

The Rank and File of the C. P. of Russia against Trotskyism.

In the Leningrad organisation the question of Comrade Trotsky's attitude is discussed at crowded meetings. Comrade Trotsky's supporters also make themselves heard at these meetings, but they are invariably in a negligible minority (3-5 votes). We give below the conclusions drawn from the resolution which was adopted by a meeting of eight hundred people representing the Bureau of the amalgamated nuclei, the craft nuclei, and the trade union and economic workers of the Vassili Ostrov District.

"We are of the opinion that the Central Committee of the Party must take measures to put an end once and for all to all anti-Party demonstrations on the part of Comrade Trotsky as well as on the part of his former and present collaborators whose object is to bring disunity into the ranks of the Party for all these demonstrations are already assuming the form of a "permanent" conspiracy of empty discussion and of the de-Bolshevisation of our ranks.

"If Comrade Trotsky with his articles in the press and other demonstrations, is trying to drag us back into the petty bourgeois Menshevik morass where he remained himself for twenty years, and from which he was rescued by our Party in 1917, the Central Committee of the Party must make Comrade Trotsky understand that the Lenin Party will never swerve from the path indicated by its great leader."

This was agreed to unanimously by the persons present.

The next extract is from the resolution of a meeting of the Bureau of the Amalgamated Nuclei of the District Plenum of responsible organisers of the amalgamated nuclei and of responsible workers of the Kronstadt organisation of the Russian Communist Party (Bolshevik):

"The meeting considers it necessary to ask the Central Committee of the Party through the Gubernia Committee to deal immediately with the question concerning Comrade Trotsky, — who evidently is not willing and does not intend to submit to the decisions of Party organisations, for the purpose of putting an end once and for all to all actions which threaten to interfere with the unity of the role and actions of the Party."

The joint meeting of active workers, secretaries and members of the bureau of factory and workshop, Soviet, university and military nuclei of the Rostov-Nakchervonsk organisation and of members of the Donets town Party committees and of the plenum of the North-Caucasian regional committee adopted on Comrade Mikoyan's report the following resolution:

"By distorting the history of October, by arranging facts and events tendentiously, by making isolated differences of opinion appear as of usual occurrence within the leading organ of the Party, by deliberately exaggerating the extent and significance of such differences of opinions and justifying at the same time his own past mistakes, Comrade Trotsky is endeavouring to renew the struggle against the leading institutions of the Party and of the Comintern.

The meeting expresses its particular indignation at Comrade Trotsky's distortion of Lenin's role in October and of Lenin's relations with the Central Committee. This is not only a distortion of historical facts in connection with the October events by

magnifying the role of individual leaders to the detriment of the role of the Party, but is also an attempt to misinterpret the ideological substance of Bolshevism.

"The meeting considers the discussion to be absolutely harmful, but at the same time it thinks it necessary to refute in the most determined manner all attempts at misinterpreting Bolshevism and the history and meaning of October. The meeting also is of the opinion that it is necessary to enlighten the rank and file of the Party on all the phases of the history of the Bolshevik Party.

"The meeting draws the attention of the Central Committee to the necessity to take resolute measures against all attempts at substituting Trotskyism for Leninism. Long live Leninism!"

One thousand two hundred people were present at this meeting, and the voting was unanimous but for two abstentions.

The following is an extract from the resolution adopted by the joint meeting of the Saratov Gubernia Committee and the nuclei bureau and active workers of Saratov:

"Comrade Trotsky's recent utterances show clearly that he is still under the spell of his former tendencies, and that he is endeavouring to force them again on the Party in a new form. This is borne out by the fact that Comrade Trotsky fails to make an honest acknowledgement of his past and present errors."

The Party conference held in the working class district of Chita passed the following resolution on the report concerning the external and internal situation of the USSR.

"Taking into consideration the great and important tasks of agricultural and economic construction now before the Party and the Soviet Power, and also the growth of political activity among the peasant masses and the necessity to link up the peasantry with the proletariat, and being convinced that all these questions can only be solved if there is unity within our Party, and that the Party cannot cope with the tasks before it, unless attention be concentrated on them and that all extraneous matters which deflect our attention to unnecessary discussion and empty talk has a detrimental effect on the constructive work of our socialist State, the Conference resolves:

"To place before the Central Committee of our Party the question of the adoption of resolute measures for the purpose of putting a stop to all attempts to raise again the question of the revision of the foundation of Bolshevism and Leninism, as well as all attempts to misinterpret the history of the Party, especially in connection with Comrade Trotsky who during his seven years membership of our Party has not been able to assimilate the strategy and tactics of Bolshevism, and by repeated attempts has tried to disorganise not only our ranks but even the brother Communist Parties of other countries. It is absolutely necessary to deal energetically with this situation because of Comrade Trotsky's recent pamphlets and articles in which he boldly brings forward his own platform which is contrary to the principles of our Party, and in which he is systematically undermining the old and experienced leading nucleus of the Party."

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Formation of a Bourgeois-Social-Democratic Coalition Government in Esthonia.

(Special Telegram to the "Inprecorr")

Moscow, 18th December, 1924.

A coalition government of representatives of all Parties, including the Social Democrats, has been formed in Esthonia.

The Social Democrats who have not affiliated to the Second International on the ground that the Second International is not radical enough, have sent as their representatives in the

government the notorious anti-communists Virma and Ast. At the head of the government there stands the nationalist Jackson. The Party of the fascists, called the Party of the agrarians, is also taking part in the government. The sole condition which the social democrats submitted for their entry in the government was the solution of the housing question in the rural districts.

The military dictatorship of Laidener remains. Up to now 300 workers have been shot.

The Truth Regarding the Union of Soviet Republics.*

By A. A. Purcell (London).

I remember many years ago—I believe it was in 1908—reading a book by Andrew Carnegie, in which the writer sought to prove that American capital, if it economically exploited Southern Russia, would find there a real Mecca, a financial pinnacle, a Mount Everest.

Now, when I have travelled over 5000 versts in the Ukraine, I find myself continually thinking of this capitalist philosopher of a unique type. Carnegie had in mind the exploitation of the natural resources for private profit, whilst the Russian workers have undertaken the task of exploiting their native soil for the benefit of the general community.

If one observes any locality in the Don Basin one is baffled by the heaped up contradictions of capitalism, or to speak more correctly, its heritage. One witnesses an unceasing struggle to overcome all these physical and spiritual defects left over from capitalism.

One sees here under what fearful conditions the capitalists of the Tsarist regime caused their workers to toil.

You can see here the destruction caused by the white guards. You can judge the heroic and gigantic work which the Soviet power has accomplished in driving out the robber bands

and healing the wounds which have been inflicted by them upon this beautiful country.

The dirty remains of capitalism furnish the new masters, who are step by step removing the capitalist ruins and replacing them by a revolutionary edifice, with a colossal task.

One must do justice to the capacities and capabilities of the Workers Republic, and also to the discipline with which it has organised its armies for the fight against this devastation.

One cannot find sufficient words in order to characterise this infinite crime of capitalism, when one thinks of the heritage of dirt, ignorance and prejudice it has left behind it.

When one goes to Grossny or Baku one sees the same picture, with the only difference that here there is petroleum instead of coal and salt. Everywhere we found the firm will to combat the lack of culture and to create human conditions of living.

Stevns also speaks eloquently of the great efforts of the Soviet power for the setting up of hydro-electrical stations in order to organise production upon a scientific basis, in order to combat darkness.

As an illustration of the energy and the certainty of victory which inspires the Russian workers, we will quote the following answer of a miner from the Don Basin to a remark of one of our English comrades: The latter pointed to the

enormous difficulties which one here had to contend with. To which the Russian Comrade replied: "But don't forget they are our pits."

The greatest example of the energy and capability of the working class, however, is the **Shaturuk Station**. Four years ago this district was in a state of the greatest chaos—I reported on it on my return to England after my first journey there. Now I was here for the second time and I state it to be one of the greatest achievements of the Soviet Republic.

The use of peat to the extent contemplated for the Shaturuk Station is in itself a great achievement; peat is found not far from the station. Beautiful buildings, comfortable and well-planned workers dwellings, clubs, schools, dining halls—all these will, when completed, make the Shaturuk Station one of the best industrial institutions of the world, meeting the highest hygienic requirements and satisfying all its own wants.

Here is most clearly to be seen the enormous difference between the capitalist and the proletarian solution of great problems.

A brief glance at all these achievements suffices in order to cause even the worst enemy of the Soviets to confess that precisely those who used the most revolutionary language have proved capable of carrying on mighty economic undertakings with admirable success.

Full freedom is given to the technicians to carry out their scientific plans. This freedom would have been impossible under capitalist management, if it was not profitable for the capitalists. Here, however, first consideration is given solely to the public benefit and therefore it is sought to do the very best work.

The great factories of **Sterovka, Shatura and Semo-Avchal** have made a lasting impression upon me. Each of them and many others are parts of a whole, are the realisation of the ideas of the socialist economic organisation.

Soviet Russia can be proud of her achievements in the field of electrical undertakings. In England one is satisfied for the present to talk about it. But in Russia something is actually being done. And it should be remembered at the same time that Russia has very little financial means, while England is relatively rich. In this sphere Russia is going forward in a businesslike manner, whilst with us in England the question still being disputed is whether such an exploitation of the natural forces of the country would yield profit to the capitalists.

I have not sufficient time to go into further details; it suffices for me to say that the wonderful progress made by Soviet Russia since 1920, since my first visit, have made a deep impression upon me.

One cannot help admiring when one thinks of the enormous amount of energy which was employed in the defence against the now open and now insidious and cowardly attacks of the capitalist states. During the time of famine the capitalist press of the whole world, almost every day made the most furious attacks upon Soviet Russia, and carried on a systematic campaign of lies and calumnies. These gentlemen hoped in this manner to bring about the downfall of the Soviet power. Fools! They forgot that by their ultimatum they only helped to render Russia more popular. More and more true reports regarding Russia arrived in Europe, the journeys of the English workers are a constant and inexhaustible source of information—in spite of all the lies and calumnies.

So I betook myself to **Georgia**, which is an object of special attention on the part of the capitalists and—if one may say so—of the quasi-socialists. I come to Georgia, I look to see whether there is not at least one Georgian left alive. During the last six months the British press has so vehemently expressed its love for Georgia, that it has deprived the country of its whole population. Day after day we heard of insurrections, rebellions, torturings, shootings, murders etc. which were taking place in Georgia under the rule of the bolsheviks. The most terrible things were reported in the most prominent positions in the English newspapers.

You know yourselves that all this is untrue, but they have no other weapon against Soviet Russia.

The gigantic demonstration which took place in Tiflis on the 3rd December and which lasted three hours, is the best answer to the slanders, both at home and abroad. Men and women, girls and youths, all marching in the workers' processions, in perfect order singing and shouting; their flags, the expression of their faces proclaimed that the Soviet power which they had won for Georgia must at all costs be maintained.

Capitalists and property owners of Georgia, its former masters, stand up if you are able and speak the truth!

Do you know that your brothers abroad are lying?

Why do you remain silent?

I will answer instead of you.

The workers have wrested the power from you. The workers have built themselves better houses, they have established strong and large trade unions and have their full share in the whole life of the country. **They threaten your profits. They have put a stop to your exploiting. This is what you don't like.**

As a member of the British working class I am proud of having had the opportunity of solidarising with the broad masses of the Georgian workers, who, in spite of all the lies and calumnies, in spite of all the cheating and cunning of their enemies, have succeeded in driving out their old exploiters and suppressors.

It is our duty, after our return to Great Britain, to use ever increasing energy to inform the British working class of the great work of the Georgian workers. This applies also to the whole Union of Socialist-Soviet Republics.

Long live the Union of Socialist-Soviet Republics, and may you be accorded the greatest support from our side.

POLITICS

The Election Victory of German Heavy Industry.

By Wilhelm Koenen (Berlin).

The Reichstag elections of the 7th December, even more than the issue of the elections of the 4th of May, have given the parliamentary preponderance to the Parties of the big bourgeoisie, especially to the German People's Party, to the representatives of heavy industry. The most important result of these elections for the relations of political power in Germany is that the German Federation of Industry, which hitherto exercised its decisive influence by means of pressure outside of parliament and by means of indirectly influencing various Parties and governmental departments, is also formally receiving into its hands, in a parliamentary democratic manner, the decisive power.

The position of the Parties as the result of the election is such, that with regard to the decisions in parliament and also the question of the formation of the government and of the various Party coalitions, the centre still constitutes the so-called needle of the balance. **The scales however have dipped in such a decided manner in favour of the German Peoples Party, the Party of heavy industry, that the rôle of the centre is less important than it was at the time of the war-Chancellor Hertling.** As in addition to this the centre is coming more and more under the influence of the heavy industrialists **Klöckner, Thyssen, Guerd and Lammers**, it will be difficult for the Jesuits to hold up the black-red-gold colours under which they conducted the election campaign.

Black-red-gold has undoubtedly suffered a severe defeat. The hopes of the Democrats have not been fulfilled. They hardly gained more than the greater participation by the public in the election would be expected to bring them. Even less is the growth of the centre. The Social Democratic Party has increased its mandates from 100 to 131, but this Party had 178 mandates before the 4th of May. The decline of the Socialist Party of Germany was very apparent in the Prussian election. Compared with 1921 the Party has fallen from 136 to 114 mandates.

Black-red-gold, the colours of the left coalition of Dr. Würth, has suffered a serious defeat; neither in the Reichstag nor in the Prussian diet elections was it able to gain a majority. **In Prussia, where it possessed such a majority since 1918, it has been completely defeated.** The Communists, as the "Zeit" of Herr Stresemann regretfully admitted, have remained a strong force which has still to be reckoned with.

Along with the losses of the Socialist Party in Prussia and the resulting collapse of the former left block majority, the Social Democratic Party has lost its last position of power. The Party has now, in spite of its size, become a mere appendix which is tolerated in the governments according to whether it is useful to the bourgeoisie. The shouts of victory of the Social Democratic Party of Germany over the increased mandates have been quickly rendered silent.

The Stinnes Paper, the "Deutsche Allgemeine Zeitung" rightly says "that the questions of the formation of the government are not mere questions of political arithmetic, but of political power." The Social Democratic Party no longer wields any political power. The trade unions of which the Party hitherto always boasted, have, as a result of the reformist policy,

clearing out of communists and mass expulsions, been greatly weakened. And as to mobilising the masses and exercising influence through them, the social democratic leaders have long since abandoned such an idea.

The Socialist Party of Germany, the "greatest of the Parties", is now a mere puppet pulled by the strings of the bourgeois politicians. In any event the decision lies in the hands of the Stinnes Party, the **German Peoples Party**. This last, it is true, has only increased its mandates from 45 to 51, but by the collapse of the fascists, who have lost 18 seats out of 32, a consolidation of the German Nationalists has taken place, which has increased the possibility of the setting up of the bourgeois block.

111 German Nationalists, 51 German People's Party, 69 Centre, 19 Bavarian People's Party and 17 Economic Party form together a majority which is characterised by the "Deutsche Allgemeine Zeitung" as a "clear majority for the right Parties". It is a matter of indifference, adds the "Deutsche Allgemeine Zeitung", whether the Democrats are accepted in it or not. While the "Zeit" of Herr Stresemann declares, that there is no question of a great coalition, the "Berliner Tageblatt" describes this grouping as a "fighting cabinet of the right", against which the Democrats will fight with all their means.

Between the Democrats and Centre on the one side, and the German Nationalists and People's Party on the other side, there is being fought out the struggle between the great groups of interests of finished industry, commerce and the stock exchange on the one hand with the heavy industrialists, producers of raw material and agrarians on the other. In this struggle heavy industry has the advantage from the outset. It is free to choose between a bourgeois block and a great coalition.

As however it is not parliamentary arithmetic but political power which decides the formation of the government, it depends how powerfully the fighting groups, the classes, struggle outside of parliament. The fact that the C.P. of Germany, in spite of the enormous persecutions, suppressions and the illusions prevailing in the proletariat, received 45 mandates, shows that the lowest point of depression of the proletariat has been passed and that its will and determination to fight is now increasing. The bourgeoisie must take into account this strengthening of proletarian resistance, of the proletarian fighting force, in the carrying out of the Dawes Plan which is now beginning. It will again attempt to create dissension in the proletarian ranks. For this purpose it will employ the ever-ready and ever-willing social democracy as its most convenient and cheapest weapon to keep down the proletariat.

In spite of all the arrests, persecutions and prohibitions, in spite of the democratic-pacifistic illusions of vacillating masses regarding the Dawes Plan, the C.P. of Germany has not been crushed but has strengthened its position. Based on this a new advance can and must be begun!

FOR THE UNITY OF THE TRADE UNION MOVEMENT

The Mensheviks, the Russian Trade Unions, and Amsterdam.

By A. Lozovsky.

The struggle for the affiliation of the Russian Unions to the Amsterdam International has been inscribed on our banner, the banner of the Russian adherents of unity and independence of the trade union movement, ever since the inception of the International.

"Socialist Herald" (Russian Menshevik organ),
December 1st, 1924.

The visit of the British trade unionists to Moscow, and the conclusion of an Anglo-Russian agreement at the Sixth Congress has greatly agitated the Social Democratic circles. "Where the horse with his hoof, there the crab with its claws" says a Russian proverb; where the "Vorwärts", there, of course, the "Socialist Herald" of the Russian Mensheviks. The "Socialist Herald" attempts first to explain the unexpected (by the Social Democrats) stand taken by the British Delegation at Moscow as due to national motives. "Sympathies for Communism—the 'Socialist Herald' claims—is in England apparently an article for export only, clearing the way for the export of British manufactures. Pursuing under the flag of internationalism the national British policies (this with reference to members of their own International, A. L.), the British delegates apparently failed to notice that by their rash statements they administer a blow to the entire international organisation of which they are

members, and of which the Chairman of the British Delegation is President. We shall leave aside the so-called national motives of British internationalism, and ask ourselves how does the action of the British delegates injure the Amsterdam International? The injury apparently consists in the fraternising of the British and Russian workers, for the "Socialist Herald" is quite inarticulate on this matter. The "Socialist Herald", however, closely approached the question of unity. It disliked very much the "diplomatic" speech made by Tomsky at the Sixth Congress and his statement that "unity does not appear to us in the bare fact of the Russians affiliating to the Amsterdam International. The working class and its unions will realise the necessity of unity and create a new united International." Here, states the "Socialist Herald", following the line laid down by the congresses of the Comintern and the R.I.L.U., the idea of the Russian unions affiliating to the Amsterdam International is countered by the idea of creating a new International through the convening of an International Trade Union Unity Congress. The idea of an International Unity Congress arouses the ire of the "Socialist Herald". The Herald finds some hidden plot in our proposal for proportional representation and for the control of the elections by a Joint Committee, because of the simple reason that "the election campaign to the unity congress is designed to enable the devoted disciples of Zinoviev and Lozovsky to develop, in front of a great audience, a calumnious (!) and disorganising (!) agitation against the Amsterdam International and its affiliated unions". This unpleasant prospect moves the "Socialist Herald" to declare categorically that "there are no serious arguments produced in favour of solving the question of the establishment of international unity in the trade union movement by the convocation of an International Unity Congress after the Moscow Plan". Thus the Unity Congress does not meet with the approval of the Russian Mensheviks. The reasons for this are perfectly clear. But since the fate of the Russian trade unions affects them very closely, they counteract us by the slogan "Affiliation of the Russian Unions to the Amsterdam International". Why such affiliation? What would be its political meaning? Why—pathetically exclaims the "Socialist Herald"—do we, the Russian adherents of the unity and independence of the trade union movement, who are better aware than anyone to what an extent the Russian unions are not free organisations of the Russian workers and do not express the real wishes of their members, why do we favour affiliation of the Russian unions to the Amsterdam International...? Indeed, why? The "Socialist Herald's" reply is not devoid of interest.

The European influence cannot fail to make itself felt. The affiliation of the Russian unions to the Amsterdam International opens a certain possibility of proletarian intervention in Russia. Under the condition of the bad morass of the Russian labour movement, the possibilities and prospects of such "intervention" are extremely limited. But even a slight revival of the labour movement would create a vast and gratifying resonance. The struggle for affiliation of the Russian unions to the Amsterdam International has been inscribed on our banner, the banner of the Russian adherents of the unity and independence of the trade union movement, ever since the inception of the International. Connections between the Russian unions and Amsterdam will also serve as a vantage point in the struggle for the restoration of an independent labour movement in Russia in the future.

Such then is the strategy of the Russian Mensheviks, after the "democratic" intervention, a so-called "proletarian" intervention. We know the meaning of this sort of "proletarian" intervention. The Georgian and Russian Mensheviks have been knocking at the back doors of the Ministers of England and France, beseeching their friends of the Second International not to forget the Mensheviks, neglected by the Russian working class, in their negotiations with the Soviet Government. Now they are placing their hopes upon an "intervention" on the part of the Amsterdam International, for which purpose the Mensheviks believe that the Russian unions ought to enter this International. And since, according to the same "Socialist Herald", the struggle for the unity and independence of the Russian trade union movement, and the struggle for the affiliation of the Russian unions to the Amsterdam International have always been inseparable in the past, they hope to connect up these two slogans in the future as well. However, while seeking the affiliation of the Russian unions to the Amsterdam International, they are already preparing the conditions under which the Russian unions are to be admitted and the line of conduct which the Russians must follow in order to become worthy members of the Amsterdam

International. "The affiliation of the Russian unions to the Amsterdam International—regrettably states the "Socialist Herald"—will not, of course, mean an end to the demagogic and often dishonest Communist agitation in the unions... but such affiliation cannot fail to have a certain effect upon the development of the Russian labour movement." How? Thanks to the Mensheviks a "proletarian" intervention is to be launched that is, a determined struggle against Communism in Soviet Russia. "In this struggle—concludes the "Socialist Herald"—the European proletariat will realise in practice that without rehabilitating the Russian labour movement, without releasing it from the yoke of the Communist dictatorship, there is no way of rehabilitating the international labour movement and creating a genuinely militant international unity of the proletariat."

"The yoke of communist dictatorship"—there is the rub. That is the theme of all the deliberations of the Russian Mensheviks. An international unity congress, proportional representation, elections—God forbid! For the "Socialist Herald" does not agree with the decisions of the Fifth Comintern Congress or of the Third R.I.L.U. Congress. No wonder what is life for the Communists is death to the Mensheviks. The Mensheviks, in searching for the means of "liberating" the Russian unions from the yoke of the "Communist dictatorship", cling to the straw of the affiliation of the Russian unions to the Amsterdam International and of the subsequent "proletarian" intervention.

Had these ex-politicians really desired international trade union unity instead of fishing in troubled waters, they would have welcomed the Moscow speeches of Fimmen, Purcell, Tillet, etc. Is not this a proletarian intervention? Or, perhaps, after the statement of the British Delegation on Georgia, Purcell, Tillet, Bramley and the others will be converted from labour leaders into agents of the R.I.L.U. and the Comintern? Is not the Anglo-Russian Unity Committee set up by the unions of Russia and Great Britain a "proletarian" intervention in the affairs of the international labour movement? No. Not this sort of intervention is the dream of the Mensheviks. They want the kind of intervention that would put an end to the "yoke of the Communist dictatorship", that would make the trade unions entirely "independent" and "free", as "independent" and "free" as they were under Kolchak, Denikin and Wrangel. Proletarian intervention sounds noble, but in reality it is a question of the intervention of the international social democracy in the internal affairs of the Soviet Union, and in this intervention the reactionary leaders of the Amsterdam International are to serve as the weapons. On the other hand, the affiliation of the Russian unions to Amsterdam signifies the liquidation of the hateful R.I.L.U. Why then not champion "affiliation", why not waive the faded yellow banner of independence in anticipation of the future Menshevik victories and conquests.

All this is very subtle and ingenious, a bit too much so. The Mensheviks do not like the tactical line of the Comintern and the R.I.L.U., they are opposed to the fusion of the two Internationals at an International Unity Congress, they are after affiliation of the Russian unions to Amsterdam to promote their own ends, but these experts in preparing their own defeats, will find themselves wrong again, and the Russian unions will continue to get along as they have got along before, without the advice of the Menshevik attorneys for the counter-revolution.

AGAINST TROTZKYISM

Wherein Consisted Our Errors.

On the History of the Struggle for the Bolshevizing of the Communist Party of Poland.*

By A. Varski

Wherein consisted our error during the past year with reference to the C.P. of Russia?

Generally speaking it consisted in the fact that we did not succeed in finally and consciously ridding ourselves from a "tradition" of the Social Democracy of Poland and Lithuania, i. e. of its opposition to the methods of organisation of the Bolsheviks. This attitude was peculiar to the Social Democracy of Poland and Lithuania, both before and after the split which they underwent, it was also characteristic of its tendencies, the centralists and the federalists. It was an attitude against the Bolshevik conception of the leadership in the Party and the rôle

* This article is an extract from the article "The Crisis of the leadership of the Communist Party of Poland" which is being published in the Russian periodical "Bolshevik".

of the Party in the revolution. As early as 1912 the "Red Flag", the Central Organ of the Social Democracy of Poland and Lithuania very sharply opposed the organisatory ideas of bolshevism. "Lenin", so wrote this organ, "has not up to now been able to free himself of the idea of the rule of a circle over the Party, from the conception of a political Party in which the leader is everything, the masses nothing, etc."

For the rest, the organisatory conceptions of Bolshevism were not understood by a single one of the West European Marxists, not even excepting those who stood on the extreme left wing of the Second International. For these conceptions were fully adapted to the immediate tasks of the revolution; it was only Russia which was immediately faced with the necessity of the revolution; the other countries were still in the phase of relatively peaceful and normal capitalist development.

Wherein in fact consisted the differences of opinions regarding the question of the organisatory basis of the Party, the difference which in the period previous to the war 1914-1918 separated the Bolsheviks from all West European Parties, which separated the Mensheviks and the Bolsheviks from each other, and which now divides the Second and the Third International into two irreconcilably hostile camps?

It consists in the difference and in the antagonism of the tasks which the Party of the Bolsheviks and all "Socialists" set themselves.

In the epoch before the imperialist war of 1914, all West European leaders of the proletariat constructed the Party apparatus to meet the tasks of the parliamentary struggle and the tasks of the propagation of socialist ideas. The Party organisation was to serve as an instrument which had to bring ever larger masses to cast their votes in favour of the social democracy. The difference between the right and the left wing of social democracy consisted in the fact, that the one conducted a policy of parliamentary compromise and the propaganda of opportunist methods and of revisionism, whilst the other fought in the Party for the domination of the ideas of revolutionary Marxism.

But in order to fight against opportunism and revisionism within the labour movement, the West European followers of revolutionary Marxism by no means wanted to split the Party in two: into an opportunist Party and into a revolutionary Party. On the contrary, the more liberty the more "democracy" there was within the Party, the more easy it was to bring broad masses into its ranks. The more scope it gave, the easier was the successful propaganda of the class struggle and of the final aims of socialism; precisely as at present the fight of our Communist Parties in the capitalist countries for influence in the trade unions is the more easy the more freedom and democracy there is in the latter.

Precisely therefore, because the tasks of the Party did not go beyond the limits of the parliamentary struggle and of the parliamentary order, the limits of the Party organisation and the limits of democracy in these organisations could be allowed to remain vague and indefinite, so that in some countries the trade unions, the co-operatives and the Party were amalgamated into a single organisation and every member of the trade union was straight-away regarded as a member of the Party.

And, according to the conditions of time and place and according to what tendency dominated in the Party, the left wing could attach more value to Party unity and defend it against the right, just as at present we are defending the unity of the trade unions against the compromisers in order to have a freer and broader field for the struggle for influence upon the proletariat. It was precisely therefore that such revolutionary groups as, for example, the Spartacus Bund with Rosa Luxemburg at the head found it so difficult to decide on a split from the social democracy, because they feared they might lose connection with the broad masses and the possibility of struggle among the masses against the social imperialists.

And finally, precisely because the organisatory conceptions of the Second International were formed under the influence of more or less purely parliamentary tasks, precisely therefore the organisatory ideas of Bolshevism were entirely strange, both to its right and left wings.

For in Russia there stood on the order of the day, not parliamentary tasks, but one single immediate task: the revolution. In the political system of Leninism all questions were and remain subordinated to this task: including the question of the relations to other classes and Parties and the slogans arising therefrom, as well as the organisatory questions.

Wherein consists the immediate firm indissoluble bond of organisatory tasks with the fundamental task of the revolution?

As a heritage of the heroic Party "Narodnaja Volja" (People's will) and through the mediation of the "Osvoboshdenje" (Emancipation of Labour) the Bolsheviks took over the immediate task of "organising the struggle for power". To this task, which Plechanov partially helped to solve ideologically in that he spoke of the hegemony of the proletariat in the revolutionary movement, Lenin immediately approached by **organising the struggle for the dictatorship of the proletariat and of the peasantry in the democratic revolution** (afterwards however the dictatorship of the proletariat based upon the alliance with the peasantry in the socialist revolution).

What is the meaning of this formula? In the first place it indicates the armed struggle against the bourgeoisie, independent of the bourgeois aims of the revolution; secondly, the struggle along with the peasantry (with the petty-bourgeoisie) with the preservation of the socialist and class tasks of the proletariat, i. e. with the preservation of the hegemony of the proletariat.

What sort of Party can prepare and organise such a fight?

Only such a Party which not only ideologically fights against opportunism, against the bourgeois influence upon the proletariat, but also as far as possible organisatorily excludes these elements from entering into the Party.

It is not difficult to understand that we can, in one and the same Party, and even in one and the same leading organ of the Party, be together with opportunists, so long as it is only a question of the ideological fight against opportunism and the influence upon the Party and the proletariat. It is, however, very easy to understand that if we prepare or conduct the armed irreconcilable fight against the bourgeoisie for the seizure of power, then we cannot for a moment tolerate to have beside us "comrades", people who even in the least way represent the interests of the bourgeoisie, for then we have the enemy, not only on the other side of the barricade, but immediately beside us and in the rear. In the same way it is not difficult to understand that the Party can only preserve the hegemony of the proletariat in its common struggle or alliance with the peasantry when its leading apparatus is free from representatives of petty-bourgeois influences.

It is for this reason that a Workers' Party which is immediately preparing and organising the revolution cannot open its doors to all those who seek admission, as the Parties of the Second International have done. From this arose the failure to understand the importance of the notorious § 1 of the statutes of the Bolshevik Party.

There is no doubt there exists an apparent contradiction in the bolshevik conceptions of organisation: a certain exclusiveness on the part of the Party and its leading apparatus, and at the same time the most vital and immediate connection of the Party with the broad masses. But this contradiction is only one of the aspects of the contradictions of the revolution itself, of the contradictions which arise out of the bourgeois revolution under the hegemony of the proletariat, or out of the socialist revolution of the proletariat which is based on the alliance with the peasantry. The Mensheviks fled from all the difficulties of this task into the sphere of historical abstraction or of the historical scheme, according to which the revolution in Russia was to follow similar lines to the bourgeois revolutions in the West. The Polish Social Democracy sought to evade these difficulties and contradictions and in the years 1905-1906 proclaimed the slogan of the Workers' government, which was to carry out the tasks of the bourgeois revolution without the bourgeoisie and without the peasantry.

Parvus and Trotzky however fled straight-away into the cloudy region of the abstract permanent revolution, behind which were hidden all the concrete conceptions of the difficulties and contradictions of the approaching revolution. And precisely because these Parties, groups and fractions did not approach these tasks of the revolution in a concrete manner, or dealt with them after the manner of the bourgeoisie, they were unable to understand the organisatory tasks of the Party as laid down by Lenin, and therefore they solved these questions in a "European manner". Therefore, in their eyes the organisatory principles of Leninism appeared as some monstrous theory of constant and unending splits, and therefore they did not understand, not only the inevitability and the significance of the splits which were taking place, but could just that as a result of the splits, Lenin alone would remain upon the battle field, who would split from himself.

As historical experience has shown, there are bound up in Leninism all the elements of the victorious proletarian revolution, inseparably into a single whole and indivisible system: including its attitude towards the peasantry, as well as its tactical slogans and its organisatory principles of the Party ap-

paratus which leads the Party. This is a system which has been cast in one mould and which is homogeneous to such an extent, that at the least contact with hostile class elements it sets up a movement of resistance, and in the event of the penetration of these elements, they are driven out in the same way as water drives oil or any other similar fluid to the surface.

If this was the case in the past, as for instance at the split from the Mensheviks, the liquidators, the otsovists (who advocated the boycott of the Duma election, Ed.) etc., so must this fight against the hostile elements to bolshevism be inevitably repeated and in a still sharper form, precisely because under the dictatorship of the proletariat, encircled by the petty bourgeois and capitalist environment, the danger from these alien, petty bourgeois elements becomes a thousand times greater than in the period before the revolution. This is the explanation for the sharp collision of bolshevism with our Polish group, in so far as the latter did not succeed on the occasion of the discussion of the C.P. of Russia last year to shake off the remnants of its anti-leninist traditions. I fear very much that perhaps ever sharper collisions with expressions which are peculiar to the individualism of Trotzky and alien to Bolshevism will prove more than once to be unavoidable and necessary.

Now, after the experience of the Russian Revolution, we know what is the meaning in practice in opposing the "leader", the "leading circle" on the one hand to the Party and the masses on the other, which we find in the above quoted words of the "Red Flag" in 1912. We know that this means the opposing of the C.C. on the one side to the Party masses on the other, the opposing of the dictatorship of the Party on the one side to the dictatorship of the proletariat on the other, or the assertion of the Polish Socialist Party and of the whole Second International means that we in the Soviet Union have not a dictatorship of the proletariat, but a dictatorship of the Party over the proletariat.

We now know quite well that without the bolshevik organisatory conceptions regarding the rôle of the leading circles in the Party (Central Committee, District Committee, Local Committee, or of the so-called Party apparatus in general) and in the revolution, there can be no revolution of the proletariat whatever, and no dictatorship of the proletariat. At present such an attack against the bolshevik conceptions of organisation as was the attack of Rosa Luxemburg in the "Neue Zeit" in 1904, would be an attack upon the revolution and upon the dictatorship of the proletariat. The attitude of our former leading group on the occasion of last year's discussion regarding the C.P. of Russia was nothing else than a repetition of the former attitude of the Social Democracy of Poland and Lithuania.

Of course, the attack by comrade Trotzky upon the Party apparatus etc. did not please any of us, and we were entirely against it. We feared that the discussion within the C.P. of Russia would overstep certain limits of Party unity, and demanded that this discussion be kept within certain limits. But we did not notice that it turned upon such a question, compared with which the question of the forms and of the limits of the struggle had no importance and that there was here an attack upon the bolshevik principles of organisation, upon the basis of the Bolshevik Party. And now we know what this means: an attack upon the dictatorship of the proletariat. Now we know that in such a case, to base oneself on the question of the form of the struggle is not only absurd, but is a repetition, under the new historical circumstances and in another form, of the attack of the "Social Democratic Party of Poland and Lithuania" upon Leninism, and that it means the support of the attack upon the principles of the revolution.

Our former leading group committed this error, although long before the V. World Congress of the Comintern it noted the incorrectness of the old attitude of the "Social Democratic Party of Poland and Lithuania" towards the bolshevik conceptions of organisation, and had decided to put an end to this "tradition" by explaining to the Party the enormous significance between the organisatory conceptions of our Party in the past and the conceptions of Bolshevism. But the power of habit is so deeply rooted in our minds that not only time and will are necessary, but that a still stronger thrust is necessary, as was for example the events in October and November 1923 in Germany, or the crisis in the leadership of the Communist Party of Poland, in order that Bolshevism shall be able to penetrate into the whole system of thought which was founded upon the theory and practice of the Second International.

An example of how difficult it is immediately and entirely to go over to the bolshevik system is furnished by the German comrades, old spartacists, who even before the war, together with Rosa Luxemburg, fought upon the left wing of German Social

Democracy and have behind them the best theoretical school of Marxism. And I am convinced that a man with such an outstanding intelligence and with such gifts as comrade Trotzky has failed to remark the whole significance of his attack upon the Party, only because he himself was not familiar with the past of Bolshevism.

The attack of comrade Trotzky, although in another form and under different circumstances, was very similar to that attack which Rosa Luxemburg undertook in 1904 upon the "circle" and the "leader", who are set up against the Party mass &c. This similarity of attack, as well as our own errors, throws a bright light upon the past of our Party, and, vice versa, our past clearly illuminates our present error. I will not speak of the enormous distance of time and space which lies between the attack of 1904 and that of 1923. The proceedings of Comrade Rosa Luxemburg, whom Lenin named a short time before his death as an "eagle of the revolution", was to a very large extent a fight in the air, in which at that time the organisational conceptions of Leninism were floating; the revolution and the dictatorship of the proletariat did not yet exist on earth. The attack of 1923 was an immediate blow against the greatest and most essential achievements of the international working class. This difference does not, of course, lessen its danger, but on the contrary renders it infinitely greater.

V. WORLD CONGRESS OF THE COMINTERN

Work of Communist Parties among the Working Women.

I.

Introduction.

The economic and political world situation opens before the eyes of the international proletariat a vista of prolonged and acute class struggles of tremendous proportions. The aim of these struggles is the conquest of state power by the proletariat and the establishment of its dictatorship. In these class struggles, the international proletariat must use all its energy, pressure, zeal and determination. The guarantee for the victory of the international proletariat is the formation of the united front from below and its alliance with the great masses of the impoverished and proletarianised toilers in both town and countryside.

The proletarian united front and the extension of the fighting line are possible only if the toiling women—proletarian women, working peasant women, and women of the petty bourgeoisie—participate actively and with determination and self-sacrifice in all the struggles of the proletariat. The counter-revolutionaries have recognised the importance of women in this fight. The socialdemocrats and other reformists, fascists and bourgeois elements of all kinds, are energetically endeavouring to exploit women for their own purposes. In view of this fact, it is one of the most urgent tasks of the communist parties, to withdraw the broad masses of women from the counterrevolutionary influence and to win them over for the fight for communism.

The entrance of the women of the Near and Far East into the international class struggle is of special significance because of the present world situation. The subjected and exploited peoples of the East are beginning to rise against their tormentors and to fight for their national independence and against subjugation and exploitation of every kind. This struggle gives the women of the East the opportunity of escaping from the darkness of the centuries of enslavement, to demand full equality and recognition as members of the human race. The participation of the women of the East in these struggles against imperialism will add a powerful stream of fresh energy of millions to the world revolution which has hitherto been pent up by social conditions, traditions, custom and religious prejudice.

After the conquest and establishment of State power in the Soviet system by the proletariat, the latter has a gigantic task to fulfil. It must reconstruct the whole of society in the direction of communism—the economic foundation as well as the whole ideological superstructure. In no field of social life can this be accomplished without the intelligent and devoted cooperation of the broad masses of the women. In the Soviet Republics it is imperative that the millions of toiling women be drawn into the reconstruction work of the proletariat and that their efficiency and usefulness for this work be increased.

The present world situation imposes on the whole International the necessity of carrying on work among the women of the proletariat, of the small peasants, and of the petty bour-

geoisie with greater energy and system than hitherto. The Communist Parties must develop women into conscious, active workers in every struggle of the revolutionary proletariat. Historic experience has proved that those women who are generally backward know how to struggle courageously and devotedly when they are imbued with the power of the revolutionary ideas. The revolution in Russia, and the struggles in Bulgaria and Germany have demonstrated this.

Therefore the Fifth World Congress reminds all the national sections of the Communist International of the decision of its predecessors relating to communist work among the women. It strongly emphasises the spirit of these decisions to hasten the proletarian world revolution by awakening, organising and educating the broadest masses of women. The Congress strongly emphasises the fact that communist work among women must not be considered as a secondary task of communist parties, but that it is, rather, one of the most important, nay, decisive aspects of their principal task—to organise and ensure the fight and victory of the revolutionary proletariat. The Fifth World Congress reminds the Communist Parties of the worlds of Lenin: "The proletarian revolution can be victorious only if millions upon millions of the toiling women participate in the struggle".

II.

Tasks.

The task of the Communist Parties of all countries to win over the toiling women, is divided into three parts:

- 1) Work among the women in the capitalist countries;
- 2) In the colonial and semi-colonial countries;
- 3) In the Soviet Republics.

1) In view of the necessity of reorganising the Communist Parties on the basis of factory nuclei, the Fifth World Congress emphatically emphasises the fact that the communist work among the masses of women in the industrial centres must be devoted largely to winning over the working women in the factories. Communists must concentrate on the effort to destroy every sign of illusions in the working women that a way out of the miserable plight can be found within the frame-work of bourgeois society, or with the help of democracy. The fundamental political education to class consciousness must be supplemented by the practical training of the masses of working women in their organisation for active participation in all economic and political struggles of the proletariat. Our work must also embrace the unemployed women so as to keep them in close touch with their factories.

The work of educating the proletarian women political and of involving them in the economic and political fighting front of their class must also be carried on in the trade union among the industrial as well as the agricultural working women. The organisation and political mobilisation of the domestic servants must under no circumstances be neglected.

The work among the working peasant women must be undertaken immediately and energetically, especially in the agrarian countries. The following elements must be regarded as the basis for agitational and organisational work among the toiling peasant women: agricultural women workers, landless peasant women, war widows, domestic servants, working women from the countryside, and so on. This work must be carried on in close contact with the co-operative movement, which must also be utilised for communist aims among the proletarian and petty bourgeois women.

The Communist Parties must strive to destroy the bourgeois illusions of the women employed in the factories, offices, and public administrative institutions, of the teachers and women employees in the post, telephone and telegraph institutions, and to open the eyes of these slaves of large capital to the fact that they are being exploited.

To win over and organise the working women for active participation in the struggles of the revolutionary working class is of the greatest importance, in view of the violence and long duration of the fighting in the post-war period. The enlightenment and mobilisation of the working women must be in close connection with the work in the factories in which their members are employed.

For the solution of the tasks confronting us the activity of the communists must also be strengthened in the tenant unions and similar organisations in which the masses of proletarian and petty bourgeois women are united.

The revolutionary exploitation of parliamentarism in all spheres must be increased by the understanding, alertness, and activity of the broadest masses of the women. Women must support the communist fractions in parliament by their demands

in parliament, by their control of the parliaments, and by their demonstrations against parliament, and unmask the counter-revolutionary character of all parliaments and of all bourgeois and reformist parties. It is especially important to keep a watch on the activity of the local parliaments. Here the danger of opportunist disgressions is greatest, and questions are discussed which directly affect the interests of the broadest masses of women.

The present situation renders it imperative that the Communist Parties, during the period of legality, prepare and train women comrades for active work during the period of illegality. Moreover, the women must be allowed to take full part in the work of disrupting armed groups of every kind, and in the overthrowing of fascism, not only politically, but by the attack of the armed proletariat.

2) The special historical circumstances under which the work must be carried on in the Near and Far East, demand specific and extraordinary tasks which differ greatly from the tasks in the other countries. Here the struggle against tradition, custom, and religious influence is of first importance. Special methods of work and special forms of organisation are necessary so that the communist doctrine penetrates to the toiling women and recruits them as fighters for the revolution.

3) In the Soviet Republics the most important task is the mobilisation of the millions of working women for strengthening the proletarian State power, for the reconstruction of social economy, for intelligent cooperation in all fields and in all organisation of State and social life, as well as for the social training of the coming generation.

III.

Organisation.

The Fifth World Congress stresses emphatically that communist work among the masses of toiling women is a task of the whole Party. It must be connected more closely than hitherto with general Party work. In all general activity of the Party and in all the work and the campaigns, it must be determined beforehand what special measures must be taken for the mobilisation of the toiling women. In order to emphasise more than hitherto the political side of communist work among women, the women comrades must be drawn without exception into the general political Party problems. Special organs must be created for the purpose of increasing the influence of the Party among the toiling women in the most united, systematic, and energetic way possible, so as to remind the entire organisation of the tasks confronting them in this connection.

The Fifth World Congress imposes upon every Communist Party the task of carrying out the following measures:

1) In the work of reorganising the Party on the basis of factory nuclei, a comrade, either man or woman, must immediately be made responsible in each factory nuclei for the work of mobilising and organising the working women; this holds good for every trade union fraction.

In every organisation in which the Communist Party take up work among the women: Labour Party, co-operatives, tenant organisations, parents committees, war veteran organisations, etc., a comrade must be made responsible for work among the women.

2) The leaders of the Communist Parties must inaugurate women's pages and women's supplements in the general press, and regularly set aside a special space for the discussion of questions of special interest to women. Wherever possible, a special organ for work among women must be issued. Attempts must be made to start special periodicals for working women. In all Party organs which assist in the theoretical and practical education of the members, the revolutionary training of the women must be given requisite attention.

The Party leadership must make the necessary arrangements for issuing agitational and propaganda literature, brochures, leaflets, posters etc., which will assist in the development, rallying and education of the wide masses of women.

3) In all leading Party organisations, from the local group to the central committee, a member must be made responsible for carrying on communist work amongst the working women.

4) A special committee must be appointed to assist this member in the work.

A women's secretariat must be set up in every national fraction. At least one permanent employee (man or woman) must be engaged for this secretariat.

5) A special department must be established for the work in the Eastern Countries, which will be an integral political and organisational part of the Secretariat for the Orient and colonial

countries, and the head of which will be a member of the International Women's Secretariat.

The carrying out of the measures enumerated above is of great importance at the present time, when the Communist Parties are confronted with the task of reorganising the Party on the basis of factory nuclei, of giving the work among the trade unions the attention its importance demands in the general activity of the Party, and of transforming millions of working women, employees and professional women from patient slaves of capitalism to fighters, conscious of their aims, against capitalist economy and the bourgeois class state.

The Communist International calls upon all its sections to fulfil its duty in this connection, in the knowledge that the conscious active participation of the working women is an essential forerunner of the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat and of communist reconstruction.

The Constitution of the Communist International.

The following resolution, passed at the V. World Congress, constitutes the Introduction to the **Statutes of the Communist International**, published in No. 62, page 668, of *Inprecorr*, 29th August, 1924 Ed.

In the year 1864 the first International Labour Association—the First International—was formed in London. In the constitution of this International Labour Association it was stated:

"That the liberation of the workers must be the business of the workers themselves; that in struggling for their liberation the workers must strive not to create new privileges or monopolies, but to establish equal rights and liabilities for all and to suppress all class supremacy;

That the economic subordination of the workers to the monopolist owner of the means of production, that is to say, all the sources of life, is the chief cause of his enslavement in all its forms, of all social evil, the moral degeneration, and political subordination of the working class;

That the economic liberation of the working class is the greatest object to which all political movement as a means must be subordinated.

That all attempts to attain this end have so far remained unsuccessful because of the lack of solidarity between the workers of the different industries in each separate country, and the absence of a brotherly union between the workers of different countries;

That the liberation of Labour being neither a local, nor national, but an international task, touches the interests of all countries, in which the modern social order exists and for its accomplishment, demands a theoretical and practical mutual action of the more advanced countries;

That the actual simultaneous revival of the labour movement in the industrial countries of Europe is on the one hand exciting new hopes and on the other hand a seriously warning against the repetition of former mistakes and demanding an immediate uniting of the movements which up to now have been disunited."

The Second International formed in 1889 in Paris undertook to continue the work of the First International. But in 1914 at the beginning of the world war it suffered a complete collapse. The Second International expired, undermined by opportunism and slain by the treachery of the leaders who had passed over to the bourgeoisie.

The Third Communist International formed in March 1919 in Moscow, the capital of the Russian Socialist Federative Soviet Republic, proclaimed solemnly to the whole world that it undertakes to continue and complete the great work begun by the First International Workingmen's Association.

The Third Communist International was organised at the moment when the imperialist war of 1914-1918 was drawing to its close, a slaughter in which the imperialist bourgeoisie of different countries sacrificed twenty million men.

"Remember the imperialist war!" These are the first words that the Communist International addresses to each worker, wherever he may live, whatever language he may speak. "Remember that owing to the existence of the capitalistic order, a small group of capitalists was able during four long years to compel the workers of various countries to cut each others throats! Remember that the bourgeois war has cast Europe and the whole world into terrible famine and poverty! Remember that without the overthrow of capitalism the repetition of such wars for plunder is not only possible, but even inevitable."

The goal of the Communist International is a struggle by all means, even with force of arms for the overthrow of the international bourgeoisie and the creation of an international

Soviet Republic as a transitional stage to the complete suppression of the State. The Communist International considers the dictatorship of the proletariat as the only means of delivering humanity from the horrors of capitalism. And the Communist International considers the Soviet Power the historically brought forth form of such dictatorship of the proletariat.

The imperialist war has joined particularly closely the fate of the workers of one country with that of the proletarians of all other countries. It has once more confirmed the truth of the words in the Constitution of the First International: "The liberation of the workers is not a local nor national, but an international task."

The Communist International breaks with the traditions of the Second International, for which practically only the white race existed. The Communist International's aim is the liberation of the workers of the whole world. In the ranks of the Communist International are united as brothers the white, yellow, and black races, the workers of the whole world.

The Communist International supports fully and unswervingly the achievements of the great Proletarian Revolution of Russia, the first victorious Socialist Revolution in the history of the world, and calls upon the proletarians of the whole world to follow its steps. The Communist International undertakes to support by all means in its power every Soviet Republic wherever it may be created.

The Communist International knows that in order to achieve victory sooner, the International Workingmen's Association, struggling for the suppression of capitalism and the establishment of Communism, must have a regular centralised organisation. As a matter of fact the Communist International must effectively and practically be a single world Communist Party whose branches are the Communist Parties working in each country. The organising apparatus of the Communist International must guarantee to the workers of each country the possibility at any given moment of receiving the maximum of assistance from the organised proletarians of the other countries.

To this end the Communist International adopts the following articles of the Constitution.

Resolution on Fascism.

I.

Fascism is one of the classical forms of counter-revolution in the epoch of the decay of capitalist social order, in the epoch of proletarian revolution, especially where the proletariat has taken up the struggle for power but has not been able, owing to the lack of revolutionary experience, and owing to the fact, that there is no leading class Party to organise the proletarian revolution and promote the uprising of the masses up to the establishment of the proletarian dictatorship.

Fascism is the fighting instrument of the big bourgeoisie against the proletariat, to overcome which the legal state means of power no longer suffice; it is the ultra-legal means of struggle of the big bourgeoisie for the setting up and consolidation of its dictatorship. But as regards its social structure fascism is a petty-bourgeois movement. It has its roots in the middle classes who, as a consequence of the capitalist crisis, are doomed to disappear, as well as in the elements who have become declassed as a consequence of the war (ex-officers etc.), and partly even in those elements of the proletariat who are embittered and disappointed in their revolutionary expectations.

Along with the progressive decay of bourgeois society all bourgeois Parties and particular social democracy assume a more or less fascist character, use the same methods of struggle against the proletariat and thereby themselves help to disintegrate the social order for the maintenance of which they have been formed. Fascism and social democracy are two sides of one

and the same instrument of the dictatorship of the big capitalists. In the fight against fascism social democracy can therefore never be a reliable ally of the proletariat which is fighting against fascism.

In consequence of its inner contradictions (antagonistic interests between the big bourgeoisie on the one side and the petty-bourgeois and proletarian elements on the other) fascism, after its victory, encounters political bankruptcy which leads to its inner disintegration (Italy). It arrives at a similar state of crisis in those places where—without having gained a formal victory—it has been compelled openly to support and to defend the big bourgeois regime (Germany).

II.

According to the historical role, the nature and the social composition of fascism, the fight of the communists against it must be conducted with those methods and means which will enable and secure its political defeat as well as the direct repulse of its armed attack against the revolutionary proletariat. Such means are (among others):

A. On the Political Field.

1) A real revolutionary strategy and policy on the part of the communist Parties, which fills the masses of the proletariat and of the bourgeois middle sections and small peasants with confidence in the communist movement and promotes and confirms the belief in the solution of the economic, social, political and cultural problems through the dictatorship of the proletariat.

2) Systematic enlightenment of the working class regarding the counter-revolutionary and anti-labour character of fascism.

3) Systematic enlightenment of the masses of the petty-bourgeoisie and the peasantry who are proletarianised and oppressed by the crisis of capitalism regarding their situation and the purely great capitalist functions of fascism.

4) Active foreign policy. Fight against the imperialist peace treaties, reparations problems, League of Nations humbug etc. broadest enlightenment regarding the nature and the fatal consequences of imperialist foreign policy for the working masses.

5) Fight for revolutionary alliance with the Union of Soviet Republics. Active Leninist policy in the national questions. Fight for the right to self-determination and separation of all suppressed nations.

6) Efforts to set up the united front of all working sections in the fight against fascism. Fight for the international united front of the world proletariat under the leadership of the Comintern.

7) Control of anti-fascist propaganda by the Party Central in the various countries. A large-scaled issue of placards, leaflets and newspaper articles against fascism.

B. On the Organisatory and Military Field.

1) Formation of armed defence units against armed fascism (Proletarian Hundredshafts etc.).

2) Disarming of the fascists and seizure of their stores of arms and ammunition.

3) Counter-demonstrations of the working class with armed escorts against the demonstrations of the fascists.

4) Against the acts of terror of the fascists (destruction of trade union premises, printing works, etc., attempts upon the lives of workers and workers' leaders etc.) organising of the general strike, employment of mass terror of the working class by reprisals against the fascists, their leaders, their printing works and undertakings.

5) Prevention of transports by rail in cases of fascist mobilisation, rallies, meetings and demonstrations.

6) Driving the fascists out of their workshops; sabotage passive resistance, strikes in the factories, where fascists are employed and used in order to spy upon and to split the workers

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Leninism or Trotzkyism? Speech by Comrade L. Kamenev.

The following is a written version of the speech given by me on the 18. November at the session held by the Moscow Committee, enlarged by the active Party functionaries, and repeated on 19. November at the session of the communist fraction of the Trade Union council, and on 21. November at the conference of military functionaries.

L. K.

The subject of my speech will be comrade Trotzky's latest publication, the article which appeared on the eve of the seventh anniversary of the October revolution, and entitled by its author "The Lessons of October."

Trotzky presents the Party with books fairly frequently. Hitherto we have not thought it necessary to pay much attention to these books, although it is not difficult to find in many of them various deviations from Bolshevism, from the official ideology of our Party. But this book must be accorded special attention, and subjected to a thorough analysis, the more that comrade Trotzky has selected the theme of the Lessons of October for his last publication.

As our whole Party, the whole Communist International, the whole international labour movement, and the whole working youth, are learning the lessons taught by the October revolution, and will continue to learn them, it is not possible to consider the interpretation of these lessons as the private affair of this or that writer. As the "Lessons of October" appears with the sanction of the Party, and as it has been written by a member of the CC and the political bureau, of our Party, which—and this is no secret—is the leading Party in the Comintern, then it is perfectly clear that we are threatened by the danger of having such proclamations, such "lessons", accepted as text book by not only our youthful members, but also by the whole Comintern. And the form assumed by comrade Trotzky's work shows it to aim at being a text book for the Comintern.

All who have read the article are bound to see that it appeals not only to our Party, but the international proletariat as well, and to the communist Parties of all countries. And thus it is not a matter of private opinion, but a political conflict concerning the whole Party. Should any comrades maintain that the conflict aroused by comrade Trotzky's book is merely a conflict between Trotzky, Bucharin, Zinoviev, Stalin, and Kamenev, a difference of opinion between literates, these comrades would prove that they are unable to grasp the real interests of the Party. Comrades holding such an opinion can only do so because they would like to utilise the Party conflicts for the purpose of forming some third group based on the slogan: "The

literates are quarrelling among themselves, but it has nothing to do with us."

No one has a right to stand aside in this conflict. It concerns one of the most far-reaching questions of our inner life, and of the life of the Comintern. The question is: Can the Party recommend the proletariat to accept the lessons as taught by comrade Trotzky's book, or should the Party exercise the whole of its authority in warning the proletariat against the teaching of the "Lessons of October?"

I am not desirous of here entering into a long controversy with this article of comrade Trotzky's. Comrade Trotzky is an excellent writer, and his gifted pen has done the Party much valuable service. But here it serves interests hostile to the Party, here it does not serve Bolshevism, but the cause of those seeking to disintegrate and discredit Bolshevism—both the Bolshevism embodying the ideology of the proletarian revolution and the Bolshevism organising the fighting force of the proletariat. And comrade Trotzky does this by means of an exceedingly artistic, but essentially incorrect, and inaccurate, description of the whole of the events between February and October. I have no doubt but that the Party will call upon a number of its writers, among those who participated in the events of this period and took immediate part in the struggle leading up to the October revolution, and that these will refute the various misrepresentations made by comrade Trotzky with reference to decisive moments in the history of our Party during this epoch.

The April demonstration is misrepresented, the April conference is misrepresented, the events in June and July are misrepresented, the events in connection with the preliminary parliament are misrepresented, and finally the course taken by events in October itself are misrepresented. Here I cannot dwell upon the details required for the restoration of historical truth, or on the confronting of comrade Trotzky's assertions by documentary evidence. What I want to deal with here is the general question of the social and political import of the attitude adopted by comrade Trotzky, and the significance of this attitude when considered in the light of the previous positions taken up by comrade Trotzky, and of the rôle played by comrade Trotzky.

We have hitherto abstained from putting this questions, for easily comprehensible reasons. But now we can avoid it no longer, for comrade Trotzky, in thus raising the question of October, the question of the rôle played by our Party and by Lenin in the creation of the ideology underlying the October revolution, himself forces us to deal with the question from all the standpoints which have been adopted by comrade Trotzky during the history of the Bolshevik Party.