Germany are subordinated to an ever greater degree to this fundamental war tendency. English diplomacy, with its traditional cleverness, knows how to place the frictions and contradictions existing in the camps of its allies at the service of its own interests, and to make use of them in building up its leadership in the European continent.

Demands on Germany

“Augur” categorically demands that Germany should set aside the last remnant of its previous Rapallo policy. He leaves no doubt as to the warlike intentions of his Government and repudiates from the outset any attempt at German mediation between England and the Soviet Union.

In a tone of severe reproach he writes:

“Berlin likes to insist on its desire to play the part of a bridge between East and West, between Europe and Moscow.”

He compares this alleged “desire” of the German government to the criminal attempt of a bigamist who introduces his two wives to each other and wishes to persuade them into a friendly relationship. So long as Germany still maintains some connection with the Soviet Union, it cannot count on any advance from England.

“Berlin must understand, that the membership of the concert of Europe is not compatible with the connection with an organisation which is the enemy of the Concert of Europe, of the League of Nations, of civilisation, and of all the ideals of the white race.”

Without a break with Soviet Russia, no equality of rights for Germany in world politics, no relaxation of the Peace of Versailles.

“The chief obstacle to the treatment of Germany as an equal among equals, is her obstinate clinging to the Moscow connection.”

On the other hand, “the unity of Europe is impossible without the co-operation of Germany.” The “benevolent neutrality” of Germany, her tacit support, her active help in the marching through of troops and the transit of war material are the **indispensable** condi-

* “Augur” in “Fortnightly Review,” May, 1927.

Germany and the Coming War—continued

tions, the **least requirements** without the fulfilment of which Poland will be unable to advance to a military attack against the Soviet Union. **The key to the war arena is in Germany, and the key to the war itself is found in the hands of the German bourgeoisie.**

Chamberlain, who is perfectly well aware of the tremendous significance of these facts is engaged in a large scale systematic and carefully thought out **struggle for Germany.** The English Government makes this publicly known through "Augur":

"And clearly, Germany's sincere entry into the democratic community of Europe, must bring about consequences of a far-reaching nature."

The first of these consequences was the acceptance of Germany into the League of Nations, and the election of Stresemann to its Council. The world political significance of this measure is expressed by the same Government organ, "The Fortnightly Review," with a clarity not to be surpassed:

"One of the chief reasons given in support of

the admission of Germany to the League of Nations was the belief or at least the idea, that when it became a member of the League it would detach itself or be detached from the Soviet and align itself with the rest of Europe against the Bolshevik menace."

The acceptance of Germany into the League of Nations signifies the beginning of its entry into the Holy Alliance of imperialists, which is preparing war against the Soviet Union; with that the first aim of Chamberlain's struggle for Germany was achieved.

Other "far-reaching consequences" result from the political turnabout of the new German imperialism. These consequences as much on the position of the German bourgeoisie itself as on the policy of English and French imperialism against Germany. The consequences of this new world constellation influence and govern not only international policy, they are also of **decisive** importance for the internal policy of Germany, for the class struggle of the German proletariat and for the revolutionary tasks of the Communist Party of Germany.

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BOOK REVIEW

“**The Party Worker.**” (Volumes V. and VI. 1927.) Communist Party of Germany, Berlin.

“The Party Worker,” which has now reached its fifth year of publication, shows, particularly in the last year and a half, progress both in method and in content; this progress is to be seen in the careful selection of the most important practical, organisational experiences, in a successful effort to accept only the most relevant material, in the combination of practical examples and concrete problems with theoretical analysis, and in the efforts to educate the leadership, officers and members to deal concretely with Party questions.

All other sections of the Communist International are far behind the C.P. of Germany in the matter of organisational journals. There is only the C.P. of the U.S.A. which has a periodical similar to that of “The Party Worker”—“The Party Organiser.” The French Party still deals with its organisation discussion in the general organs of the C.P. of France. The other Communist Parties are not even so far.

The article appearing in the May number of the German “Party Worker,” “Organisational Lessons of the Wages and Hours of Labour Movement,” which enumerates a number of weaknesses in our campaign, overlooks the principal defect, that we have not succeeded, by the mass pressure of groups and fractions, in drawing the trade unions into the movement. The article represents as the principal and most

general defect the lack of system in our trade union work, and the lack of a thoroughly detailed plan of work for the fractions. However useful plans of work may be for fractions, the extraordinary emphasis on plans of work for fractions is a risky matter, for it shows a tendency to transfer mechanically the methods of the Party apparatus to the fractions. There exists the danger of the bureaucratisation of the fractions, whose most important task is to deal quickly and skilfully with all those occurrences in the trade unions which concern them.

The article states the tasks of the trade union fractions, and limits their sphere of action to matters which are dealt with exclusively by the Trade Union Bureaux. In contrast to that, however, the Trade Union Bureaux are freed from a great deal of work. Their duties are limited to the control of fractions. Actually their duties are much greater, embracing observation of economic life, the general policy of the Social-Democratic Party of Germany, and the reformists and other antagonistic trade union organisations, the entire leadership of the fractions, preparation of material for them, general help, etc. Even though the mistake in relation to the limitation of the duties of the Trade Union Bureau finds a weaker expression in the June number (6), nevertheless the defect with regard to the leadership of local fractions is not yet overcome.

The article “Soviet Russia—Ten Years” merely reproduces in large outlines the contents of the campaign, but does not tell of the methods which must be employed for carrying out the campaign or how, at least, such concrete methods can be worked out according to conditions.

In the article “Establishment of Courts of Arbitration” the whole problem is dealt with from the technical point of view, instead of from one which combats the intensely petty-bourgeois, Social-Democratic nature of the Court of Arbitration process by an ideological explanation, and the symptoms in the Party of petty-bourgeois leanings towards these courts are said to be only “disagreeable” and “disturbing.”

The June number (6) is more particularly devoted to actual present-day problems. The first attempt to deal with the organisational questions connected with the “Fight Against the War Danger” is especially noteworthy. But among the tasks put forward there is no mention of the creation of a contact between the Party and the leaders, which alone can guarantee that the independence, activity

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Book Review—continued

and initiative of the members are guided along the right road. The continual emphasis on independence for the less important Party organs unmistakably attains here the secondary significance of a detachment from other organisations and an almost anarchist independence. It would be more to the point to speak less of "independence" and more of an increased initiative and activity.

The question of training capable comrades for higher positions, which, especially under such conditions where a frequent change of leadership is probable, is of particular importance, has not been generally attacked.

In the article "Clear the Factories of Fascists" a somewhat too optimistic view prevails of the activity already displayed by the working class against Fascism, along with a recognition of the fact that the work of the Communist Party in this direction is still only beginning.

Special attention must here be called to the fact that the fight against the Fascists, as it is quite rightly called in Party reviews, must have for its very first aim to expose Fascism to the whole of the working class, and to create a public opinion within the working class against Fascism, just as was done in the case of the strike-breaking organisations.

The first coherent work on the question of "The making and enrolment of sympathisers" shows an important step forward from the hitherto very unsympathetic and scattered methods in the direction of grasping the meaning of and co-

relating organisational experiences in this work. The weakness lies in the fact that the question of the organisation of sympathisers is treated separately from the work of the groups and the Party as a whole, and consequently is to be viewed in connection with the work of spreading the ideological influence of the Communist Party.

In "Practical Lessons" it would have been desirable had the editors added a short paragraph containing a few examples, with suitable comments, having general validity, or from which no immediate and simple practical application can be drawn, which may give rise to some false reasoning.

As the sections dealing with group and fraction work in this article are generally good, so that section dealing with agit-prop work is generally weak. It expresses the relative weakness of the Party in regard to the organisational preparation and execution of agit-prop work.

In spite of the critical comments we have made on "The Party Worker," its great value, on account of its concrete and practical usefulness in the work of the Party, must be recognised, and it is to be hoped that the other Communist Parties (e.g., the American) will learn from the development of the German "Party Worker" and from the critical comments made here.

For the larger Communist Parties the time has already come to observe carefully the every-day life of the Party after the German example, to collect experiences and to use them so that they may be made accessible to active Party comrades.

