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C O N T E N T S

Zinoviev: The Epoch of Wars and Revolutions.

Politics

Chicherin: The English Attacks on the Soviet Union.

Wording of the Indictment against the German Fascists sentenced in Moscow.

Grieco: Two Congresses in Rome.

Spector: The Canadian Federal Budget, the National Debt and the Coming Election.

In the International

Schneller: The Tenth Party Congress of the Communist Party of Germany.

Letter from the Executive Committee of the Comintern to the Tenth Congress of the Communist Party of Germany.

The Youth Movement.

Young: The Conference of the Young Communist League of Great Britain.

The Women's Movement

Sturm: Five Years of "Kommunistka".

The Peasants' Movement.

Resolution of the Second Enlarged Plenum of the International Peasant Council upon the Work amongst the Peasants.

Our Problems

Duncker: Graziadei's Revision of Marxism. 1. Social Democratic and Communist Revisionism.

The Epoch of Wars and Revolutions.

By G. Zinoviev.

"Proletarians of all countries and oppressed peoples of the world, unite!"

The formula "Epoch of Wars and Revolutions" was first made use of at the beginning of this century. At that time the whole Marxist camp had come to an agreement that it was just this formula which defined the approaching historical events in an exhaustive way. Kautsky who at that time was still a Marxist, was one of the authors of this formula.

At the beginning of the imperialist war in 1914 it became evident that, in order to be exact, we could not speak simply of an "epoch of wars and revolution", but of an "epoch of imperialist wars and of the socialist revolution". From that moment onwards the whole opportunist camp, i. e. almost the whole of the Second International, took their heels fleeing eagerly in the direction of the Right, burning all the bridges behind them.

An epoch of imperialist wars, as was demonstrated by Lenin, not only does not exclude national wars of liberation (oppressed nations fighting imperialism for their independence), but regards them as in the natural order of things. An epoch of socialist revolution does not exclude revolutionary democratic movements on a large scale (for instance that of the peasantry), but regards them as being in the natural order of things. Such

movements, under favourable conditions, gradually develop from bourgeois democratic into socialist ones. All this taken together is finally the epoch of the proletarian world revolution.

Within this epoch ebb and flow are inevitable. For a few years after the first great victory of the proletarian world-revolution in Russia (in 1917), the tide continued to flow. It began to turn in about 1921. When several years without actual war and without actual revolution supervened, the opportunists of the whole world were confirmed in their "conviction" that the epoch of wars and revolutions was ended and was replaced by the era of "pacifism" and "democracy". When a state of actual revolution gave place for a time to one of simple revolution, the whole Second International "interpreted" it as meaning that revolution had vanished for ever from the arena of world's history.

Will a revival of the world revolution necessarily involve a new war? The answer might be as follows: the victory of the proletarian revolution in the countries which are the decisive factor in the question, is possible without a new war, but a new war is impossible without a new revolution resulting.

The best "theorists" of the Second International (see, for instance, the book by Otto Bauer which has recently appeared)

behave as though they could not tear themselves away from the socialist revolution; they maintain "only" (!) that socialism is impossible on the basis of the productive forces which were thrown into disorder by the imperialist world war. Capitalism, they say, should be allowed once more to raise its head, to develop the productive forces destroyed by the war, to stabilise itself, and then it would be possible to think not of "the socialism of poverty", but of "real" socialism. There is however a trifle which escapes the notice of these worthy critics: as soon as capitalism begins to establish itself in the least degree, it immediately contemplates new wars. Every step towards the "stabilisation" of capitalism is at the same time a step towards a new war.

If further proofs were necessary, recent events — Morocco and China — would seem to testify to it with sufficient emphasis. The worthy theorists of the Second International do not notice into what a mistaken circle they have stumbled: do not touch capitalism at the moment when its productive forces are destroyed by the first imperialist world war; let capital once more gather force and get on its feet; and when it begins to gather these forces — or to be more exact, when it prepares to gather its forces — it will start a new war, small at first and then of larger dimensions, it will once more shatter its productive forces, it will again destroy the accumulated material wealth, and it will be left to us "socialists" once more to "start from the beginning".

As is well-known, the Conference of the Enlarged ECCI which took place recently, devoted a great deal of attention to the question of a partial stabilisation of capital. The resolutions of the ECCI have been brilliantly confirmed by recent events. If the partial stabilisation of capital has been somewhat overestimated in some section or other of our ranks, it could do no objective harm to the cause. The Communist International called attention to the partial stabilisation of capital with the object of saying to the communist parties: **Be prepared even for a worse end; forge the Bolshevist party even though the ebb of revolution should continue for a number of years.** The slogan "bolshevisation" followed on the word "stabilisation". And the more stabilisation proves to be relative, the more energetically shall we work towards bolshevisation.

But the objective situation is developing in such a way that it will soon be possible to express it in the formula: "stabilisation for a penny, bolshevisation for half-a-crown".

This by no means implies that there is no "stabilisation". The resolutions of the ECCI are quite right.

Stabilisation for a penny, bolshevisation for half-a-crown, means that the economic stabilisation of capitalism is very relative. It is impossible to ignore it, it is necessary however to take it into consideration with regard to the right policy of the proletariat. All the resolutions of the recent Conference of the Enlarged ECCI on the question of stabilisation are **completely and unconditionally right.** But these resolutions also pointed out that even in stabilisation capitalism itself takes care that every step it takes, helps to create situation which objectively furthers bolshevisation.

Bolshevisation does not consist merely in theses on bolshevisation nor merely in good bolshevist books. Bolshevisation consists in the events in China. Bolshevisation consists in the approach between the Trade Unions of the Soviet Union and those of Great Britain. Bolshevisation consists in the growth of the influence of the Communist Party of Great Britain. Bolshevisation consists in the growing discontent of all French workers, without distinction of political creed, with the war in Morocco. Bolshevisation consists in the universal work of all conscious adherents of the proletarian revolution, which is spread over the whole world, in strengthening the proletariat which must fulfil its historical vocation against capitalism. Bolshevisation consists in the organisation of the proletarian advanced guard so as to enable them to carry with them not only the whole working class but also the oppressed peoples of the world, to strike the fetters of capitalism from their feet and to seize freedom.

The present situation is characterised by the following six facts:

1. The immense revolutionary uprising in China which has already developed into the stage of a general strike.

2. War in Morocco which has already begun to rouse into activity even those Workers who agree with the Menshevist socialists.

3. The increase of unemployment in England which has already led to formidable demonstrations of the unemployed and — under the considerable influence of the C. P. of Great Britain — to the summoning of an extraordinary Trade Union Congress.

4. The beginning of a serious financial crisis in Germany which has already led to the bankruptcy of Stinnes & Co. (the payments according to the Dawes plan which will begin shortly will exacerbate this crisis).

5. The insidiously progressive financial and economic crisis in France, a country which was victorious in the imperialist war but which, in essentials, is undergoing the same experiences which have been made by the defeated states.

6. The rapid growth of industry and the rich harvests in the Soviet Union.

If it be added to this that since the Enlarged E. C. C. I. completed its work, more events have happened such as Hindenburg's election, the "landslide" of the Herriot Government, the events in Bulgaria, the noise about the so-called Guarantee Pact, it is quite clear that the Enlarged E. C. C. I. was perfectly justified in calling attention to the degree of stabilisation, to the relativity of the stabilisation of capital.

You who are the like of Herr Bauer, turn your attention again and again to the following: the "stabilisation" of your capitalist economic system will inevitably lead to new conflicts, to the danger of new wars, to new shattering of the productive forces in the future. The real growth of the well-being of the broad masses of the people however, real and permanent economic reconstruction is happening just in this country, the only one which has hitherto been ours and has carried through the proletarian revolution without "waiting for" a new re-establishment of capitalism after the imperialist war, but on the contrary made use of the crisis which was caused by the imperialist war.

The war in Morocco is at present a "small" local, almost "provincial" war; but we all know that even the "great" war of 1914—1918 was preceded by a number of "small" wars. The "classic" colonial war which is now going on in Morocco, seems undoubtedly to be in the same way a precursor of coming "great" imperialist wars. Capitalism had hardly had time to "get its breath" again after the first imperialist world war, when it again led mankind very close to the danger of new wars. Again and again the question of the attitude of the proletariat to war becomes a very actual one. The time has come to recall what Lenin, one of the greatest teachers of the international proletariat, wrote in December 1922 in "Remarks on the Question of the Tasks of our Delegation at the Hague":

"We must give a practical explanation of the depth of the mystery which surrounds the birth of a war, and how helpless an ordinary workers' organisation, even though it calls itself a revolutionary organisation, finds itself when faced by the actual approach of a war."

The task of Communism in the whole world consists in ensuring that this warning of Lenin's becomes the property of the working masses who number many millions. Just now, before it is too late, the working masses numbering many millions must understand how "great is the secret" of the "guarantee pacts" and of other similar pseudo-pacifist crimes, from which as a matter of fact new imperialist slaughter arises. "Therefore", Lenin continues in the same remarks, "firstly: the discussion of the question of the 'defence of the fatherland'; secondly: in connection with it the discussion of the question of 'defaultism' and finally the discussion of the only thing possible: a war against war, especially the maintenance or creation of an illegal organisation of all the revolutionaries who are taking part in war, for permanent work against war... The boycott of war is a hollow phrase. The communists must take part in every reactionary war."

They must take the weapons from the enemies' hands so as to be able at the appropriate moment to use these weapons against the imperialists of their "own" country.

It is just the right time to recall these words of Lenin's, in connection with the war in Morocco and in connection with the fact that there is altogether a smell of powder in the air.

The war in Morocco is a "small" colonial war, but the French imperialist bourgeoisie shows a not little "anxiety". The same despicable talk about the "defence of the fatherland" through imperialist war which we heard at the beginning of the war of 1914, is being repeated. The same draconic measures against any honest voice which makes itself heard against war, are being carried out. The bourgeoisie and the leaders of the socialist Mensheviks are with one consent crying against the communists "Crucify them!" The leaders of the bourgeoisie are lowering themselves so far as to use the coarsest forgeries and the meanest lies (thus M. Painlevé especially made great efforts a few days ago to calumniate the writer of this article in the French Parliament, he was however immediately unmasked and had to eat his own words ignominiously).

Fortunately however the workers no longer need years to understand the predatory character of the war carried on by their own "bourgeoisie". Half the members of the French Socialist Party (Mensheviks) voted at an original ballot against the Painlevé Government and consequently against the war in Morocco. We do not doubt that all the honest and proletarian elements in the ranks of the French Socialist Party are on our side in this question. We extend a hand of warm friendship to these socialist workers whom we regard as class brothers, as brothers in to-morrow's fight against imperialist war.

The international proletariat rests its greatest hope on the approach between the Trade Unions of the Soviet Union and of Great Britain. On the horizon is dawning the possibility of a real union of the broadest masses of workers throughout Europe, in the first place for a war against new wars in the future. The more actual the danger of these wars becomes, the stronger will be the tendency for the union of workers of all countries for the combination of all the forces of the international proletariat, the only guarantee against a new imperialist war.

The great events in China which are happening before our eyes, show the advanced guard of the European proletariat very plainly what powerful reserves we have in the East. For a whole month now, a movement has been developing in China such as has never been seen before in that country, a movement which is spreading and intensifying with irresistible force in spite of the predatory campaign of the united imperialists of a number of countries.

The events in China will doubtless have a tremendous revolutionising significance for the other countries in the East and especially for the other colonies and the countries dependent on imperialist England. Just as in its day the Russian revolution of 1905 had the greatest revolutionising influence on Turkey, Persia and China, the present great movement in China will without doubt have a tremendous influence in Indo-China, India etc. The enormous contingents of oppressed humanity who live in the East, numbering hundreds of millions, will greedily seize on every item of news from revolutionary China and will concentrate their thoughts on how they themselves can organise and revolt against the oppressors, the imperialists.

The same thing will also happen in Mexico, which the imperialist bourgeoisie of the United States has recently been "bullying" with special insistence. And the same will happen in the English Dominions — as far as the masses of workers are concerned.

The lessons of the events in China however must not be allowed to pass without bearing fruit, especially for the advanced guard of the international proletariat. The vanguard of the international proletariat cannot make our whole class fit for victory throughout the world unless it exterminates "Labour imperialism" from the ranks of our own class, otherwise it will not be able to carry with it the oppressed peoples. The imperialist policy of kindling new wars at a time when mankind has hardly had time to draw breath since the universal slaughter of the years 1914—1918, facilitates this task of the vanguard of the international proletariat. China has revolted to-day, to-morrow Indo-China and India will rise. Shanghai, Hong-Kong, Peking and Canton have revolted to-day, to-morrow Calcutta and Madras will rise. To the slogan "Proletarians of all countries, unite!" must be added "and oppressed peoples of the world!"

"The Communist International", said Lenin in one of his speeches (Vol. 13, p. 394 of the Russian edition) in November 1920, "has issued the following slogan for the peoples of the

East: 'Proletarians of all countries and oppressed peoples, unite!' One of the comrades asked 'When did the E. C. C. I. decide to alter the slogans?' I really cannot remember. From the point of view of the Communist Manifesto of course it is not right, but the Communist Manifesto was written under quite different conditions; nevertheless from the point of view of present policy it is right".

The slogan: "Proletarians of all countries and oppressed peoples of the world, unite!" was proclaimed by the E. C. C. I. in connection with the well-known Congress of the peoples of the East in Baku. The events which are now taking place in China and Morocco before our very eyes, make this slogan one of great practical value and impart flesh and blood to it.

"Proletarians of all countries and oppressed peoples, unite!", this slogan belongs exclusively to the Communist International.

The raging, foaming hatred against the Communist International, the incessant campaign against the Communist International throughout the world, all this is explained by the fact that the imperialists, even though they do not understand it, still feel instinctively from which quarter the wind is blowing, that they feel that the Communist International is a genuine expression of the proletarian revolution, that the Communist International will dig the grave of capitalistic society.

The European bourgeoisie cannot but recognise that the Soviet Union is increasing in economic strength by the stabilisation of the currency, the growth of export, the growth of industry in the Soviet State and even the orders which the Soviet Union places abroad. The "most advanced" strata of the European bourgeoisie would like to force the Russian revolution into the position of a strictly national revolution. Go to the devil, strengthen yourselves, flourish, but change into a State of petty bourgeois limitation, do not ally yourselves with the Communist International, cast away your dreams of a world revolution! For this reason the struggle which is waging round the Communist International has specially deep significance for the advanced sections of the working class, among them for the working class of the Soviet Union.

The epoch of wars and revolutions continues and is changing before our eyes into an epoch of imperialist wars and of the socialist revolution. The communists should understand how to transmit throughout the world, from mouth to mouth, from land to land, from continent to continent, the great slogan: "Proletarians of all countries and oppressed peoples of the world, unite!"

POLITICS

The English Attacks on the Soviet Union.

By G. Chicherin.

In a certain portion of the English press as well in the press of other countries, a bitter campaign is being carried on against our Government, in connection with the events in China. This campaign is given almost an official sanction by the speech of Lord Birkenhead, the Secretary State for India, as to the relations between England and the Soviet Union. Lord Birkenhead expressed his regret that the British government had no opportunity of discussing the question of this rare and dangerous pest, which is known under the name of "Bolshevism". He referred to the words of Chamberlain who has declared that the disorders in China are engineered by agents of another State. He further declared that the time had come, when the English Government must ask itself whether it is helpless with regard to a State which has diplomatical representatives in England and is yet trying to destroy the British Empire by incessant illegal work throughout the world.

As People's Commissary for Foreign Affairs I cannot pass over in silence this unusual speech, of a member of a Government with which we are in normal relations. Lord Birkenhead is actually trying to break off diplomatic relations between us and England. His speech therefore is extremely aggressive. It suggests the demand of a highly inimical step against us. One step further and we shall be at war. It is quite evident that Lord Birkenhead and others with him are seeking a pretext to bring about a conflict, the results of which cannot be foreseen.

Lord Birkenhead's remarks are so serious that I, as People's Commissary of the Soviet Union, must turn my attention to the serious consequences which would result from the realisation of Lord Birkenhead's threat.

The political and economic world crisis is, as it is, complicated. The general political situation is also fairly tense. Let anyone imagine what the threat of breaking off diplomatic relations between the Soviet Union and England might lead to. In saying this, I have the interest of England, especially the interests of the broad masses of workers of England, before my eyes. On the one hand, everyone knows of the growth of unemployment in England. In two weeks, from May 25th to 104,000. On the 15th of June, the number of unemployed in England was more by 228,000 than in the previous year, (1,280,000 as compared with 1,052,000 in June 1924).

The industrial crisis in England which is becoming intensified, is expressed in the fact that the trade balance of England is in danger of beating the record as regards its passivity. England is already faced by the prospect of a payment balance burdened with a deficit.

On the other hand, everyone can observe the great and rapid growth of our productive forces. Our country will at present be placing far more orders in England than formerly.

These are the circumstances, in which Lord Birkenhead demands the breaking off of relations with us. It is evident what this would mean to the broad masses of the English people.

Events in China served Lord Birkenhead as an excuse for this demand. The Chinese people, a victim of the political oppression of the Great Powers, a victim of the economic exploitation of capitalists from the more developed lands, a victim of the immediate cruel acts of force of the representatives of these countries in China, has revolted against this yoke in the form of mass strikes, combined with various forms of political demonstrations. No less a person than Senator **Borah**, one of the most distinguished politicians of America, said, as an answer to the American Chamber of Commerce in Hankow. "There will be no disturbances in China, of the foreigners respect the rights of the Chinese people."

The extremest portion of the English Conservatives, however, among them Lord Birkenhead, is anxious to maintain the foreign yoke over the Chinese people and is seeking a scapegoat to justify itself to public opinion in its own country. The accusations which it heaps on our Government, are however false from beginning to end.

The thing which most interests Great Britain in its relations with China, is the development of trade between the two countries. I declare that absolutely nothing has been done on our part in any way to injure the foreign trade of China, especially the trade between China and England. On the contrary! That solution of the questions by which China is faced, which in my opinion would be the best, i. e. the creation of a new centralised democratic China, which would be independent and free of any infringement of its sovereign rights, would in the highest degree promote trade between China and other countries, especially England.

I do not conceal the fact that our Government and our public opinion sympathise with the Chinese people in their struggle to obtain this aim, that is, the complete freedom and independence of their country and the creation of a centralised democratic order. This sympathy however, by no means signifies mixing ourselves in the affairs of another State. Our policy avoids in the strictest and most cautious way anything that could be regarded as interference.

In the same way the assertion that our Government wishes to create or support a chaotic condition in China, is the meanest lie! On the contrary, our Government and our public opinion are entirely sympathetic with the creation of democratic order in China which would grant the Chinese people the chance of peaceful development, undisturbed from without. It is just the imperialistic powers which in China support first this and then that General or Governor-General, and in this way perpetuate civil war in China and make the creation of democratic order impossible. It is just our government which on the other hand regards the victory of Chinese democracy as the solution which would be most useful and to the purpose from the point of view of the relations of China to other countries.

Although our Government sympathises with that solution, the fundamental principles of its relation to China are those of

complete and consistent respect for the sovereign rights of the Chinese State. I consider it entirely out of the question that our Government could make any attempt to play the part of protector to China or to interfere in its internal fighting in favour of this or that force. The Chinese people is master of its own fate and should be — this is our fundamental principle with regard to China, just as we apply the same principle without exception to every other people.

The Chinese people never commissioned Lord Birkenhead to decide in its place how it should govern itself. Is then China as a matter of fact a colony and not any independent country? Does not China possess its own Government? By what rights does Lord Birkenhead make decisions for the Chinese people and the Chinese Government? At the time of the existence of paternal power, the father had complete control of his children and made decisions for them. By what right does Lord Birkenhead now behave in this way towards the Chinese people? What would Lord Birkenhead say if a member of another Government were, in a similar way, to decide as to the fate of England? The Chinese people has a right to decide its own fate. If it wishes to shape its political or economic relations in this way or that, it is its own affair, and it alone can decide. The Chinese people alone has the right to dispose of the Chinese people.

No less absurd than the accusation that we are trying to produce chaos in China, is the other accusation that our Government or our agents have attempted to stir up a movement in China against all foreigners. The internationalist programme of the Party which is in power in our country, is sufficient guarantee that our Governments or its agents will never make it their aim to stir up hatred in one people against other peoples. On the contrary, we fully sympathise with the development of progressive foundations for the development of the productive forces of the Chinese people and of their closest relations with other peoples.

Lord Birkenhead goes further and accuses our Government of trying to destroy the British Empire and of supporting throughout the world a movement which is a pest for all mankind. Why did the Minister forget to mention that from the first moment of actual relations between our Government and Great Britain, it was our Government which constantly and repeatedly proposed to the English Government to examine all questions in dispute which separate our countries, in order to work out an agreement in the interest of both parties?

In the course of last year an agreement was reached with regard to a few of the most important questions in dispute, and Lord Birkenhead can blame no one but his own Governments for the fact that this attempt failed. In consequence of the present British Government having disowned this understanding, Lord Birkenhead, and others with him, is trying to ascribe to our Government some kind of aggressive intentions in world policy. Our Government is alleged to be attempting to destroy the British Empire. But Lord Birkenhead should remember, that not only did our Government initiate all attempts at an understanding with England, but that it was just from the Great Powers that the attempts to endanger the external safety of our State originated. The friendly relations which are being initiated between the Soviet Union and the countries of the East and which are being consolidated every day, are the result of the fact that our Government has carried through the principle of the right of self-determination of the nations in our own country and that we shall continue in future to carry through this principle in a still higher degree. In any case, there has already been an understanding between us and England, and it was not we that destroyed it. I have already often stated that our Government is perfectly prepared to come to an understanding with every State, in the interest of the consolidation of universal peace and of the creation of peaceful relations.

This is the best refutation of those lying and calumnious attacks on our Government in connection with the events in China which have lately found so much space in an important part of the foreign press.

Wording of the Indictment against the German Fascists sentenced in Moscow.

In re the citizens Karl Hermann Kindermann, Theodor Emil Wolscht and Maxim Napoleon Ditmar, alias Ditmarin, re offences against §§ 61 and 64 of the criminal code of the RSFSR.

The extreme development and aggravation of class antagonisms resultant on the imperialist war of 1914/18 called forth a mighty revolutionary movement in the proletariats of all countries, and led finally on the one hand to the October revolution, and to the establishment of the Union of the Socialist Soviet Republics and of a communist government on the territory of the onetime Czarist Russia, and on the other hand to a mighty confluence of capital in the form of the Entente which united the great victorious bourgeois states seeking to stabilise their victory, and establish their economic position, with the aid of the Versailles peace.

Midway between these two poles we find the Social Democratic government of the Germany vanquished in the imperialist war, a government which has not possessed enough revolutionary energy to proceed along the line of revolutionary development from a bourgeois democratic state of society to a communist.

The Social Democratic government under Ebert, Scheidemann, Noske, etc., has on the contrary made it the main object of its political activity to save the capitalist regime at any price. It has shrunk from no expedient in its struggle against the revolutionary movement of the proletariat, neither from the use of armed power, nor from provocatory measures, nor even from direct political treachery and co-operation with the Entente.

The experience gained by the government during its struggle against the revolutionary movement during the first years of revolution had however taught it that it cannot rely solely on the official army, the more that this has been reduced to a quantitatively insignificant force by the Versailles treaty. The Ebert-Scheidemann-Noske government therefore turned its attention to the formation of volunteer associations for the suppression of the revolutionary movement. The appeal issued by the government to this effect met with a lively echo not only among the reactionary officers' corps, but among the bourgeois youth of Germany, so that the whole of Germany was speedily covered by a network of so-called "volunteer corps", constantly at the disposal of the Social Democrats as ready armed contingent for the suppression of the revolutionary movement in the working class, whether by the immediate use of force of arms, or by supplying blacklegs for undermining strikes, and the like. At the same time the Social Democratic government pressed into this same service the apparatus furnished by Wilhelm II's secret police, known as the Berlin Presidency of Police (the headquarters of the ex-kaiser's police). This apparatus was complemented by a number of members of the Social Democratic party and by members of the above mentioned volunteer corps.

Among all these volunteer corps, the leading rôle has been played by the naval brigade organised by the retired sea captain Ehrhardt. This corps has distinguished itself especially in the suppression of the revolutionary movement in Germany.

At the very beginning of the movement, that is, in 1919, Noske gave Ehrhardt the order to liquidate the workers' councils which had come into power in Brunswick. This order having been carried out successfully, Noske employed Ehrhardt for the suppression of the revolutionary rising in Bavaria. In the course of the bloody suppression of Bavaria's soviets the Ehrhardt Brigade proved to be the most reliable section of the White Guard army. Therefore the Social Democratic government commanded Ehrhardt and his naval brigade to Upper Silesia, for the purpose of setting up a regime of armed terror against the Polish population there. And when finally the first signs of a growing revolutionary movement made themselves evident in Central Germany, Ehrhardt's naval brigade was transferred to Berlin, that it might be at the disposal of the government

at any moment. When the reactionary bourgeois Right became conscious of its power, and had recognised the powerlessness of the government, it resolved to set aside the government itself. This resolve was expressed in the so-called Kapp putsch, in which the Ehrhardt brigade played the leading rôle, and in which in the capital city the power passed into the hands of the junkers' representative Kapp, whilst the government was forced to fly from Berlin. This attempt at a monarchist restoration led however to an explosion in the revolutionary movement, and once more united the former allies, so that General Seeckt, in whose hands the Social Democrats had laid all authority without a struggle, was enabled with the aid of this same brigade to liquidate the revolutionary explosion by shooting unarmed striking workers in Berlin.

The prominent rôle played by this illegal military organisation in this and former events drew the attention of the Entente to it, and its dissolution was demanded. The organisation continued however to exist as such. The brigade simply divided up into separate groups, and the various detachments took up their headquarters in large manor houses, where their weapons were kept concealed. Since this time this military organisation has been illegal, and has changed more and more into a fulcrum of the reactionary Right bourgeoisie in its fight not only against the workers, but against the Social Democratic government.

The leading centre of this struggle has been formed by the illegal secret organisation "Consul" (Ehrhardt's alias), whose main initial aim, according to the statutes published in No. 10 of the periodical "Forum", 30. May 1922, consisted of gathering together the leaders of the scattered groups of the naval brigade, and of preventing their disunion by means of maintaining an iron military discipline. This organisation gradually became the leading executive organ of the actively terrorist and every other struggle of the Right wing of reaction in Germany. It began to inundate with its members all the most important institutions in the country, the army, the police, the railway safety service, and the frontier authorities. At the same time it has endeavored to gain a foothold in large labour centres, in mines and factories, and has increased its cadres by recruiting new members among the reactionary elements of the officers' corps, from the lower ranks of the military, and among the students, enabling it to begin an active fight not only against the labour movement and its leaders, but also against the Social Democratic government and the imperialist conquerors.

The murders of Erzberger and Rathenau, as also the attempts made on the lives of Scheidemann and Maximilian Harden and similar acts of violence, have been shown by the judicial proceeding to have been prepared by this organisation. The occupation of the Ruhr again led to the increased activity of the organisation in the Ruhr area. The activity of the organisation pursued a double line: on the one hand the line of combatting the French occupation authorities by surprise actions, blowing up of bridges, destruction of railway lines, arson, and the like, and on the other hand the line of suppressing the labour movement, spies belonging to the "Consul" organisation provoking the workers to unrest and demonstrations at given moments, risings then liquidated by a united action on the part of the troops provided by the social democratic government, the organisation "Consul", and, when necessary, the French and English occupation troops.

From this time onwards the organisation "Consul", in combination with a number of other similar organisations, became the actual active centre of the monarchist big bourgeoisie, and as such has exercised a considerable influence upon the policy of the German government.

The revolutionary crisis in the autumn of 1923, placing the question of the setting up of a labour government in Germany once more on the agenda, and the renewed explosion of a new proletarian revolution, made the organisation "Consul" fully conscious of the fact of the objective rôle played by the mere existence of the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics as a mighty pillar of the revolutionary movement, and as a main source of all the hopes and expectations held by the revolutionary proletariat all over the world for the development of the revolutionary movement of Western Europe. The organisation "Consul", the chief task of which is the combatting of communism, thus arrived at the conclusion that it had to carry this combat beyond the frontiers of Germany, and especially to make a direct attack

on the Soviet Union by means of the organisation of terrorist attempts on the lives of the most prominent representatives of the Soviet power.

In this terrorist activity against the Soviet Union the organisation "Consul" received considerable support from a number of Social Democrats having leading positions in the Berlin Presidency of Police, or in what is the same thing, the political secret police; this is proved by the following facts.

The most important department of the Presidency is the Department I A, the task of which it is to observe political life, and especially the revolutionary movement. After the upheaval in November 1918, the Social Democrats then coming into power reinforced the apparatus of the Presidency of Police by the addition of Social Democrats, and took over the Presidency of Police with the whole of its old staff. The head of the Presidency of Police was at first the Social Democrat **Eugen Ernst**, replaced in the spring of 1920 by the then president of the Charlottenburg Presidency of Police, the Social Democrat **Wilhelm Richter**. The rôle played by the Presidency of Police in the struggle against the proletariat of Germany is sufficiently characterised by the bloody actions taking place in the streets of Berlin during the last years of civil war.

A classic example of such a bloody action, and of provocative activity on the part of the Presidency of Police and the Social Democrats directing it, is furnished by the murder of **Karl Liebknecht** and **Rosa Luxemburg**. It has now been clearly demonstrated that the arrests of **Karl Liebknecht** and **Rosa Luxemburg** were made at the express by the military clique, inspired by the Presidency of Police. The co-operation between the Fascist organisation "Consul" and the Social Democratic Presidency of Police in common combat against the Soviet Union has however now been best demonstrated by the facts which have been ascertained in the preliminary investigations made for the purpose of these proceedings.

On 13. October 1924 the German subjects **Karl Hermann Kindermann** and **Theodor Emil Wolscht**, students at the Friedrich Wilhelm University, Berlin, arrived in Moscow from Germany. Two days later they were joined by a citizen of the Esthonian republic **Maxim Napoleon Ditmarin**, alias von **Ditmar**, a student at the same university. They had travelled from Germany to Moscow by way of Riga and Reval. All three claimed to be members of the Communist Party of Germany, visiting Russia for the purpose of study, and as such they made application to the People's Commissariat for Education, and to the Comintern, in order to obtain connections and assistance. In this manner they were successful in being received by a number of the responsible co-operators belonging to the two above mentioned institutions, and showed on these occasions an extraordinary interest not only in the inner structure of these institutions, but in the importance of the persons playing the leading rôles in these institutions, in the places where these persons were to be found, and finally, with regard to the audiences given and reception days held by a number of responsible co-workers. Their conduct further aroused suspicion among the German students sharing their lodgings. Thus comrade **Friedmann** and others noticed that they possessed objects unusual among communists, for instance badges of German students' associations, spurs and crosses. Further suspicion was awakened by their attitude towards members of the German and Esthonian sections of the Comintern, and towards political emigrés, whose addresses, signatures, etc., they endeavoured to obtain.

As result of the information received by the Joint State Political Administration (O. G. P. U.) the above mentioned **Kindermann**, **Wolscht** and **Ditmar** were arrested on 26. October 1924, on suspicion of espionage and of preparing terrorist actions on the territory of the Soviet Union. Two of the accused, **Kindermann** and **Ditmar**, admitted the truth of the charge after first denying it for a long time. **Wolscht's** guilt, on the other hand, has been made evident, despite his own obstinate denials, by the evidence given by the other two accused. The preliminary investigations, and the results of the hearing of the accused themselves, have enabled the following points to be ascertained with certainty:

Karl Hermann Kindermann, whilst still a young college student, was in communication with the employees of the information bureau in **Donaueschingen**. After finishing college he studied at various universities in Germany, especially at the

Berlin university, after 1922. At this time he entered into communication with the department IA of the Berlin Presidency of Police, where he worked as paid employee, carrying out various commissions relating to work in the working class districts, and acting as practitioner in one of the detective offices. As practitioner employed in the Presidency of Police he had access to the secret museum of the department IA.

Before the war his father was a member of the Social Democratic party, and at the end of the war he was a member of Soldiers' Councils, here falling however under suspicion of embezzling 80,000 marks. In order to secure a position as Soldiers' Councillor, he joined the Communist Party, but was however exposed as an adventurer, and expelled from the Communist Party. After this he undertook the collection of debts amongst the poorest section of the population, receiving commissions from bill creditors in his capacity of owner of a debt collecting office. In this capacity he had a number of agents at his disposal, including the deputy chairman of the Durlach local group of the German C. P. in Baden, who acceded to the request made by his chief for the necessary Party membership book for his son **Karl**, and provided besides half a dozen certificates showing the son to belong to the C. P. of Germany.

1. **Karl Kindermann**, rendered hostile to the revolutionary movement by the unpleasantnesses and scandals to which his father had been exposed during his activity in this movement, was anxious, as he expresses it, to wipe this dark stain from the family name, and participated for this purpose in the Fascist movement, contriving to fraternize with the nationalists and to establish firm connections with them; to this end he concealed his Jewish descent. It was precisely these connections which the Presidency of Police utilised for the purpose of involving **Kindermann** in a terrorist adventure. After having obtained admittance into **Ehrhardt's** Fascist organisation as agent of the Department IA of the Presidency of police, **Karl Kindermann** informed the Department IA of the Presidency of Police of the desire existing in the Fascist organisation for the carrying out of terrorist attacks on the leaders of the Soviet Union, and declared himself at the same time ready to participate in the execution of such plans.

2. **Theodor Emil Wolscht**, son of the reactionary professor **Emil Wolscht** of Boppard on the Rhine, was mobilised in the so-called "auxiliary service" when still a college student of 18. After finishing college at the age of 20, he worked as practical learner on the manor estate of the Baron von Falkenstein in Friedberg in Neumark. This baron, an expressed reactionary, afforded him financial support until his journey to Russia. He had already joined the organisation "Consul" whilst still a student at the university, and participated energetically in the activity of the Right students' associations, as for instance the **Neomachia** and the **Saxo Borussia**, in both of which societies he acted as vice chairman.

In the autumn of 1923 he came into contact with **Kindermann** in the terrorist group of the organisation "Consul". Before this however he had proved himself to be a determined and courageous terrorist, and had carried out various dangerous commissions given by the organisation "Consul". On the orders of this organisation he paid several illegal visits to the Ruhr area during the occupation by the French, and there carried on an active struggle against the separatists. His connection with the Department I A of the Berlin Presidency of Police furnished him with a falsified passport enabling him to enter the territory occupied by the French as a journeyman carpenter. The Presidency of Police knew **Wolscht**, and knew that he was not a carpenter when it gave him this passport. **Wolscht** took part in the suppression of workers' risings, and boasted, according to **Baumann's** evidence, of having murdered, "settled", many communists.

3. **Max Napoleon Ditmarin**, alias von **Ditmar**, this latter being his actual surname, the son of a large landowner impoverished by the war. At the early age of 17 he became a member of a students' association formed at the time of the revolutionary movement in Esthonia, for the purpose of crushing insurrection. After finishing the course of instruction in the middle school in the autumn of 1922, he went to Germany to continue his education and here joined the Fascist organisation "Consul", on whose orders he visited various factories as worker, and led the Fascist youth organisations of the "Young German Order". For this pur-

pose he entered into communication with labour organisation by means of the intermediary aid of the communists **Kritzler** and **Schindler** and was thus enabled to keep the Fascisti informed with reference to the Communist Party.

In 1923 he proceeded to the Berlin university on the orders of the organisation "Consul", and from here he was sent by the Fascist students' association "Studentenwerk" as labourer to the port of Bremerhaven, in company with the well known Fascist **Herbert Johnson**. After returning from Bremerhaven he was sent to Munich, and here he took part in a workers' demonstration, at the same time maintaining his connections with Fascist and Russian White Guard circles. The Munich police kept up appearances by expelling him from Munich for taking part in this workers' demonstration, and he went to Vienna, where he carried out the proposal of the Fascist **Junghaus** (who provided him with money) that he should offer the authorised representatives of the Soviet Union his services for information on the Fascist and Russian White Guard circles, with the secret view of the provocation of the Vienna authorised representatives of the Soviet Union.

In 1922 and 1924 **Ditmar** acted repeatedly as diplomatic courier to the Estonian, Lituanian and German governments. Twice he made an unsuccessful attempt to enter the Berlin Trade Delegation of the Soviet Union, for the object of carrying on espionage on the commission of the Fascisti. After **Ditmar** returned from Vienna to Munich, he received from the organisation "Consul" the command to join the terrorist group around **Karl Kindermann**, with whom he had come in contact through the Berlin representatives of the organisation "Consul". At the same time the recommendations of the above named comrades **Kritzler** and **Schindler** enabled him to renew his connections with the communists. He succeeded in obtaining a new Party membership book in place of the one lost in 1923.

He was allotted to the **Kindermann** group not only as a tried Fascist, but as a man possessing an excellent knowledge of the Russian language and of Russian conditions. **Ditmar's** Baltic descent aroused however distrust in **Kindermann** and **Wolscht**, and the latter controlled **Ditmar's** devotion and loyalty by having him observed, and by secret domiciliary visits, in order to be sure of his really being a convinced Fascist.

In pursuance of the same object, **Kindermann** visited his native place of Durlach in the summer of 1924 for the purpose of obtaining a Party membership book, which he obtained here through the intermediation of the members of the C. P. of Germany **Dalmuss** and **Michler**, from the local group of the C. P. G. He also obtained, from the chairman of this local group, **Weiss**, two recommendations to **Oskar Cohn** and to the Trade Delegation of the Soviet Union in Berlin. The date of **Kindermann's** admittance into the Party at Durlach was entered by **Kindermann** himself in his membership book as 15. August 1920, and the subscription stamps were added by him later, from March 1924 onwards. Six documents certifying his membership in the C. P. G. were drawn up by himself and given to **Michler** for signature.

Wolscht also entered into communication with communist circles during the months preceding his journey to Soviet Russia, in pursuance of the same aim of becoming a member of the C. P. G. In May 1924 he voted demonstratively for the communist list at the students' election. Although he possessed no written evidence of belonging to the Party, he began to give himself out publicly as a member of the Coblenz local group of the C. P. G. He asserted that he had been expelled by the French occupation authorities from his native town of Boppard on the Rhine on account of belonging to the C. P. G.

The steps thus taken by **Kindermann**, **Ditmar**, and **Wolscht**, in 1924, for the purpose of obtaining certificates of membership in the C. P. G., were all taken on the direct orders of the organisation "Consul", and thus at a time when it was already projected to send them to Soviet Russia.

The decision to send the group to Russia for purposes of terrorist assassination was arrived at by the local leaders of the organisation "Consul" in execution of an order received from Munich in the autumn of 1923. At a number of meetings held by the Berlin local leaders, it was resolved that the group should carry out a number of terrorist assassinations against responsible leaders of the Soviet Union, the first of these terrorist actions to be an attempt on the lives of **Stalin** and **Trotsky** on the part of **Kindermann**, **Wolscht**, and **Ditmar**. The details of the projected

assassinations were not discussed in the meeting, as the group here conceded freedom of action in accordance with the given circumstances and local conditions. It was however decided that two means should be used, revolver and poison.

At the same meetings at which this was decided, the three received orders to carry out the following espionage tasks:

1. To reconnoitre the Kremel.
2. To find out the residences of responsible functionaries.
3. To obtain information on the inner organisation of the Comintern.
4. To ascertain whether the Comintern was financing the C. P. G.
5. To ascertain how and through whom communication was maintained between the Comintern and Berlin.
6. To ascertain if it would be possible to compromise the Berlin Trade Delegation and Embassy in this connection.
7. To ascertain how and where illegal passports and identification papers were made, and
8. to discover instructions sent by the Comintern to the military organisations of the C. P. G.

At one of the last meetings, attended by **Ehrhardt**, **Kindermann** unfolded a plan for carrying out the order above enumerated; this plan met with the full approval of the Berlin leaders. It was pointed out that, should the plan fail, the firm of **Junkers** would put an aeroplane at the disposal of the three in case flight should be necessary. The members of the group purchased revolvers and cartridges for the execution of their terrorist plans, and **Wolscht** prepared a small special medicine chest, which he allowed nobody else to touch. Expert evidence has shown this chest to have contained not only necessary medicines, but also powerful poisons, including cyanide of potassium, this last poison being put up in a phial bearing the inscription "Pyramidon". A transfer copy found in **Kindermann's** possession during the expert investigations showed **Kindermann** to have occupied himself with researches on the production of poisons among the ancients.

Kindermann and his companions, having provided themselves with suitable Party identification papers and with recommendations from scientific and political personages, received further, through the intermediation of the Foreign Buying Committee for the People's Commissariat for Education, from the Chairman of this Committee, **Grünberg**, a letter to the Consular Department of the authorised representatives of the Soviet Union in Germany, requesting that permission to enter Russia be granted. The group submitted to the authorised representatives of the Soviet Union all necessary papers, including an exact map of the alleged scientific expedition, and a plan of the projected scientific work.

Whilst awaiting their visa, **Kindermann**, **Wolscht**, and **Ditmar** began with their arrangements for an immediate journey to Soviet Russia.

They had already written to the University in Tomsk, to the Yakut Republic, and to the Republic of the Volga Germans, begging for aid for their scientific work during their journey. They received corresponding invitations in reply, except from the Yakut Republic, which attempted to ascertain something of the personalities of the writers of the request, and received information that they were not being sent by anybody.

In order to obtain the necessary means for the expedition, **Kindermann** applied to large firms in Berlin and to a number of financial and industrial undertakings in South German cities, offering to obtain for them economic material of interest to them with regard to the Soviet Union. Among other negotiations, an arrangement was made with the editor of the "Berliner Tageblatt" **Wolff** for articles from Russia, for which **Wolff** paid an advance of 2000 marks. **Ditmar** equipped the expedition with all necessary articles, and hurried forward the granting of permission to enter the Soviet Union, to be accorded by its authorised delegation. **Wolscht**, for some unknown reason, took a journey to the Rhineland. It was arranged that **Ditmar** should inform **Kindermann** and **Wolscht**, as soon as the visum had been obtained, by means of a telegram with the wording "congratulations for the newborn". Thanks to the letters of recommendation from **Grünberg**, to the use of **Oskar Cohn's** name as reference, and to the confidence placed in them by the authorised representatives of the Soviet Union, the three obtained

the permission to enter the Soviet Russia in a somewhat unusual manner, by telegram. After receiving letter of recommendation from the Foreign Committees of the People's Commissariat for Education, addressed to comrade Lunatcharski, and to the Central Bureau of the Proletarian Students at the Central Committee of the Russian C. P., the three left for Soviet Russia in October 1924, Ditmar travelling via Esthonia, Kindermann and Wolscht leaving two days later via Königsberg and Riga, where they were to meet Ditmar. In Riga Kindermann and Wolscht failed to meet Ditmar, who had been detained in Reval. They proceeded on their journey to Moscow without waiting for him.

On the journey to Moscow, Kindermann and Wolscht travelled in the same train as the councillor of legation to the German embassy in the Soviet Union, Hilger. This meeting on the train is alleged to have been purely accidental. On Hilger's advice Kindermann and Wolscht destroyed all papers which could compromise them in the eyes of the Soviet power. Besides this, he suggested that they should visit him in Moscow, and he would give them all necessary advice. For this purpose he gave them his visiting card, and, according to the statement made by Ditmar and Kindermann, he maintained communication with them, making appointments with them in private dwelling houses.

At the customs examination at Sebej Wolscht was deprived of his revolver. After arriving at Moscow on 13. October 1924, Kindermann and Wolscht were given a apartment in the house No. 4 in the Malaya Bronnaya. This was done through the intermediation of the Bureau of Proletarian Students. A hearty reception was organised by the German Section of the Comintern and by the employees of the People's Commissariat for Education. Having provided themselves with board, lodging, and money, at the expense of the Soviet institutions, the three set to work.

Immediately after their arrival, Kindermann and his companions began to press for an audience from Lunatcharski and Krupskaya, the object stated by Kindermann being to utilise the intermediation of the above named comrades for obtaining access to the most prominent leaders of the Soviet Union and of the Russian C. P., and the thorough preparation of the execution of the main plan, the assassination of comrades Stalin and Trotzky. The urgency with which they pressed for an audience from comrade Lunatcharski was one of the factors leading to their exposure, as comrade Lunatcharski ordered the obtrusive petitioners.

Kindermann and Ditmar, legitimized by their official Party identification papers, began at the same time to open up communication with the Comintern, whilst Wolscht took up the connection with Hilger. In the Comintern Kindermann, Wolscht and Ditmar obtained a consultation with comrades Drotchmann and Ryastas, in the course of which they urged for an audience from comrade Radek, which they did not however obtain. About the 20. October, Wolscht made an appointment with Hilger, by telephone, to meet on 27. or 28. October. This meeting was prevented solely by the arrest of the terrorists.

When received by the members of the Comintern, Kindermann and Ditmar expressed such an extraordinary interest in the organisatory structure of the Comintern that the comrades coming in contact with them began to feel suspicious. The exposure was finally brought about by a conversation between Ditmar and Ryastas, in which Ditmar began to retail all manner of fairy tales about his co-operation with comrade Kingisepp in Esthonia, and by the conduct of Wolscht, who began to collect the signatures of the political emigrés sharing his lodgings, as a "remembrance". The signatures were collected on a map furnished with the Soviet coat of arms, and Wolscht was only induced to destroy the map by the fact that one of the persons whose signature was requested grasped the fact that such requests might easily serve espionage purposes.

The result of the suspicions thus aroused was that Kindermann, Wolscht, and Ditmar were arrested, as already stated, on 26. October 1924.

At the preliminary hearing of the accused:

1. Kindermann denied the truth of the accusation brought against him, but stated that the three had actually been commissioned to commit a terrorist assassination, that they received the order from the Berlin organisation of the O. C., but that the execution of the deed itself had been placed in the hands

of Ditmar and Wolscht, whilst he, Kindermann, was solely commissioned to organise the communications and to lead the group.

2. Ditmar admitted his guilt in every point of the accusation brought against him, and confirmed the whole of the statements made above.

3. Wolscht denied every point of the accusation brought against him, and designated the statements made by his fellow accused and by the witnesses as untrue. All that he admitted was that he had never been a member of the Communist Party of Germany but had only given himself out to be a member. With reference to his conversations with witnesses, especially with Baumann, in which he is said to have spoken of having cyanide of potassium with him, he declared that he had not said this seriously, but merely with the idea of securing the respect of the political arrestants sharing his cell. With regard to the intention of poisoning various communist leaders, especially comrade Stalin, by means of these poisons, Wolscht evaded the question, and said that if he had ever expressed such an intention, it had only been in joke, with the above object.

The result of the above is the accusation brought against the citizens:

Kindermann, Karl Hermann, 22 years of age, born at Durlach in Germany, subject of the German Reich, with high school education, no military service, former secret agent of the Department I A of the Berlin Presidency of Police, first offender;

von Ditmar, Maxim Napoleon, 23 years of age, native of Arensburg in Esthonia, citizen of the Esthonian republic, student at the Berlin university, no military service, first offender; and

Wolscht, Theodor Emil, 24 years of age, native of Boppard on the Rhine, Germany, subject of the German Reich, student at the Berlin university, secret agent of the Department I A of the Berlin Presidency of Police, no military service, first offender, of having:

1. belonged as members to an organisation one of whose aims is to undermine and weaken by every possible means the power of the Soviet Union and of the workers' and peasants' government at the head of this Union, in the interests of the international bourgeoisie, and whose endeavour it is to overthrow this government. This offence comes under § 61 of the code of criminal law of the R. S. F. S. R.;

2. taken steps towards the execution of the orders given by the organisation named under 1. for the preparation of terrorist attacks upon the representatives of the Soviet power of the workers and peasants, and upon the leaders of the revolutionary organisations, the first concretely designated terrorist assassinations being designed against the General Secretary of the Russian C. P., comrade Stalin, and against the former President of the Revolutionary Council of War of the Soviet Union, the present member of the Presidency of the Supreme Political Economic Council of the Soviet Union and member of the Central Committee of the Russian C. P., comrade Trotzky. This offence comes under § 64 of the code of criminal law of the R. S. F. S. R.;

3. attempted to obtain, for the purpose of executing the commands of the same organisation, the information required for counter-revolutionary purposes with regard to the revolutionary and Soviet organisations, as also the information of an economic character required for the information of the class organisation of the German bourgeoisie. This attempt was frustrated by the arrest of the accused, i. e. by circumstances over which they had no control. This offence comes under § 61 of the code of criminal law of the R. S. F. S. R. The Central Executive Committee of the Soviet Union, deciding on this matter on 20. March 1925, under No. 47, thus put the above-mentioned accused citizens Kindermann, Ditmar and Wolscht on trial before a court consisting of a Special Collegium of the Supreme Court of the Soviet Union.

S o s s n o v s k y.

Judge of the Court of Inquiry to the Supreme Court of the Soviet Union, for matters of special importance.

Two Congresses in Rome.

By Ruggero Grieco (Rome).

During the last few days two political congresses have taken place in Rome: the Congress of the *Unione Nazionale* and the Congress of the Fascists.

The *Unione Nazionale* is an attempt to unite the democratic forces of Italy into one party for the whole kingdom. The attempt is nothing new. It was made in the past, but without success. In 1920 and 21 there were for instance four parliamentary democratic groups, not one of which represented a special movement or a party for the country, but only necessities of a parliamentary nature. At that time it was not possible to get these groups to unite.

Can this attempt succeed to-day? From the purely external point of view one might maintain that the tactics of Fascism facilitate the coalition of the democratic forces and make it possible for them to organise into one party, since these tactics are directed towards isolating and rejecting these bourgeois political movements which lean on Fascism and yet wish to retain the right to criticise some of the political actions of Fascism. But even this superficial observation would be indistinct, as some of the democratic groups which exist in Italy, though they attended the Congress of the *Unione*, have not decided to join the new party, whereas other groups did not even take part in the Congress.

Apart from this it happened that at the same time as the situation in Italy took a move towards the Right, the function of protecting the interests of the middle classes was transferred from Democracy to Social Democracy, and at the present moment the middle classes are passing through a very serious period of confusion which is caused by the collapse of the policy of the Aventine. When, after the murder of Matteotti, Social Democracy set itself the task of destroying Fascism, it regarded this task as consisting in a mobilisation of the *intelligenza* and the middle classes to whom the conduct of the campaign against Fascism was to be entrusted. The defence of the middle classes by Social Democracy assumed such an "official" form, that the leader of the Constitutional Opposition, Giovanni Amendola, felt himself compelled to warn his socialist friends not to forget that they were . . . socialists, as otherwise the opposition of the Aventine was in danger of losing all its influence over the masses of workers. But Turati, the old Socialist leader, "who now only hopes that his body may die well" had, like the Social Democrats of both Italian parties, no confidence in the masses of workers and peasants and wanted to entrust the leadership of the masses to the middle classes.

The middle classes however did not bestir themselves; they devoted themselves to a journalistic campaign which came to an untimely end through the regulations of the Fascists with regard to the Press, and Fascism has become relatively stronger. A collapse of this kind opened the eyes of the masses who had blindly followed the Aventine, i. e. the various democracies. It would be nonsense to say that these masses have become communists. The crisis in their ranks however is rapidly approaching maturity. The tactics of the Aventine, in which the *Unione Nazionale* is one of the chief elements, led one at first to believe that the Constitutional Opposition parties had arms and troops with which to oppose Fascism. We compelled the Aventine to declare themselves to be against any form of forcible destruction of Fascism; from that time onwards, the masses of the people which had been their followers, began to drop away from them.

The *Unione Nazionale* cannot to-day cherish hopes of organising large sections of the masses. The episode of June 7th when the Constitutional parties of the Aventine paid homage to the Fascist king, is characteristic enough to undermine any faith in their will and capacity effectually to carry on the campaign against Fascism which anyone might have placed in the opposition democracy and the Aventine, of which the *Unione* is the leader. This why, looked at historically, the *Unione Nazionale* has undertaken the function of co-operating with Fascism in the united defence of the bourgeoisie. From the point of view of history, the compromise between Fascism and the Democratic Opposition is the first step. The violence of the polemics and isolated incidents can only deceive those who examine political facts superficially.

The *Unione Nazionale* has undertaken among other things a very important part in the defence of the bourgeois regime,

that of preventing the success of the communist propaganda in South Italy. As a matter of fact the influential leaders of the *Unione* belong to the South and represent the interests of the landed proprietors of the South. The South has always shown a certain reserve towards the advance of Fascism; the petty bourgeois and peasant masses of the South are anti-Fascist. Fascism has of course been able to create an organisation of its own in the South through the functionaries who were appointed to convert the provincial State officials to Fascism. But the population in all its various strata has remained ill-disposed towards Fascism. Nevertheless the result of our propaganda among the peasant masses of the South is certainly to be felt though it has been carried on in the midst of the difficulties described. In a certain sense, the *Unione Nazionale*, on account of the position taken by its leaders in the South, represents a greater obstacle than Fascism to the conquest of the masses in the South. The Italian Peasants' Council should concern itself with the new situation which will develop in the South.

The *Unione Nazionale* has informed the Congress through its leader, Giovanni Amendola, that it alone will direct the government of to-morrow, that it is not haste but much patience which is needed. This is evidently the opinion of the king whom Amendola visited on June 10th. Postponing the fight, i. e. remaining in the sphere of pure journalistic polemics and pure politico-philosophical speculation, is synonymous with finding in the course of time the possibility of a following which no longer represents anti-Fascism succeeding to Fascism, but a natural development of the political situation. What then, when all is said, is it that the Fascists really want? They want the opposition parties to recognise the "fact" that Fascism has taken possession of the power; they want the opposition parties to recognise this reality. Fascism can only be defeated by arm, it will only be defeated by defeating bourgeois institutions and the bourgeoisie; it can only be defeated by an insurrection of the workers and peasants. Anything else can only lead to a defence of the regime.

The *Unione Nazionale* is on the search for the masses. At the Congress, the secretary Dall'Ara reported that he had distributed about 50,000 cards of membership. This is an insignificant number which can be compared with the 40,000 which were reported at the Liberal Party Congress at Livorno. The Congress of the *Unione* was an assembly of politicians and scholars who read papers on very important questions, but it was not a Congress of the masses. This is evidenced, among other things, by the political resolution which was passed and which had been written by the historian Guglielmo Ferrero.

The Congress of the Fascists was an interesting event. At this congress not a single problem was discussed. The speakers had prepared written papers and simply read them (essays in style in the worst literary taste and with the scantiest political preparation); they were passed without discussion. The Congress should have lasted four days, but at the end of two days, nay at the end of a day and a half the members of the Congress had no more work to do, i. e. they had neither resolution nor paper to approve of. Mussolini said that this example was unique in the history of congresses and that the whole world would be greatly astonished at it. He was indeed right!

Farinacci, the secretary of the Party, did not even state how many members the Fascist Party numbers! As even numbers can be invented, we had expected an astounding increase in the Fascist strength. We were however deprived of this sensation. The Congress was really "Italian", as its inaugurators had desired; there was much singing and clapping of hands, and other choreographic and rhetorical demonstrations took place. The climax however was Mussolini's closing speech which was of course published in full. It really is "the whole of Fascism", the ideological synthesis of Fascism. Mussolini began by saying that he intended to make a cheerful speech, and he kept his promise. He distributed praise to the silent congress and stated that he had never read Benedetto Croce ((the well-known Italian philosopher of modern culture); this called down loud applause from the audience who of course do not even know who this gentleman is. Mussolini further said that Fascism must create something new, for it had brought about the revolution, and a revolution which offered nothing new "would lose its charm."

And then, in a storm of enthusiasm on the part of the audience, he asserted that Fascism is fighting to conquer the position of a world power. Although he immediately added that world powers are not always measured by space, but that there

IN THE INTERNATIONAL

The Tenth Party Congress of the C. P. of Germany.

By Ernst Schneller (Berlin).

On July 12th the Tenth Party Congress of the C. P. of Germany will be opened in Berlin. It takes place at a time when decisions which are important for German policy, are being made.

The Luther-Stresemann Government is faced by the immediate problem of concluding the Guarantee Pact and of Germany joining the League of Nations, that is to say of the complete surrender of even the simplest national interests for the benefit of the Western Powers. At the same time it is attempting to bring its bills for taxation, customs and re-establishment of the currency safely into harbour together with the budget. In carrying through this policy, the Dawes parties, from the German Nationals to the Social Democrats, must admit that the hopes they roused in the broad masses when they accepted the Dawes plan, have proved delusive. There is neither any guarantee that German will be stabilised, to say nothing of its "flourishing" once more, nor is the peace of Europe ensured. The intention is to distract the attention of the working class and other groups of workers who are affected by this policy from Germany's inextricable entanglement in the imperialist contradictions which become evident in the new and growing economic and political difficulties, by means of government crises and new combinations of ministries, by means of bargaining and parliamentary comedies.

The C. P. of Germany as the only proletarian Labour party stands apart from these combinations and negotiations. On the occasion of its Tenth Party Congress it has the satisfaction of stating that its prophecies as to the consequences of the Dawes policy have come true, and that their energetic and relentless policy of opposing the Dawes plan will be more and more justified as the policy of the experts proceeds.

The Tenth Party Congress, which in contrast to the Ninth (illegal) Party Congress at Frankfurt, can take place perfectly legally, is to render an account of the activities of the C. P. of Germany not only to the party but to the whole of the workers. The policy of the C. P. of Germany must become more and more a matter which concerns not only the members of the party but the broadest masses of workers.

The Agenda of the Party Congress is so arranged as to place the practical duties of the party in the foreground, in order to meet the interests of the workers. This is all the easier because the tactical discussions in the party are practically settled. They were still predominant at the District Party Conference. Everywhere, (with the exception of one district, the Palatinate, which voted against the Central Committee) the delegates decided with overwhelming majorities for the policy of the Central Committee.

The following are the points on the agenda:

1. The international situation.
2. The situation in the Comintern.
3. Report of the Central Committee.
4. The situation in Germany, tasks and tactics of the C. P. of Germany.
5. The fight for the unity of the trade unions, and the attitude of the German workers.
6. Questions of organisation.
7. Motions and elections.

In addition to this, various special conferences are taking place: for work among women, for the question of youth, for communal policy, for Agitprop. work.

The agenda shows that the C. P. of Germany lays chief stress on carrying through the resolutions of the enlarged Executive in the points which are of essential importance for Germany. The problem of the bolshevisation of the party, both for the Comintern in general and especially for the German party because of its history, is that, during the time of a lull, of the tendency of liquidation on the part of the Right and the ultra-Left, the chief stress should be laid on ideological elucidation and consolidation and on energetic improvement of the work of organisation. The German party has still in the two main questions to overcome a strong remainder of Social Democracy.

The weakest point of the work of the C. P. of Germany still remains its attitude towards the trade unions. Undoubtedly the party has succeeded in breaking the ideological opposition; for the first time since the formation of the party, a consistent concentration of the party on the work in the reformist trade unions has been carried through. The party has also taken the responsibility of turning out of its ranks hundreds of revisionary workers who would not submit on this point, trusting that the proletarians will find their way back, if influence is persistently brought to bear on them. It has however not yet been able to organise the practical work in the trade unions with equal energy and consistence. The influence of the C. P. of Germany in the trade unions will be of decisive significance in the fight against taxation robbery and customs usury, in the fight for the re-conquest of the eight hours' day and for increase of wages, in the fight against the danger of threatened imperialist wars. All results of propaganda and agitation, the correct attitude of the party to the questions of the day, the correct conception of its tasks with regard to the Dawes policy etc. everything will remain without permanent results, if they do not lead through organisation to the strengthening of the communist influence in the works and the trade unions. The party must learn really to organise its forces and its work.

Two points do not appear on the agenda, but are of importance for the work of the German party in the present situation. They concern the policy in the national question and in the agrarian question. The national question is of importance in the discussion of the Guarantee Pact, the Disarmament Note, the evacuation of the Ruhr and of the Cologne zone, the policy in the Saar district and in the free town of Danzig, and finally in the question of the annexation of Austria to Germany. The agrarian question must be dealt with in connection with the policy of taxation, customs and re-establishment of currency. The party will be obliged to substitute for the agrarian programme which was passed at the Party Unification Congress in 1920, a new programme which takes into consideration the experiences which have been collected just during the last year. A strong impulse will be given to both these questions by the Party Congress, their final elucidation however will be set as a task by the Party Congress to the party for further work, problems which in the near future must be solved in addition to the ideological elucidation and consolidation and to stabilisation on the basis of organisation.

On the whole the Berlin Party Congress will in our opinion show that the C. P. of Germany, in spite of the difficulties of working in times of depression and in spite of the serious persecutions, has grown in every respect, that it has taken seriously the part it has to play as the sole leader of the proletariat in the overthrow of the bourgeoisie and that, conscious of its significance as one of the strongest parties of the Comintern, it is willing and able to make use of all the difficulties of the German and international bourgeoisie to organise revolution and to defeat the strongest ally of reaction in the camp of the working class, the Social Democratic Party, — in constant close co-operation with the C. P. of Russia and with all brother parties. It approaches the task with the greatest self-possession and at the same time with the greatest indefatigability, it knows that results do not come of themselves but are only possible, if it follows the path which it has deliberately trodden since Frankfurt; to work in the spirit of Lenin and in loyalty to the Comintern!

Letter from the Executive Committee of the Comintern to the Tenth Congress of the Communist Party of Germany.

I. The International Situation and "Stabilisation".

The Frankfurt Party Congress was held in the Spring of 1924, at a moment when the so-called democratic pacifist era was at its height. Since then the international situation has decidedly changed. The democratic pacifist era faded before it had time to flourish. MacDonald has made way for Baldwin and Chamberlain. The Herriot Government disappears from the scene, in several stages, apparently, gradually making way for avowed imperialists. The feeble shoots of "democratic pacifism"

are also spiritual empires (perhaps he had noticed that he had already overstepped the bounds of cheerfulness), he returned to the question later on by appealing to the spirit of adventure in his followers, his consuls and proconsuls who were already scenting new conquests. Those who took part in the Fascist Congress with the right to speak (the delegates renounced this right) were the members of Parliament and the secretaries of the local associations, i. e. those who had been appointed by the Government.

The re-announcement of the determination to establish a Fascist world power (be it a spiritual or a material one) coincides with the fall of the lira which has fallen so far that a pound sterling costs 139 lire and a dollar 28. The Italian colonial empire from which the eagles fly forth for fresh conquests, means to Italy an expense of several millions a year. There are no colonies in the world which give nothing to their mother-country, but only receive from her. Without capital for export it is difficult to understand what kind of a world empire can be created other than a spiritual one. The excess of imports amounts to about 3½ milliard lire. On the other hand Italy offers its workers to the capital of the richest imperialist States. Nevertheless the growing Italian imperialism is hard hit by the question of the search for sources of raw material and profitable colonies, and Mussolini's speech, held at a moment so critical for world imperialism, will certainly contribute to the intensification of dissensions and conflicts.

The Canadian Federal Budget, the National Debt and the Coming Election.

By Maurice Spector (Toronto).

In the debate on the Federal Budget, the Hon. Mr. Robb, Acting Minister of Finance in the 'Liberal' King Government, claimed there was a "surplus". The Tory Opposition, thirsting for the spoils of office, insisted there was a "deficit". Regardless of Tory demagoguery, the facts do demonstrate that the "surplus" claimed by the King Government is an absolute fake.

The Federal Budget throws a glaring light on the condition of Canadian Capitalism. The Public Debt at the end of the fiscal year for 1920—21 was 2340 million dollars and the estimated net debt at the end of the present year 1924—25 is 2431 millions — an increase in indebtedness in four years of over 90 million dollars. In addition the Government has during this period guaranteed National Railway bonds to the extent of some 180 million dollars, and as the National Railways are burdened with the heritage of over-capitalization from the days of private ownership, this additional amount will eventually have to come out of non-railway revenues. So a total National Debt of only half-a milliard dollars in pre-war days has swollen to the present tidy sum of two and a half milliard (\$ 2,500,000,000) dollars. More than a third of the public revenue is now expended in interest payments, the annual interest bill having averaged 135 millions in the last three years.

How was this huge debt incurred, to whom is it owed, and who is expected to "pay the price" for it? The expansion of the National Debt to the sum of two and a half milliard dollars was largely due to Dominion participation in the late imperialist world war. This fact of course partly explains the reluctance of the King Government to embark on further war commitments spelling greater contributions to the maintenance of British navalism; it partly explains Dominion insistence on "status" and the differences with the British Imperial Government over the signing of the Treaty of Lausanne, the Geneva Protocol and the "Security Pact" in connection with the Rhine. In view of the penetration and influence of American Imperialism on the one hand, and the sharp antagonisms within the Dominion itself between capital and labour, between agrarian West and financial-manufacturing East, between French Canada and Orange Ontario, between the Maritime Provinces and all others, — participation in another war with the huge debt of the last still bearing down, might shake the whole structure of Canadian Confederation to its foundations.

But if this huge debt was incurred in the imperialist war, and if more than a third of the revenue is going into perpetual

interest payments to capitalist bondholders and war profiteers, and if, as the government has admitted, more than half of these war bonds are tax-exempt, one great source of the deficit and the way to its liquidation becomes very clear. Up to the present, however, the idea of the capital levy has been advocated by nobody outside the Communist Party of Canada. The Government, the capitalist parties, the bondholders and their crowd will not hear of anything that would make them pay the costs. The Business Interests already fill the air with their cries that taxation is "too high". They howl for "Economy" — at the expense of the workers and farmers.

The squabble between the Government and the Tory Opposition over the reality or otherwise of the budgetary "surplus" is a manoeuvring for election position, this coming in Autumn. The liberals and conservatives make their differences hinge on the immemorial fake issue in Canadian politics — the tariff. Both these parties are controlled by the same interests who use now the one, now the other, as occasion demands. The interests of the Canadian Manufacturers Association and the Canadian Bankers Association are protected by both; the interests of the workers and farmers are protected by neither. In twenty years, and with all the party hulloaloo over the tariff, it has not been revised one way or another more than a few cents. The "free-trade" principles of the Liberals are a farcical insincerity. The slight tariff revisions last year (there were none of a downward kind this year!) were a dry bone thrown to the Progressive dog. On imports of all dutiable agricultural implements valued at \$ 3,156,986 from April to October 1924, there was a reduction of 4.7% or an actual reduction of \$ 148,378 of duty paid by all the farmers! It is no pleasant spectacle to see the farmers so shamelessly betrayed by unscrupulous politicians who have wormed themselves into their graces under the banner of the "Progressive Party". In the division on the budget, seventeen of these "Progressives", including the Whip of the Party, voted for the Government despite the decision of the party caucus as a whole. So much for the protection of the farmers.

How about the workers? Last winter there were close on one hundred thousand unemployed. All this time the government agencies were working overtime artificially stimulating immigration by means of lying propaganda abroad. The immigrants came into the country only to swell the army of the workless. All winter the unemployed maintained an agitation for work or maintenance. They got neither. Unemployed marches were organised. Delegations went up to Ottawa from the Trades Councils (Toronto) to ask for maintenance either in the form of "doles" or insurance. The Government replied that the country could not afford it, that "doles" were "demoralising", that the Federal Government had no power to deal with such a question, and was there any unemployment anyway? Meanwhile men starved or eked out a miserable existence on private charity. The budget maintains a perfect silence on the question of unemployed maintenance. . . . For months the miners of Western Canada carried on a desperate struggle against a wage reduction of \$ 1.17 a day. They were finally starved into submission by the owners and their union organisations broken by Company Unions. The whole world is aware of the heroic struggle of the Nova Scotia miners against a wage-reduction of ten per cent dictated by the monstrous British Empire Steel Corporation (BESCO). But the budget says not a word about mines nationalisation, not a word in the interests of the workers. What the budget is concerned about, is the protection of the British Empire Steel Corporation, which is given an increase in the duty on slack coal of from fourteen to fifty cents a ton.

All the usual signs and portents point to an election this Fall. Appropriations have already been made for public works in constituencies of strategic importance for the Government. Five million dollars for the Quebec harbour, and many more millions for the Toronto viaduct and the Montreal South shore bridge.

For the workers there is no other way out of the exploitation they are suffering but independent political action on the basis of the class struggle. The Communist Party will endeavor to rally the workers organised in the trade unions and the Canadian Labour Party, as well as those as yet unorganised, to make a stand for class issues, for the capital levy, for mines nationalisation, for nationalisation and unification of the railway systems, for the nationalisation of the banks, for unemployed insurance, a national minimum wage, a six-hour day and a Workers' and Farmers' Government.

in the Balkans have been nipped by the frosts of black reaction. The domination of the Anglo-American block is making itself more and more felt in world politics. Under the mask of guarantees fresh wars are preparing. Germany is making ready to change (and has to some extent already changed) her international orientation and is gradually going over to the side of the Entente. Here and there fresh, although still partial, conflicts are breaking out, foreshadowing a new imperialist war.

The recent session of the Enlarged Executive of the Comintern noted the beginning of partial stabilisation in certain countries of capitalist Europe. This is particularly true of Germany. The comparative stabilisation of Germany is all the more striking since towards the end of 1923 she was on the brink of revolution.

In our letter to the Frankfurt Party Congress, we wrote:

"It is difficult at the present moment to speak definitely of times and periods. It is possible, and indeed very likely, that a decisive struggle will come much sooner than many think, and that the year will not close before we shall be directly engaged in a decisive struggle. But another possibility is not excluded, namely, that events will develop much more slowly. The Party must be prepared for both eventualities. To the extent that events depend upon subjective factors, i. e., upon the extent of the organisation of the proletarian vanguard, the Party must so construct its ranks as to be prepared for a decisive fight in the very near future."

Now, in the middle of the year 1925, we are obliged to admit openly that the first eventuality did not materialise and that the political policy of the Party must now be based upon the second eventuality. Under the conditions which existed in the Spring of 1924 the proletarian party had to reckon on the possibility of the interval being more brief; its duty in that case was to do everything possible to secure that first line of development of events. So in 1908 the Russian Bolsheviks clearly saw and openly admitted that the interval between the two revolutions would be rather protracted; but up to 1917 the Bolsheviks counted upon the second eventuality.

There can be no question that the Dawes Plan has secured the Germany bourgeoisie quite a considerable breathing space. American credits have resuscitated the bourgeois system in Germany.

Nevertheless, the time is approaching when the people of Germany will painfully feel the objectionable sides of the Dawes Plan. The hopes of the German capitalists to gain time in which to restore the old power of German imperialism, are in vain. The Dawes Plan is a Shylock's bill given to the Entente imperialists by the German bourgeoisie; sooner or later that bill will be presented for payment. Germany is undergoing a serious financial crisis which is assuming its most acute form in the sphere of credit. The collapse of the notorious firm of Stinnes is a factor of first-class importance, demonstrating how unstable is the stabilisation, which sprang up in the feverish conditions of the war and the period of speculation which succeeded it; concerns which hitherto have been regarded as the backbone of the economic life of Germany, are collapsing before our eyes.

The endless parliamentary switchback, with its constant Cabinet crises, its elections and re-elections, and chronic absence of a stable parliamentary majority, is evidence of the difficulties in which the governing classes of Germany find themselves. The existence of such mass organisations as the "League of Red Ex-Soldiers", on the one hand, the Fascist fighting leagues on the other, and the League of the Imperial Banner, indicates that under the cloak of "peaceful" parliamentary life forces are ripening which make for open conflict. In spite of the slowness of developments in Germany, in spite of the comparative calm which prevails, not a week passes without armed collisions between the workers and their class enemies.

The German proletarian revolution is moving, it is approaching; it is inevitable. There is no issue for Germany out of the present impasse, except in a triumphant proletarian revolution.

The events of the few weeks which have elapsed since the Enlarged Executive of the Comintern prove that the present "stabilisation" is only a comparative stabilisation. The war in Morocco, the development and unprecedented extent of the revolution for national emancipation in China, the events in Bulgaria, the increase of unemployment in Great Britain, the elements of increasing financial crisis in France, the election of Hindenburg, the Note on disarmament, the approaching financial crisis in Germany — all these are proof of the aggravation of

the internal contradictions of capitalist society and indicate that slowly but surely the capitalist world is approaching revolution. The line marked out by the Enlarged Executive of Comintern is being fully justified.

On the other hand, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics is consolidating its economic life day by day. The Russian Communist Party has adopted a policy of closer alliance between the working class of the U. S. S. R. and the peasantry, an alliance which is all the more necessary owing to the slackening pace of world revolution. The attempts to "encircle" the first Workers' State are continuing. The British imperialists are straining every nerve to create a united front against the U. S. S. R. The work of preparing the governing class of Germany in this direction is meeting with success.

At the same time, a feeling of revolutionary alarm for the future is awakening among the international proletariat. The agreement between the British Trade Union and the Trade Unions of the U. S. S. R. is of historical importance, primarily because it is being dictated by the anxiety of the working class of those two great countries to prevent fresh imperialist wars. The campaign for the unity of the world trade union movement has a great future before it. The maximum effort must be devoted to it. There are signs of the formation of a Social Democratic "left wing" in a number of countries; a symptom of the growth of revolutionary alarm among the working class masses. In spite of all obstacles the International proletariat is forcing its way through to world revolution. The "restoration" of capitalism is already making it clear to the workers of the world that fresh wars are inevitable. The symptomatic significance of the Moroccan war has been underestimated by the working class. The importance of this purely colonial, purely spoliatory, purely imperialist war is very great. On the other hand, we have the extremely symptomatic events in China. The epoch of wars and revolution has not ended. Throughout the world the situation is becoming revolutionised with extreme rapidity.

The Tenth Congress of the German Communist Party must not close its eyes to the partial stabilisation in Germany, but at the same time it must continue to prepare itself for the second revolution, a revolution which should be, and will be, a triumphant proletarian revolution.

II. Bolshevisation and the Trade Unions.

The Executive Committee of the Comintern notes with satisfaction that during the fifteen months which have elapsed since the Frankfurt Party Congress, the German Communist Party has done considerable work within its own ranks. The Party has overcome the particularist tendencies of its various organisations and has established a firm leadership. It has successfully exposed and overcome the right deviations within its ranks. At the same time it has decisively attacked the ultra-left deviations (Schumacher and the recent opposition of Rosenberg, Scholem and Katz), which threatened the mass character of the Party. The Party has become consolidated; it is working energetically for the Bolshevisation of its ranks; the Party wishes to be a Bolshevik Party and will undoubtedly become one. The Tenth Congress will assuredly take measures in order to apply to Germany the Theses on Bolshevisation endorsed by the Enlarged Executive of Comintern.

But there is one sphere in which the German Party is still exceedingly backward. We refer to work in the Trade Unions. That is the Achilles' heel of the German Communist Party. It is the "link" which the German Communist Party must seize upon in order "to drag out the whole chain" (Lenin) of the true Bolshevisation of the Party.

During the Frankfurt Party Congress the Executive Committee of the Comintern addressed a second letter to the German Communist Party on the Trade Union question. At that time, the view (for some reason or other, regarded as "left") prevailed almost universally in the German Communist Party that it was necessary for Communists to abandon the reactionary Social Democratic Trade Unions.

If an historical illustration were still needed as to how so-called ultra-left views benefit the reformists only, it is best found in the disputes which have arisen over the Trade Union question in the Communist Party of Germany. To whom is it now not clear that the "ultra-left policy" which advocated the abandonment of the Trade Unions benefitted only the Social Democrats?

At the Tenth Congress of the C. P. G. differences of principle will no longer exist, as to whether the Bolsheviks should belong to the reactionary trade unions, or not. The ultra-left "theoretical" folly, which cloaked itself in the pseudo-principle of "irreconcilability" has been overcome.

But it must be frankly stated that, in spite of the efforts of the Central Committee, it has been overcome among the Party masses in theory, but not in practice. The best evidence of this is the weakness of the present position of the German Communist Party within the Trade Unions. "Theoretically" the Party admits the necessity of working in the Trade Unions, but in practice very little work is actually done. To express it in figures, the German Communist Party at present devotes 10% of its time to the Trade Unions, whereas at least 75% of Party time and attention should be devoted to this work.

In order that the German Communist Party should not become bolshevised in words alone, (i. e. in order to create a Bolshevik Party in Germany which is able even during the years of calm and in the interval between the two revolutions to retain the character of a mass Party and of an out-and-out revolutionary proletarian Party) it is necessary primarily to find a practical solution of the problem of work in the Trade Unions.

Declarations are not required, nor are resolutions and expressions of "principle", but practical measures for invigorating the work of the Party in the Trade Unions and for supervising the execution of the measures adopted. From the lowest nucleus of the Party to the Central Committee the maximum of attention must be directed towards this work, i. e. work in factory and workshop committees and in the Trade Unions.

This should be expressed in the selection of the members of the new Central Committee. At least one comrade must be elected to the new Central Committee of the Party from those active workers among the masses in the large Trade Unions now coming to the fore. The same must be done in the regional and local organisations. The success of the work of any local Party organisation should be judged primarily by the success of its work in the Trade Unions. The measure of the true extent of Bolshevisation should be the influence gained for our Party among Trade Unionists. Apart from this, talk of Bolshevisation is empty words. That must be clearly understood.

The German Trade Unions are reorganising and increasing their membership. They are beginning to play an increasingly important part. The leaders of the German Trade Unions were obliged to call a halt to the campaign for the exclusion of Communists from the Trade Unions. The masses are returning to the Trade Unions. They must be led by the Communists. And the Communists must understand that it is impossible to gain influence for their Party in the Unions under present conditions by mere "left" talk, that it requires years and years of steady work in the Unions and that in the day to day work they must prove themselves to be the firmest, most long-sighted, best informed and most loyal workers in them.

It is now perfectly clear that if the Communist Party of Germany a year and a half ago had hearkened to those who proposed a wholesale exodus from the Trade Unions and the creation of their own parallel Trade Unions, the Communist Party of Germany would now have ceased to be a mass Party. From this error, which almost ruined the Party, we derive our lesson.

The leaders of the German Trade Unions are now the bulwark not only of the German, but also of the bourgeois reaction of the world. The German Trade Union leaders are the greatest obstacle in the way of international Trade Union Unity. In spite of that, or rather because of it, our German Party must devote ten times, a hundred times, more attention and effort to the Trade Union question. The obstinate resistance of the reactionary leaders to international unity will inevitably be broken down. A left wing will be created in the German Trade Union Movement in the comparatively near future. By breaking down the resistance of reactionary leaders of the German Trade Unions, we shall be doing our best toward furthering the world revolution.

III. The Reasons why the German Social Democrats are so tenacious.

At least eight such reasons may be enumerated.

1. The general reason for the tenacity of the Social Democrats is the tenacity of capitalism in general. Social democracy has become in most of the countries so identified with the

bourgeois system as to stand and fall with it. The "stabilisation" of capitalism has led to the temporary "stabilisation" of the Social Democrats. When comparing our strength with that of Social Democracy we must bear in mind that the latter derives a certain — indeed considerable — portion of its strength from the bourgeoisie. On the other hand, when comparing our strength with the strength of the bourgeoisie we must always bear in mind that behind the bourgeoisie stands almost the entire Social Democratic Party.

2. The fatigue felt by the working class masses as a result of the imperialist war made the spread of fresh "peaceful" reformist delusions possible. The masses were so worn out by war that they were prepared (and are still prepared) to tolerate an unprecedented political and economic yoke, for the sake of a crust of bread.

3. An important change in the social composition of the Social Democratic Parties has taken place since the war. The part played by the working-class aristocracy and the working-class bureaucracy within the German Social Democratic Party, although different from that before the war, is still very great. In Prussia alone there are probably tens of thousands of average Social Democrats, representing a whole class, and a very influential class within the Social Democratic Party, who depend for a livelihood on the Civil Service, the municipalities etc. (not to speak of the Trade Unions). The influence of the petty-bourgeois elements and "hangers on" from the camp of the bourgeoisie among the Social Democrats is larger than that of pre-war days.

4. The German Social Democrats have a powerful bureaucratic Party machine, which still, in spite of what has happened, exerts a great influence on the fate of the working-class movement.

5. The German Social Democrats mainly relied, and still rely, upon their reformist trade unions, which represent a powerful apparatus for exerting the counter-revolutionary influence of the Social Democrats over the masses.

6. Large sections of German workers believe that the Communist Party is allright during the period of direct revolutionary struggle, during periods of calm, but that when the struggle is being conducted for the improvement of their daily existence, conditions of labour etc., greater benefit is to be derived from the German Social Democratic Party. For this we have partly to blame the delusions created by the "Dawesation" of Germany (an international factor), on the one hand, and our own ultra-left errors, on the other.

7. The difficulties encountered by the Russian revolution from, roughly, 1921 to 1923 (particularly the famine), were exploited by the Social Democratic leaders in order to frighten off the exhausted and hungry masses from the struggle for the dictatorship, civil war, etc. In this respect things are now changing for the better. The movement for sending a Delegation of German workers to the U. S. S. R. will undoubtedly alter the situation in favour of the Communists.

8. The defeat of the German revolution, the series of errors committed by the opportunist right leaders of the German Communist Party, which helped to strengthen the Social Democrats, and finally our "left" errors in Germany — especially the errors in the trade union question, all helped to increase the strength and vitality of the German Social Democrats.

We were absolutely right in describing the Social Democrats in general and the German Social Democrats in particular, as a third party of the bourgeoisie, as a wing of modern Fascism, etc. This description was, and remains, correct. But not only does it not relieve us of the necessity of studying the reasons for the tenacity of the Social Democrats, but, on the contrary, makes it more than ever imperative to understand why this third party of the bourgeoisie, this wing of Fascism, is able to rally such extensive proletarian masses around it.

The problem in Germany of destroying the influence of the counter-revolutionary Social Democrats over the proletarian masses, is the fundamental problem of the proletarian revolution. Our Party must learn to eradicate the influence of the Social Democratic leaders among the working class masses. Every member of our Party must understand that it is not now a matter of abusing the Social Democrats, but of understanding the reasons for their tenacity, — for understanding them and removing them. Leaving aside the reasons of a national character, every local organisation must learn to understand its own local conditions, which at times play a very important part.

We must at all costs eradicate from among the workers the prejudice that the Communist Party is a Party which is of use only at a time of revolutionary ferment and direct revolutionary struggle. The central task is to prove to the working class masses of Germany that the Communist Party is a real and in fact the only proletarian Party capable of defending the day to day interests of the working class and of studying them at every step in every detail.

Let us not conceal from ourselves, comrades, the fact that one of the greatest defects in the work of the German Communist Party was a certain abstractness in its agitation, and inability to associate the partial and daily economic and political demands with general tasks. Unless we overcome this defect, which is due to "a disease of leftism", we cannot even dream of defeating German Social Democracy.

Workers who follow the counter-revolutionary leaders, must not be regarded merely as objects of agitation. The working-class masses are extremely sensitive and know at once when we regard them merely as the object of agitation. The workers who follow the Social Democrats, are our class brothers. While not sharing their errors and prejudices, while not conceding to "khvostism" nor allowing ourselves to descend to the suburban views of the non-Party on Social Democratic workers, and while endeavouring to raise them to our own level, we must at the same time endeavour to prove to them that we do not regard their errors as due to their fault, but rather as their misfortune. Thus, and only thus, must we approach the Social Democratic workers.

IV. The "New" Tactics.

The "new" tactics formulated by the Executive Committee of the Comintern and the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Germany in connection with the recent German Presidential elections are, strictly speaking, new only to those who held the "ultra-left" point of view and those for whom real Bolshevik views were always a sealed book.

The election of Hindenburg clearly showed that the Monarchist danger in Germany is a fact. Prior to the election of Hindenburg there were to be found German Communist Party "leaders" who laughed when the Monarchist danger was referred to, but it is now clear to everybody that these "leaders" have been mocked by events. The position of the present "ultra-left" group in the Communist Party of Germany (Scholem, Katz, Rosenberg and Korsch) is in the long explained by their utter inability to apply adaptable Bolshevik tactics to the concrete conditions in Germany and to their blindness to the difference between a Monarchist and a bourgeois republic. We need hardly say that such views have nothing in common with Bolshevism. They are a caricature of Bolshevism and Marxism.

It is our Party, in fact which ought to lead the struggle against the Monarchist danger; it is our Party which ought to formulate, i. e. translate into the language of the proletarian tactics the working class of Germany by the election of Hindenburg.

The alarm caused among the German workers by the election of Hindenburg has now subsided. But this does not mean that the matter is at an end. Sooner or later, and in fact sooner than later, the question will again become acute. It is not the duty of the proletarian Party to sound the alarm only when the danger is already perceived by the masses themselves. The Party must point out the way to its working-class masses even when they are blinded by illusions and have become "accustomed" to a particular manifestation. Since the election of Hindenburg, for whom nearly 50% of the electors voted, the question of the Monarchist danger cannot be eliminated from German politics, all the more so since the victory of Hindenburg not only means the growth of reaction within the country, but the danger of a new war.

The Tenth Congress of the Communist Party of Germany must frankly admit that the Party committed an error by not following the advice given by the Executive Committee of the Comintern after the first Presidential ballot and before the election of Hindenburg, namely, to signify to the German Social Democrats that the Communists were prepared to withdraw their candidate in favour of Social Democratic candidates on certain conditions. Such errors and delays are unforgivable in politics and are always costly to the Party of the revolutionary proletariat. The "ultra-left" in Germany (and in some other countries too) object to the "new" tactics on the ground that they are equi-

valent to a coalition with the Social Democrats, or, let us say, to the present "left bloc" in France.

There are "left blocs" and "left blocs". During the years of counter-revolution the Bolshevik Party, under the guidance of Comrade Lenin, also conducted left bloc tactics. The Bolshevik left bloc meant the leadership of the certain section of the petty-bourgeoisie (especially the peasantry: the Trudoviki and S. R. s) by the proletariat against Tsarism, the counter-revolutionary bourgeoisie and the compromising Mensheviks. The Bolsheviks left bloc tactics meant the hegemony of the proletariat in the revolution, a union with intermediary elements which at any given moment might swing to the side of the working-class. The Bolshevik left bloc tactics had nothing in common with the unprincipled parliamentary combinations, with a division of offices and portfolios, nor with parliamentary trickery. The Bolshevik left bloc tactics carried the centre of gravity over to the extra-parliamentary work of educating and organising the masses.

The policy of the "left bloc" as it is at present being conducted, by the French Socialist Mensheviks, for instance, or the German Social Democrats in the "national bloc", means in fact the alliance of a section of the workers with the bourgeoisie. These "tactics" mean the annihilation of the proletariat as an independent class force. They facilitate the hegemony of the bourgeoisie over the proletariat. They drive into the camp of bourgeois counter-revolution not only the wavering elements of the petty-bourgeois, but also the sections of the worker who still follow the mensheviks. Our tactics in relation to the "national bloc" can only be to sever the workers from it and to bring them into the ranks of the army of labour fighting for Communism.

Can we "manoeuvre" with bourgeois parties? That is how the "ultra-left" in Germany now put the question. The manoeuvre with the Social Democrats is, forsooth, permissible, but to "manoeuvre" with out and out bourgeois parties, is, their opinion, impossible. The very method of putting the question proves that the "ultra-left" do not understand the difference between the tactics of a revolutionary left bloc, such as was conducted by the Bolsheviks in their time (while not for a moment ceasing to conduct an independent proletarian class policy) and bourgeois left bloc tactics, such as are being conducted by the French and German Social Democrats. The Bolsheviks won over the wavering elements of the petty-bourgeoisie. The Mensheviks at best are themselves wavering between a proletarian and petty-bourgeois position.

In the resolution of the Comintern published in the beginning of June 1925, we dwell in detail on the question of our parliamentary tactics under present conditions. That resolution still holds good. Only the following point must be added.

While combatting "ultra-left" tendencies, the Party should not concentrate all its attention solely on the political side of the Monarchist danger. It must not for a moment lose sight of the fact that the working class masses are at present occupied with their immediate economic problems. Taxation, wages working hours, the housing problem, the cost of living, unemployment, customs duties, trade agreements etc. etc. — in a word all those questions upon which directly depends the improvement of the economic level of the workers — must not be driven out of our field of vision by government and parliamentary crises, etc. The Communist Party of Germany can extend its influence among its masses and become the recognised leader of the working class only if it is able to carry on political and economic work simultaneously and if it is able constantly to associate the question of forms of State structure, the Monarchist danger, etc.

It is the very ABC of Bolshevism that a Communist Party which desires to be a Bolshevik Party must know how to manoeuvre. It is equally elementary that the representatives of a proletarian Party in the bourgeois parliaments must be bound by nothing except Party discipline and loyalty to the proletarian revolution. It is just as indisputable for a Bolshevik that, given such a parliamentary relation of forces where the issue of a vote may sometimes depend upon our group, we cannot refrain from making "compromises" and must take advantage of this state of affairs in order to aggravate the conflict within the bourgeois camp and to strengthen our own position. It is indisputable, therefore, that our Party acted correctly when immediately after the election of Hindenburg, it published an open letter advocating the concentration of all forces for the struggle against

the Monarchist danger in Prussia and Germany generally (cf. the appeal to the Landtag fraction and the proposal made in the Reichstag by the Central Committee of the C. P. G. for a fight against the Monarchist danger).

The "new" tactics should primarily consist in a new form of agitation among the working class masses and a new form of approach to the Social Democratic and non-party workers. All our writings and speeches, in fact the whole work of the Party among the masses, should be so conducted that every Social Democratic worker feels the difference and sees that the Communist Party realises the Monarchist menace, that the Communist Party sincerely desires to co-operate with the Social Democratic workers and that it regards with tolerance the views which distinguish them from the Communist workers. Our action in parliament should be wholly subordinated to this task. The main thing, under existing circumstances, is to find a new path to the heart of the Social Democratic and non-Party workers.

We repeat, it is not so much a question of new tactics, as of a new tone of agitation and new methods of approach to the Social Democratic and non-Party workers. Four cardinal factors should determine the new method of approach to the Social Democratic and non-Party workers.

1. Facts have proved that no direct revolutionary situation exists in Germany and that we are faced by a long period of preparation.

2. The facts have proved that there is a serious monarchist danger in Germany. This, provided we pursue a correct policy, offers the real possibility that a section of the Social Democratic workers will go part of the way with us.

3. The facts have proved that in spite of the treachery of the Social Democratic leaders, in spite of Barmatism, etc. the majority of the German workers still follow the Social Democratic Party and vote for it at the elections.

4. The facts have proved that our Party (the Communist Party of Germany), under the influence of circumstances, has committed certain serious errors, particularly in connection with the trade union question. And the trade union question is the key question, the central question of the relation of the Party to the non-Party and Social Democratic workers. This error inevitably resulted in the whole of our agitation among the masses being incorrectly conducted.

These are the four factors which we must bear in mind when we talk of "new" tactics and a new method of approaching the masses. Our conduct in parliament must be entirely subordinated to what has been said above. Every vote and every action in parliament should help us to place our work among the masses on the new footing. That is the point of view from which we must regard work in our parliament. The central importance of the "new" tactics does not lie in parliamentary action. Let the incorrigible "ultra-left" politicians continue to frighten us with imaginary dangers which they allege to be associated with the new tactics. We do not see any real dangers. All tactics have their dangers; we know that, and as the proletarian vanguard, take the necessary measures to guard ourselves against errors.

V. The Situation within the Party.

On the whole, the Communist Party of Germany has conducted successful warfare against right deviations within the Party. That does not mean that Brandlerism has been finally defeated. Under present conditions the Brandler danger is always present in the German Communist movement in a concealed form.

What is Brandlerism? It is a relic surviving in the camp of Communism of the traditional Social Democratic ideology. Instead of consistently carrying the idea of Communism into the camp of the Social Democratic workers, Brandlerism carries the traditional ideas of Social Democracy into the ranks of the Communist workers. This can be said more or less of the whole right wing in the Communist International. They all carry Social Democratic ideas into the Communist ranks.

The Communist Party of Germany has fought right deviations. But we must not conceal from ourselves the fact that the organism of the Communist Party of Germany has been seriously undermined by another disease, ultra-leftism. The Communist Party of Germany at one time suffered from ultra-left fever. The Tenth Congress must finally cure the German Communist Party of Germany of that fever. The Party must guard the best revolutionary traditions of the Spartacists, as the apple of its

eye, and at the same time criticise the errors of Rosa Luxemburg.

In our letter to the Frankfurt Party Congress, we spoke with utter frankness of the monstrous distortions of Communism committed by Comrade Rosenberg, Scholem, etc. Unfortunately, our fears have been more than justified. Carelessness of theory has cost the proletarian Party much. At one time the Communist Party of Germany entrusted almost its entire press to people who had nothing in common with Bolshevism (Korsch, Rolf, etc.). The Party must make use of every one of its members, but not in posts where such people attempt to teach the Party, but rather in posts where they are themselves likely to learn something worth while.

The new Central Committees should contain a far larger number of workers who are in contact with the masses than has been the case hitherto. The majority of your Central Committee has pursued a correct policy, for which they deserve the confidence of the Party and for which they will undoubtedly gain that confidence. The Comintern fully supports this majority and will work hand in hand with them in the future. The more the Congress succeeds in bringing into the new Central Committee fresh forces which are connected with the workers and with the Trade Unions, the better will it be for our future work.

It should be borne in mind that an entirely different division exists in the Communist Party of Germany in the middle of 1925 from that which existed, let us say, prior to the Frankfurt Party Congress. The new Central Committee should not fear to enlist the services of the best of the comrades from the former groups not adhering to the Left; rather the contrary. The Party will only gain by enlisting the services of members of the former groups who are seriously prepared to carry out the decisions of the Tenth Congress and to act as disciplined soldiers of the Communist Party. In drawing up our slogans we must discard the old fractional reminiscences once and for all. For instance, we must not reject the slogan "Lay the whole burden of taxation on the shoulders of the rich", solely because it was once regarded by the Rights as the only programme of salvation.

It is essential to allow greater freedom of discussion within the Party. All cases of exclusion from the Party, especially of workers, should be re-examined with the object of throwing open the Party doors again to those who are deserving. Different shades of opinion are of course permissible in general Party discussions. Without the necessary discussion within the Party it will be impossible to secure the Bolshevik education and temper which is so necessary to the Communist Party of Germany.

The Executive Committee of the Comintern notes with satisfaction that questions of organisation form a special point in the agenda of Tenth Congress. The period in which we live demands that the Party should have an extensive, profound and all-pervading organisation. Agitation and educational work can attain their full weight and importance only when their achievements are backed by organisation. Exceptional importance should at the present moment, be assigned to the Party organisers. The day belongs to the organisers. We are convinced that the Tenth Congress will devote the necessary attention to questions of organisation.

"Fight for the Party" was one of the chief slogans of the Bolsheviks in the period between the two revolutions. The fight for the Party was the fight for Revolution. "Fight for Comintern" should be our slogan in the interval between the two revolutions. The fight for Comintern is the fight for the triumph of the World Proletarian Revolution. That fight demands great sacrifices. The hitherto unprecedented persecutions which have been imposed upon the Communists in Bulgaria, Esthonia, Roumania, Greece, Egypt, Poland, France and Germany show in what difficult circumstances our Party has now to work. All the greater honour to those of our divisions which under the shrapnel fire of the enemy remain true to the end to the banner of Comintern. We are convinced that the Tenth Congress of the Communist Party of Germany will do all in its power to intensify the fight for Comintern and the triumph of the world proletarian revolution.

Chairman of the E. C. C. I.
G. Zinoviev.

THE YOUTH MOVEMENT

The Conference of the Young Communist League of Great Britain.

By H. Young (London).

The Fourth Conference of the Y. C. L. of Great Britain will assemble on July 11th and 12th. It will be the turning point in the League's history.

For three years the League has struggled on, a small and isolated sect.

Confusion has reigned supreme in the League's work and tasks — not only in the League, but to a greater extent in the Party.

At the recent Congress of the Party the final remnants of this ideological confusion in the Party cadre were dislodged.

The Party for the first time issued a clear and definite statement on the Y. C. L., while pointing out that the old misconception, expressed on the one hand in a belief that the Y. C. L. was an organisation for "social" activities, or the view that the League was a second edition of the Party, must now be finally liquidated.

On the basis of this clarity, it is possible to go forward, to a clarification of the Party membership and a corresponding increase of support for building the League.

The first question which the League Congress will be the Report of the Party Congress and the Political Situation.

The Line adopted by the Party — with particular reference to Bolshevisation — and its influence in all the Party's tasks — the Labour Party Left Wing, the Trade Union Minority Movement, the Colonial Work and Leninist Training, will be discussed and will have immediate influence on the League's estimation of the Bolshevisation Tasks.

It is clear that the League's chief weakness is its small membership. Therefore the question of Recruiting has been placed on the foreground of all its discussions. The Theses on the Bolshevisation of the League declare that "for us Recruiting is a political task". The League has set itself the task of trebling its membership by the ult. International Day of Youth.

It has done so, convinced that the energetic carrying out of the proposals outlined in the material to be presented to the Conference, will bear this fruit.

The League C. C. has closely bound up the question of Recruiting with the Organisation of the League on the basis of the Factory Groups.

In addition to small numbers, the social composition of the League is bad, with few industrial young workers. Therefore for the British League the questions of Recruiting and Reorganisation are expressed mainly in the form of the organisation of Factory Groups which will increase the membership through new industrial young workers from the factories.

One of the chief tasks of the British League is the economic struggle, particularly important in the present period of industrial crisis and the growing Minority Movement. The League has already conducted two industrial campaigns, one in the Metal and the other in the Mining Industry. By the extension of this work, the elaboration of programmes of youth demands, the participation in all present developing industrial struggles (Miners, Transport and Metal Workers) with representation of young workers demands, and in the Councils of Action as well as in the Unemployed Organisation, the League will broaden and above all by its participation in the Minority Movement make the first beginnings of mass work.

In this question the Factory Reorganisation and the Organisation of Fractions are of the utmost importance.

The question of Leninist Training will receive close attention. The new ideas of Leninism on Imperialism, Dictatorship, the C. P. etc. will sweep away the ored cobweb of British sterile Marxism remaining in the League. It is clear that without this intense training the League will not achieve its other tasks. Its lack has been one of the League's chief weaknesses. Side by side with the political minimum for all members will be taken up the question of the cadre and special courses.

An especial task for Great Britain is the Colonial work. A comprehensive resolution indicates the special task of the League in India, Egypt, China, etc. in terms of the Resolution

of the Enlarged Plenum Resolution of the Y. C. I. A definite step forward in this work will result.

The issue of a special programme of immediate demands for soldiers and sailors has met with a good reception. Further clarification of the membership on the practical daily tasks in this work will make possible further progress.

A special report will be given on the situation of the Russian working youth in order to effectively silence Menshevist slander and canards.

Other special questions will be Statutes (new Statutes as directed by Plenum of the Y. C. I.), Children Movement, Press, etc.

Another important question will be the Workers Sport Movement, now showing excellent signs of development through the interest displayed by the Left Wing of the Trade Unions.

The Conference will meet on the eve of the Miners' Dispute, in the midst of the Metal Workers negotiations and the Transport Workers struggle, on the eve of a special Trade Union Congress on Unemployment, and when this question has created a political crisis.

By establishing a clear political line, the League will be enabled to throw its presents small membership into building a mass Y. C. L. through Reorganisation and Recruiting in conjunction with Mass Economic work, work in the Forces, the establishment of a popular Mass Press, in order to organise a League of 5000 by the next Congress.

THE WOMEN'S MOVEMENT

Five Years of "Kommunistka".

June 1920 to 1925.

By Hertha Sturm.

When, on the occasion of the five years' jubilee of the women's paper of the C. P. of Russia, "Kommunistka", we communist women of the capitalistic lands of the West review its activities during the said period, when we picture to ourselves its significance for the masses of women of the Soviet Union, a section of the history of the proletarian revolution passes before our eyes, and with it a part of the history of the Communist Party of Russia, the leader in this revolution.

The "Kommunistka" is, as a women's paper, unique in the whole Communist International. In contrast to the "Rabotnitsa" (the woman worker) which was founded before the revolution, in contrast to the "Krestyanka" (the peasant woman) and the numerous other special women's papers of the U. S. S. R. which appeal to the broad masses of non-party women with little education, the "Kommunistka", as its name indicates, is intended for a comparatively small circle of advanced readers, chiefly for the party functionaries, men and women, for work amongst women. Thus it is no organ for agitation and propaganda as the women's papers of the communist parties of the West are or should be. On the other hand it makes no pretensions at co-operating theoretically in the solution of the political problems of the party and of the Soviet power.

Its task is an essentially practical one. Its object is to make its own the slogans which are issued by the party and the Soviet power, and in the working out of which the masses of women within and without the party are constantly co-operating. It throws light on all these general questions from the special point of view of deciding where the lever should be placed in order to move the broad masses of women in the right direction. Only in the second place does it devote itself to those questions which are usually regarded as specially "women's questions", such as maternity and child welfare, mass feeding, housing questions and others. The fact that the "Kommunistka" elucidates in detail the questions which immediately concern the broad masses of women and deeply impresses them on a certain cadre of party workers, makes it by its very nature an organ for the masses.

The "Kommunistka" is a living token of the maturity and force of the C. P. of Russia as compared with all the younger brother parties. The Party, which has thus understood and put into practice Lenin's doctrine in its entirety, shows us that the

fight for the dictatorship of the proletariat, the assertion of its power and the building up of the proletariat is impossible without the active participation of the millions and millions of women! In 1920, the year of the birth of the "Kommunistka", Soviet Russia had already victoriously defeated its enemies on all fronts and could turn its attention to peacefully building up its economic life. It speaks for the breadth of view of the party that it created the "Kommunistka" just at that time. It appreciated the enormous significance of the masses of women as creative forces in any and every task of the proletarian revolution. The experiences of the heroic part played by the women workers and peasant women in the civil war has further strengthened this conviction. And thus the Russian women with the "Kommunistka" at their head, march side by side with the revolutionary workers and peasants of Russia, forming one front.

They are learning the new turn in economic policy and to adapt themselves to the changed forms of economic life, they also take their place in the front ranks in the fight against starvation and the failure of the harvests, they are growing into the spirit and the practice of the "Smytchka" between town and village and participate consciously and actively in the tendency: "The face to the village!" Like the men of their class, they co-operate in increasing the productivity of work, they are raising the level of their culture especially by eliminating illiteracy from their ranks, by developing a broad anti-religious propaganda and by calling into being numerous clubs, courses of instruction and other means of education. As correspondents from the ranks of the women workers and peasant women, they place their experience, the events of their lives and their initiative at the service of the community.

All these general problems however of which the "Kommunistka" is a depository, do not exhaust the sphere of its activities. The "Kommunistka" balances the accounts of successes and failures from what has been achieved among women with the forms and methods of work used. It registers the participation of women in the Soviets and their organs, in the trade union and co-operative movements, the addition to their numbers when the Leninist roll-call is made, the part they play in the party apparatus. It constantly and carefully tests their methods so as to model them in correspondence with the circumstances of the time and to improve their construction. Thus one of the most effectual methods of work in the C. P. of Russia among the masses of women, the system of assemblies of non-party delegates, has experienced a development in the course of years which is still by no means completed, and which was prepared and worked out in the columns of the "Kommunistka".

Further, the "Kommunistka" takes a definite attitude towards all those factors — a heritage from the capitalist society — which are an obstacle to the broad masses of women becoming incorporated in the society of the worker and peasant State. From this point of view for instance, the "Kommunistka" deals with the questions of the protection of mothers and women workers, the movement for the creation of creches, the foundation of co-operative societies and arrangements for the support of the economic needs of the peasant women, for raising the qualification of industrial work for women as a remedy for low wages and unemployment among women.

The "Kommunistka" follows with deep interest the situation and the struggles of women workers in the capitalistic West and the work of the sister parties amongst them with its results. It also devotes a great deal of space and much care to the still young but so promising awakening of the women of the East who, in common with their brothers, are shaking the pillars of the universal rule of imperialism. It combines all these movements and struggles under the great leading thought of the creation of a conscious, international, united front of all those who are oppressed and exploited, for the overthrow of capitalism.

On the occasion of its jubilee, the "Kommunistka" can look with pride on the work it has accomplished. The communist women, all the revolutionary women of the whole world, hail it with admiration, confidence and in a fighting spirit. They are preparing to follow, hand in hand with the Russian women workers and peasant women, the path on which the red banner of the "Kommunistka" of the glorious party of the Bolsheviks floats before them — the path of the proletarian revolution.

THE PEASANTS' MOVEMENT

Resolution of the Second Enlarged Plenum of the International Peasant Council upon the Work amongst the Peasants.

(Adopted at the Second Enlarged Plenum of the International Peasant Council.)

1. The imperialist world war signified for capitalism the beginning of the period of decay. The destructive crisis of the post-war period followed upon the tremendous destruction of the war years. The temporary periods of prosperity in economic life disappear with unheard of rapidity and give place to serious crises. In agriculture, the "scissors", that is to say the discrepancy between the prices for the products of agriculture and for those of industry, follow upon relatively favourable and short booms.

The monopolistic organisations (banks, syndicates, trusts, etc.) which developed even more quickly during the war, are attempting to place the burden of all the devastations and the consequences of the war upon the working class and upon the small property owners, for the most part peasants; still further than this, they are attempting to enrich themselves at the cost of the ruination of these latter.

For the working class this means reductions in wages, the lengthening of the working day, the worsening of the conditions of work; for the great majority of the peasants it means increase of taxes, the worsening of credit conditions, disastrous price vacillations — in a word, for the one as for the other, it is a question of existence.

2. In the imperialist war it was the peasantry, along with the working class, which made the greatest sacrifices. Above all sacrifices in blood. The bourgeoisie, by means of money and influential connections, kept themselves in the background whilst the mobilised peasants went to the front to give their lives for their master — capitalism.

Peasant undertakings were bereft of labour power, agricultural products were confiscated at nominal prices, that is to say, at bad prices. They were requisitioned for the needs of the army; the scene of the military operations was transformed into a desert — and all this in the interest of large capital.

Although the large peasants not only withstood these difficulties but even amassed profits in secret, the pauperisation of the great masses of the peasantry was thereby made still worse.

3. But also the crises of the post-war period fell with all their weight upon the working class and the masses of the peasantry. In Europe the imperialist war led to a very considerable decline in agriculture and in the other parts of the world to an increase of prosperity of agriculture. The cessation of hostilities brought to an end for the greater part the needs of the war.

From this there follows, and without a limitation of consumption, an agrarian crisis, a fall of prices for agricultural products ("the scissors"), only interrupted by short periods of prosperity.

In America this crisis led directly to the ruin of the farmer class, to the bankruptcy of millions of farmers and to the subordination of the remainder to the banks. In Europe this crisis, in consequence of the reduction of peasant economy (reduction of the area of land under cultivation and bad harvests), created a particularly serious situation. In this manner the products of the peasant were reduced in value, quite apart from their very reduced quantity.

This hit the masses of the poorer peasants very severely. For them the slightest reduction in production very often makes it completely impossible for them to purchase anything at all.

On the other hand the war reduced very considerably the opportunity of the pauperised sections of the rural population to send their surplus population to the towns or to other countries. The sluggishly working town industry is incapable of absorbing this wholly unqualified labour power from the country, whilst emigration is in most countries made more difficult by the general distrust towards people from another country and in consequence of the difficulties of travel and the reduction of the quota of immigrants allowed.

4. The sudden alterations in volume of the economics of various countries (the decay in Europe and the growth outside); the breaking off of international economic connections, which even today have not been completely reestablished, the unregulated relations in Central Europe, the strained relations between various countries, the military occupation of certain districts, the reparations payments — in a word, the whole regime of the Versailles Treaty and the other treaties, all this causes an extreme uncertainty in the economic situation and causes the short periods of prosperity to be quickly replaced by prolonged and difficult crises. At the moment we can observe an improvement brought about by the realisation of the first part of the Dawes plan; the granting of credits to Germany raises her purchasing power. Later, however, in the carrying out of the second part of the Dawes Plan, this will lead unavoidably to a sudden strengthening of German exports and thereby unavoidably to a flooding of the world market.

Similarly, the increase of prices for agricultural products is the result of the bad harvests of last year in almost all the countries of Western Europe, including the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics, and also of the crisis which previously took place in the agricultural economy of North America. Further, the favourable increase of prices which is profitable for the peasant selling cereals, is counteracted, even for the well-to-do peasants of Europe by the fact that, in consequence of the bad harvest, only a reduced volume of production can be sold. The poor peasants, however, gain nothing by an increase of prices, they even lose by it, so that the result is an ever stronger differentiation within the peasantry. The quick transformation of the periods of prosperity into periods of crises, characteristic of the post-war period, makes the maintenance of prices at a high level appear very doubtful.

5. The imperialist world war has not weakened the competition between the capitalist powers, nor the struggle for colonies and the exploitation of the colonies, which these countries regard as one of the ways out of the crisis of world capital, on the contrary they have been strengthened. The immense majority of the population in the colonial countries is made up of peasants, who are now subjected to unheard-of exploitation. On top of this comes the national suppression by the imperialist bourgeoisie.

6. In these circumstances capitalism attempts to stabilise itself at the expense of other classes, that is at the expense of the workers by the reduction of wages and the lengthening of the working time, and at the cost of the great majority of the peasantry by emissions of paper money etc. which in the first years of the war lightened the situation of the peasants by reducing their debts, but which afterwards became an intolerable burden from which they suffer at every transaction. And finally, capitalism seeks to stabilise itself by exploiting its monopolistic organisations.

7. In all countries the war led to a colossal increase of the public debt abroad. The payment of the interests upon these debts and the growing expenses for the costs and the technical equipment of powerful armies and fleets cause the state budgets to swell abnormally everywhere and necessarily demand an increase of the existing and the introduction of new, mostly indirect, taxes which are borne chiefly by the workers and the peasants. To this must be added the difficult credit conditions of the post-war period, which make the peasants and smaller leaseholders the slaves of the banks and the usurers.

8. The very considerable worsening of the situation of the small peasants in the victorious and the worsening of the situation of the whole peasantry in the defeated countries, create in these sections of the peasantry very considerable discontent and in certain districts feed their revolutionary spirit. This spirit was nourished by the common life of the workers and the peasants in the trenches; they came closer to one another and developed a common psychology and common interests, and later this spirit was fostered by the example of the revolutionary struggle of the proletariat which succeeded in the course of the world revolution in dealing the possessing classes fatal blows and in undermining in the eyes of the toilers the glorification of the bourgeoisie and the belief in the indestructibility of the existing order.

The same effect was produced by the example of the victorious revolutionary struggle of the workers and peasants in the Soviet Republic, in which the workers and the toiling peasants defeated the bourgeoisie and the large landowners, thanks to their fraternal alliance, and took the power into their own hands. This worker

and peasant State, after having taken the land and given it to the peasants, cleared the way for the development of their well-being.

Under all these influences, the urge of the peasantry towards active participation in politics, towards the creation of their own peasant organisation and to the winning of influence upon the government developed. In various countries the peasant parties have already been successful in obtaining such influence; sometimes they have even been successful in setting themselves at the head of the State power.

9. The war and the crises following upon it, led, after destroying a mass of smaller capitalists, to an unexampled concentration and centralisation of capital and to a colossal increase of the power of the capitalist monopolistic organisations, banks, syndicates, trusts, and with this to a gigantic economic superiority of monopolistic capital over the divided peasantry. Based upon this organisation and this monopoly, finance and industrial capital can raise the prices of industrial products, increase the transport tariff, tighten up credit conditions and, vice-versa, reduce the prices of agricultural products and in this way cruelly exploit the peasants and farmers.

As the peasantry has not the possibility of forming similar powerful economic organisations, and as on the other hand it sees how the syndicates, trusts and banking concerns utilise the power of the State for their interests, it comes to the conclusion that the only means of saving itself is the seizure of State power and the utilisation of its whole apparatus for the defence of the interests of the peasantry.

10. At the end of the imperialist world war the bourgeoisie hastened to calm the discontent of the great masses of the peasantry and to prevent the understanding which was growing between the workers and peasants by promising the peasants land reforms in all countries in which the peasant movement assumed a particularly powerful character, (Poland, Lithuania, Yugoslavia, Rumania, etc.) The peasants walked into this trap and did not support the revolutionary struggle of the proletariat.

Hardly had the bourgeoisie overcome the difficulties of the demobilisation period, hardly had it disarmed the working masses and strangled the revolutionary movement of the proletariat in several countries, than it hurried to break its promises of agrarian reform to the peasantry. It carried through the reforms not in the interests of the peasants, but in the interests of the large agrarians by leaving to the latter very considerable areas of land and paying large sums to them in compensation for the land which it took from them. It sold the land to the peasants at high prices and to the officers and officials at lower prices, or it used the land as a weapon in the national struggle, by giving it to the colonists of the politically dominant nationality and letting the peasants of the suppressed nationalities go away empty-handed (Greece, Macedonia, Roumania, Poland and Czechoslovakia).

11. Despite their considerable numbers and because they live in the country and not in the town where the centre of government is situated and also in consequence of their division and their weak organisation, the peasants are not in a condition to retain the State power alone and to utilise it in their interests. Therefore the peasants need an ally. Having before the war been used to being in organisations led by the bourgeoisie and the large landowners, the peasants continue in this alliance. This leads to the penetration of the peasant organisations by elements of the dominant class and their conquest by the latter and the capture of the state machinery and its utilisation in the exclusive interest of these elements. The peasantry remains to a very considerable extent an obedient weapon of the bourgeoisie and the large landowners.

The example of Czechoslovakia, where power is in the hands of the agrarian party which has a very considerable number of peasants in its ranks, and where nevertheless the governmental policy is very far from being exercised in the interests of the peasantry, but where, on the contrary, the governmental policy serves the interests of the bourgeoisie and the large landowners, proves to us how useless are the efforts of the peasants to better their conditions until they finally make a break with the bourgeoisie. The Bulgarian example, where the peasantry formed its own government (naturally without being completely free from bourgeois influence) but where it did not form an alliance with the proletariat, but was even hostile to the proletariat, proves to us that the peasantry cannot hold the State power alone. The bourgeoisie overthrew this govern-

ment and established its own class government of fascist terror, subjecting the peasantry to the cruelest reprisals. The examples in Czechoslovakia, Bulgaria, Poland and Hungary of revolts by the suppressed workers and peasants, and on the other hand the example of the victorious revolutionary movement of the workers' and peasants' bloc in Russia, show us clearly that only a close alliance between the workers and the peasants is able to wrest the power from the bourgeoisie and to free the toilers from all exploitation, whilst giving the land to the peasants and forming a firm and lasting state power of the working masses.

— 12. The working sections of the peasantry are already beginning to be convinced that their interests and the interests of the large landowners and large peasants have nothing in common (in the question of the land, the taxes, the cereal exports, etc.). From this there follows the break up of the peasant organisations and the formation of right, centre and also left tendencies (Bulgaria, Rumania, Czechoslovakia, Poland). To the degree in which the class and status contradictions in the various existing agrarian and peasant parties intensify themselves, so do growing masses of the working peasantry strive to free themselves from the leadership of the large landowners, the rich peasants and the lackeys of the bourgeoisie (formation of the Independent Peasant Party in Poland, the Co-operation of the Working Peasants in Germany, the Union of the Working Peasants in France, the Association for the Defence of the Peasantry in Italy, etc.).

The chief task of the supporters of the International Peasant Council in all countries is to help to free the working peasants from the influence and from the patronage of the large landowners, large peasants, and capitalists. Therefore, the supporters of the I. P. C. must join these organisations and work in them to unite the middle and small peasants upon the platform of the I. P. C. and to win the leading rôle in the whole organisations. Only when the reactionary elements which control these organisations render a split unavoidable, should an independent organisation be created. Such organisations of working peasants must be formed in those countries in which no peasants' organisations exist.

An organisational connection must exist between the individual groups of working peasants in the various organisations.

The peasant unions formed by members of the I. P. C. must be political and economic organisations. They must carry on their work upon the basis of concrete demands representing the interests of the broad masses of the peasantry.

A platform of an economic and political character must form the basis of the work of the peasants unions, and it must be possible for the various sections of the working peasantry to unite upon it.

13. In an ever growing number of countries, groups, tendencies and even organisations of working peasants are beginning to form themselves. These are breaking completely with the bourgeoisie and beginning to understand their common interests with the proletariat and seeking in the proletariat an ally in the struggle for their demands (Independent Peasant Party of Poland, the Peasant League in Mexico, etc.). It is necessary that all members of the I. P. C. speed up this development and, in accordance with the resolution of the first International Peasant Conference, issue the slogan for the fraternal alliance of the workers and peasants in the struggle for power.

14. One of the organisational forms for the peasantry can be the Committees for the Defence of the Interests of the Working Peasants, which carry on campaigns for the most important demands (struggle for the land, struggle against the excessive taxes, for long term reasonable credits, assistance for the victims of natural catastrophes, etc.). These peasant committees must include the whole working population of the rural areas and be set up according to the tasks which they have to perform on a local, district and national scale.

This organisational form, embracing the wide masses of the peasantry must be utilised and adapted to the existing conditions of each country.

15. When the question of the immediate struggle for power in alliance with the working class presents itself to the peasantry, then, according to the decisions of the First International Peasant Conference, peasant soviets or workers' and peasants' soviets must be formed to carry on the work in the closest connection with the organisations of the working class in the towns.

An organisational connection must be established between the workers and peasants in the various organisations.

16. The members of the I. P. C. in all countries must carry on the most energetic work in the various peasant co-operatives in order to ensure a solid support for the unions of the working peasants and to unite these co-operatives with the consumer co-operatives of the workers. The methods of work in the co-operatives for the purpose of their domination must not be different from those used in the other peasant organisations.

The sluggish work and the imperfection of the existing co-operatives must not be permitted to weaken our work for drawing the co-operatives into the struggle for the interests of the working peasants.

17. The greatest attention must be paid to the work amongst the peasant women. They must, however, not be organised in special organisations, but be drawn into the general peasant organisations and unions. It is necessary to carry on work in the women's organisations led by the junkers, large peasants and other capitalist elements. The working peasant women in these organisations must be formed into independent groups.

18. Similarly, special attention must be paid to the work amongst the youth of the working peasants. This youth must be organised and its organisations connected with the organisations of the peasants. Work is also necessary in the youth organisations led by the junkers, large peasants and other capitalist elements.

19. In order to ensure success for the struggle of the working peasants, the closest connections with the organisations of the working class in the country is necessary. It is above all desirable that proletarian elements should permanently work in the peasants' unions in order to remove them from the influence of the large peasant and bourgeois elements.

20. The platform (programme of action) worked out by the supporters of the I. P. C. for the unions and other peasant organisations where they have a certain influence, must contain all the most important demands of the working peasants in the given moment and country.

This platform must, for instance, contain such questions as the confiscation of all landed property without compensation and its handing over to the working peasantry for utilisation; similarly the tax question, the demand for cheap and long-term credits, the struggle against bank, usury and commercial capital and against industrial monopoly (trusts), against reparations in the defeated countries, against militarism and against the threats of new imperialist wars. This platform must also embrace the defence of the Soviet Union, as the first workers' and peasants' state of the world, against attack from the side of the capitalist powers. The programme of action must contain the slogan for the self-determination of the people, the struggle of the peasants of the imperialist states against the colonial policy of their governments and for the complete freedom of all colonies and semi-colonies. In the colonies the peasants must be summoned to the struggle against the imperialist oppressors. It must be everywhere particularly stressed that the peasantry cannot free itself without an alliance with the working class.

21. In all countries the work in regard to the arranging of congresses, conferences, numerous campaigns and above all campaigns against the danger of war must be strengthened by the common action of the workers and peasants. The peasants must be called upon to support the workers in their struggle against capitalism and to form workers' and peasants' blocs with the workers during election campaigns and in other cases.

An intensive propaganda must be carried on everywhere in favour of the decisions of the First International Peasants Conference and the decisions of the Plenum of the Peasant International. In those countries in which most peasants are illiterate, all forms of agitation by word of mouth and propaganda with the help of pictures, songs, etc. must be used. Peasant newspapers must be founded and the issue of pamphlets and leaflets upon all questions relating to the peasant movement must be organised.

22. The reactionary role of the clergy must be exposed to the peasants, the peasants must be shown that the clergy play the role of agents of the junkers, large peasants and the bourgeoisie. This must be done without offending the religious beliefs of the peasantry.

23. Endeavours must be made to persuade all peasant organisations, both political and economic, which are under the influence of the **International Peasant Council**, to affiliate with this latter or at least to enter into relations with it.

At the same time, the reactionary nature of the **international "Peasants Organisations"** founded by the large agrarians and large peasants, or which will in the future be founded by them, must be exposed, particularly the **International Agrarian Bureau in Prague** known as the "**Green International**".

OUR PROBLEMS

Graziadei's Revision of Marxism.

By Hermann Duncker (Berlin).

1. Social Democratic and Communist Revisionism.

Modern scientific communism has its theoretical basis upon the **Marxism** which had been buried under the rubbish heap of the Second International. Lenin was the great reviver of Marx's economic and political lessons. He was the genius and pioneer of communist practice, he complemented the theory of Marx and Engels. Not that the old Social Democracy did not make great play with the name of Marx. But, "their talk about him spread a veil around his ideas". Already about 25 years ago the German Social Democrat Bernstein preached the abandonment of revolutionary Marxism, and, with his teaching of Revisionism, began to undermine the Social Democracy. The anti-Marxist cancer of opportunism found fertile ground in the Menshevist parties. The verbal radicalism of the "marxist Centre" and Kautskyism — and there were and are Kautskys and Bernsteins in all the parties of the Second International — had in the best case only carried out a literary rejection of Bernstein, in practice they left the party leadership to him and his friends until finally they had distorted everything they had ever learnt (see Kautsky!).

Everyone who has become clear about what Marxism "as the ideology of the proletariat schooled by capitalism" (Lenin 1904) means for a modern revolutionary fighting working class party, should draw serious lessons from the devastation which Revisionism caused in the Second International.

It is not to be denied that a **communist revisionism** — or as Graziadei says: "a marxist and communist criticism" — is knocking at our door. Comrade Lukács — the Hungarian professor, — seeks to revise the theory of historical materialism, it is true under the cover of going back to the real Marx, but the Italian professor comrade Graziadei undertakes to prove the basic economic theory of Marx to be a **tremendously false conclusion**. It seems to be the fate of "**Red Professors**" who have advanced in the bourgeois economic apparatus (that is, therefore, outside of Russia!) that they wake up in the communist movement and feel that they have been called to free the proletariat from the deficiencies of Marxism!

In the booklet in question* Graziadei has only "destroyed" the Marxist theory of value. But he declares it his intention to deal in further publications also with a criticism of the theory of the concentration of capital and other marxist problems of applied economy. We however do not believe that Revisionism or marxist criticism will be able to develop very much in real bolshevist parties. Such a thing will be theoretically and organisationally prevented as soon as the Comintern becomes aware of what is taking place. We recognise however with pleasure that our communist marxian revisionists are still of the opinion that their criticism will increase the attacking force of the revolutionary movement, will provide "more complete scientific weapons against capitalism" (Thus Graziadei, Page 5). But that belief really does not make such marxist improvements any the less dangerous! History has its own logic, quite apart from the good or evil intentions of the persons in question. The "salvation" of a socialist party by Revisionism as opposed to marxist principles has always proved itself in the long run to be the surest way to cripple and break up the party. Under all circumstances it is necessary to offer resistance in the beginning. All honour to freedom of criticism! But as early as 1902 Lenin thundered against

the then existing social democratic critics of Marx who also appealed to the right to criticise:

"The much praised freedom of criticism does not mean the substitution of one theory by another, but the **freedom from any united and thought out theory**".

Graziadei's criticism is a perfect example for this declaration of Lenin.

One of two things: Scientific communism or eclectic, that is to say, patched together socialism of reason and feeling, which to-day tries to calm the proletarian conscience with quasi-radical phrases and which to-morrow, sobered, ushers in peaceful reformism! There is however no scientific communism if not in the unfalsified lessons of Karl Marx. Whoever has not yet been able to see that, look at the attitude of bourgeois science. All **bourgeois national economists and sociologists** enter the lists against Marx alone and shiver their lances on Marx alone: There was a time when almost at every University the obligatory course was held against Marxism, when an essay against Marx and his errors promised the young university lecturer an even better chance of a professorship than if he had married a professor's daughter. Marx is attacked, and the communist criticism of society is meant. The corrupt influence of capitalist society shows itself nowhere so strongly as upon the field of political economy.

"The nearer the economists come to the present, the farther away from honesty do they go"

wrote the 24 year old Engels (1844) in his "Outline of a Criticism of National Economy". And 30 years later Karl Marx wrote in the foreword to the 2nd edition of "Capital" (1873):

"The class struggle sounded the knell of scientific bourgeois economy. It was thenceforth no longer a question, whether this theorem or that was true, but whether it was useful to capital or harmful, expedient or inexpedient, politically dangerous or not. In place of disinterested enquirers, there were hired prize-fighters, in place of genuine scientific research the bad conscience and the evil intent of apologetic".

And to-day, half a century further! A slight but characteristic change has taken place. To-day there is hardly a bourgeois professor who does not make his polite little bow before the great thinker Marx. In sociology, national economy, philosophy, historical science — everywhere one feels the influence of the materialist conception of history. But the actual struggle against the revolutionary and politician Marx has become only the more poisonous and refined. One lets it be known that one accepts the truths of Marx, one only wishes to revise the "errors". So we meet everywhere with a **Professorial Revisionism** to which the splendid result of Social Democratic Revisionism: the corruption of a party of millions, has become the leader and guide.

The **Marxian system** is so **homogeneously** built up, all its ideas and lessons stand in such organisational connection that the withdrawal of one little stone from the edifice would bring the rest of it toppling down. Certainly, one can for the purpose of methodical survey divide Marxism into its chief branches. There are:

1. The **Marxian philosophy** (the historical and world conceptions of Marx).
2. The **Marxian economy** (the criticism of political economy).
3. The **Marxian political and State theory** (the practical political application of the social and capital critique: the lessons of the class struggle and the proletarian dictatorship).

But to draw a line between these and for example to declare, the historical and political parts are good, but the economic on the other hand defective* (at this Marx worked most of all!) is just as nonsensical as to contrast marxian methods of examination with marxian results and to declare that the methods are perfect, but the products of them on the other hand, wrong. That would be to say: The glasses are excellent, but what Marx saw through them, unfortunately unclear and incorrect**)

No! His conception of history taught Marx the significance of economy, and the critique of capitalist economy laid bare to him the essence of the class contradictions and the aim of the class struggle. One builds itself upon the other logically, and each attack upon one part of the Marxian system attacks forcibly the whole, or better, shatters itself against the whole!

*) Thus Graziadei (German translation page 7).

***) Compare Graziadei (German translation page 3). Further, comrade Lukács also makes this impermissible separation of methods and results in dealing with Marx.

*) Professor A. Graziadei: Price and Surplus Price in Capitalist Economy. (A Criticism of the Marxian Theory of Value.) Translated by El. Wiener, Berlin 1923, R. L. Prager.