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Main Factors of the Present International Situation

I THINK that in order to describe the present international situation, there is no need to take every important factor and every peculiarity of the international position into account. It is only necessary to consider the more important and decisive contemporary factors. Of such factors there are, in my opinion, three, viz., (a) the beginning of the "era" of bourgeois-democratic "pacificism," (b) the intervention of America and the London Reparations Agreement of the Entente, and (c) the strengthening of the left elements in the European labour movement and the increase of the international importance of the Soviet Union.

Let us examine these basic factors.

I. The Era of Bourgeois-Democratic Fascism.

The Entente proved itself powerless to deal with the consequences of its own military victories. It succeeded in defeating Germany and in encircling the Soviet Union. It also succeeded in drawing up a plan for the plundering of Europe as is witnessed by the numberless conferences and treaties between the Entente powers. But it was unable to carry out the plan of plunder. Why? Because the differences between the Entente countries are too great; because they have failed and will continue to fail to agree upon the division of the spoils; because the resistance of the countries it is proposed to plunder is becoming more stubborn, because the carrying out of the plan of spoliation is fraught with military collisions, and the masses will not fight. It is now clear to everybody that any imperialistic attack upon the Ruhr with the object of annihilating Germany is a danger to imperialism itself. It is also clear that the open imperialistic policy of ultimatums with the object of isolating the Soviet Union only produces the very contrary result. A position arose in which Poincaré and Curzon, honestly trying to serve imperialism, nevertheless by their "work" rendered the growing crisis in Europe still more acute, aroused the opposition of the masses to imperialism and drove them towards revolution. Hence, arose the necessity for substituting the bourgeois policy of attack by the policy

of compromise, of passing from open imperialism to concealed imperialism, from Poincaré and Curzon to MacDonald and Herriot. It became dangerous to plunder the world without some mask. The Labour Party in England and the Left Bloc in France are to serve as the mask for imperialism. Herein lies the source of "pacifism" and "democracy."

Some think that the bourgeoisie arrived at "pacifism" and "democracy" not of necessity, but from goodwill and of free choice. It is believed that the bourgeoisie, having smashed the working class in certain decisive struggles (Italy and Germany), felt itself the victor and that it could permit itself the luxury of "democracy." In other words, as long as decisive struggles were being fought, the bourgeoisie needed a fighting organisation which was provided by fascism, but that now that the proletariat is smashed, the bourgeoisie no longer needs fascism and can replace it by "democracy" as a better method of consolidating its victory. Hence the conclusion that the power of the bourgeoisie has been firmly established, that the "era of pacifism" must be regarded as a protracted one and that the revolution has been indefinitely postponed.

This assumption is entirely false.

Firstly, it is untrue that fascism is merely the fighting organisation of the bourgeoisie. Fascism is not merely a military technical factor. Fascism is a fighting organisation of the bourgeoisie which bases itself upon the active support of the Social-Democrats. Social-Democracy objectively represents the moderate wing of fascism. There is no reason for believing that the fighting organisation of the bourgeoisie is capable of achieving decisive successes either in fighting or in the government of the country without the active support of the political organisation of the bourgeoisie. These organisations do not contradict, but rather supplement each other. They are not antipodes, they are twins. Fascism is an unofficial political bloc of these two basic organisations, created under the conditions of the post-war imperialist crisis and intended to be used in the fight against the proletarian revolution. The bourgeoisie was unable to maintain itself in power without such a bloc. It is, therefore, erroneous to assume that "pacifism" means the liquidation of fascism. "Pacifism" under present conditions is a corroboration of fascism in which its moderate, Social-Democratic wing is advanced to the foreground.

Secondly, it is wrong to assume that the decisive struggles have already taken place, that the proletariat has been smashed in the struggles, and that as a result the bourgeois power has been consolidated. There have been no decisive struggles as yet, if only for the reason that there have been no real mass Bolshevik parties capable of bringing about the dictatorship of the proletariat. Without such parties, decisive struggles for dictatorship under imperialist conditions are impossible. The decisive struggles in the West are still to come. We have had only the first serious attacks, the repulses of the bourgeoisie, the first serious trial of strength, which have proved that the proletariat is *still* not strong enough to overthrow the bourgeoisie, but that the bourgeoisie is *already* too weak to reckon with the proletariat. And because of the fact that the bourgeoisie is already unable to force the working class to its knees, it was compelled to renounce the arbitrary attacks, to take the roundabout path, the path of compromise, and to resort to "democratic pacifism."

Finally, it is untrue that "pacifism" is a sign of the strength rather than of the weakness of the bourgeoisie, and that the result of "pacifism" will be the consolidation of the power of the bourgeoisie and the indefinite postponement of the revolution. Contemporary pacifism signifies the direct or the indirect coming to power of the parties of the Second International. But what does the coming to power of the parties of the Second International mean? It means that they must inevitably reveal themselves to be the lackeys of imperialism and the betrayers of the proletariat, since the government practice of these parties can lead only to one result, namely, to their political bankruptcy, to the growth of contradictions within the parties, their dissolution and collapse. The dissolution of these parties will lead to the inevitable dissolution of the power of the bourgeoisie, since the parties of the Second International are the bulwark of imperialism. Would the bourgeoisie have entered on this risky pacifist experiment of its own free will and without being compelled thereto? Of course, not. Since the imperialist war the bourgeoisie have twice experimented with pacifism: first, immediately after the war, when it appeared that revolution was knocking at the door, and again at the present moment, after the risky experiments of Poincaré and Curzon. Who will deny that this oscillation of the bourgeoisie from pacifism to naked imperialism and back again cannot take place without serious consequences to imperialism, that it will force millions of workers out of their usual rut, that it will draw into politics the most backward sec-

tions of the proletariat and will facilitate the revolutionising of these sections? Of course "democratic pacifism" is not Kerenskyism, since Kerenskyism presumes a duplication of power, the collapse of the bourgeois power and the growth of the foundations of the power of the proletariat. But there can be not the least doubt that pacifism means a great stirring up of the masses, that it means bringing the masses into politics, that pacifism is shaking the bourgeois power and is preparing the soil for revolutionary upheavals. For this very reason pacifism cannot lead to the consolidation of the bourgeois power, but rather to its enfeeblement; it cannot result in the indefinite postponement of the revolution, but rather to its acceleration.

It, of course, does not follow from this that pacifism does not represent a serious danger to the revolution. Pacifism leads to the break-up of the foundations of the bourgeois power; it is preparing the conditions which favour revolution. But pacifism can lead to such results **against the will** of the "pacifists" and "democrats" only if the Communist parties work feverishly to unmask the imperialist and counter-revolutionary character of the pacifist-democratic governments of Herriot and MacDonald. As to the intentions of the pacifists and democrats themselves, as to the policy of the imperialists, they, in adopting pacifism, pursue but a single aim, namely, to deceive the masses by fine-sounding phrases regarding peace, in order to prepare for new war; to blind them by the glare of "democracy," in order to strengthen the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie; to beguile the masses with the tinsel of the "sovereign" rights of nations and states, in order the better to prepare for the intervention in China, the division of Afghanistan, and the dismemberment of Persia; to gull them with fine talk of "friendly" relations with the Soviet Union and of "treaties" with the Soviet Government, in order to bind themselves all the closer with the counter-revolutionary conspirators expelled from Russia for the purpose of bandit attacks upon White Russia, the Ukraine, and Georgia. The bourgeoisie use pacifism as a mask; and therein lies the greatest danger of pacifism. Whether the bourgeoisie will succeed in deceiving the people, will depend upon the energy with which the Communist parties of the West and the East work to unmask pacifism and of their ability to tear the cloak away from the imperialists dressed in the skin of pacifism. There is no doubt in this respect that events will work in favour of the Communists, driving a wedge between pacifist "words" and the imperialist "deeds" of the democratic servants of capitalism. It is the duty of the

Communists not to lag behind events and mercilessly to denounce every step and every act by the parties of the Second International in the service of imperialism and the betrayal of the proletariat.

II. American Intervention in European Affairs and the London Reparations Agreement of the Entente.

The London Conference of the Entente was a perfect expression of the falsity of bourgeois-democratic pacifism. While the coming to power of MacDonald and Herriot and the talk of "establishing normal relations" with the Soviet Union was intended to mask the merciless class war in Europe and the mortal hostility of the bourgeois states towards the Soviet Union, the object of the Entente Agreement in London was to mask the desperate struggle between Britain and France for hegemony in Europe, the increasing differences between Britain and America in the fight for predominance in the world market, and the super-human struggle of the German people against colonial oppression by the Entente. There is no longer war between the classes, the revolution is at an end, and we can now complete the work of class collaboration—such is the burden of the song of MacDonald and Renaudel. There is no longer any quarrel between France and England, between America and England, and between Germany and the Entente; the war is done with and, headed by America, we now proceed to the work of universal peace—repeat their friends at the London Conference and their brethren in the betrayal of the cause of the working class, the Social-Democratic heroes of pacifism.

What actually took place at the London Conference of the Entente?

Up to the London Conference the question of reparations was settled by France independently of the Allies, since France possessed a secure majority on the Reparations Commission. The occupation of the Ruhr was a method of securing the economic disorganisation of Germany and a guarantee for the receipt by France from Germany of reparations payments, coal and coke for the French metallurgical works, chemical partial manufactures and dyes for the French chemical industry, and the duty-free import of Alsation textiles into Germany. The plan was directed towards creating the basis for the military and economic hegemony of France in Europe. That plan, as we know, failed. Occupation led to results directly contrary of those intended. Neither payments, nor the delivery of goods in kind were received by France in any satisfactory proportions. In the end the

very author of occupation, Poincaré, was thrown overboard because his open imperialist policy was fraught with the menace of new wars and revolution. As regards French hegemony in Europe, it failed not merely because the method of occupation and open plunder excluded the possibility of an economic alliance between French and German industry, but also because England was decidedly against such an alliance, since England was only too aware that the union of German coal with French metals would only lead to the ruin of the British metallurgical industries.

What did the London Conference of the Entente substitute for all this?

First of all, the conference denounced the independent solution of the problems of reparations by France alone, deciding that in the last instance disputed questions must be settled by an arbitration commission consisting of the representatives of the Entente countries with the American representative acting as chairman. In other words, if Germany must be plundered, let it be plundered in common.

Secondly, the Conference denounced the occupation of the Ruhr and recognised the necessity for evacuation—economic (immediate), and military (in a year or earlier). The motives were that the occupation of the Ruhr at the present stage was dangerous to the political situation of Europe and inconvenient for the organised and systematic spoliation of Germany. And there cannot be the least doubt that the Entente was preparing to despoil Germany thoroughly and systematically.

Thirdly, while denouncing military intervention, the conference fully approved of financial and economic intervention, recognising (a) the necessity for setting up a bank of issue in Germany under the control of a special commissar; (b) the handing over to private exploitation of the state railways to be managed by a special foreign commissar, and (c) the creation of a "Transfer Committee" consisting of representatives of the Allies with the object of concentrating in its hands all reparations payments made in German currency, of financing, out of the sums paid German deliveries in kind, and empowered to invest in German industry certain sums out of the reparations payments (in the event of it being undesirable to transfer such payments to France, thus possessing every opportunity for controlling the German money market. One need hardly point out that this means the transformation of Germany into a colony of the Entente.

Fourthly, the conference recognised the right of France to compel Germany to deliver coal and chemical products for a definite period, but with the proviso that Germany should retain the right of appealing to an arbitration commission for a reduction of the quantity, or even the complete cessation of such compulsory payments in kind. In this way the privilege possessed by France was practically reduced to nought.

If one adds the loan to Germany of 800 million marks to be subscribed by British; but chiefly by American bankers, if one also remembers that it was the bankers, and chiefly the American bankers, who dominated the conference, it becomes clear that the French hegemony has vanished. The hegemony of France has been replaced by the hegemony of America.

Such were the results of the London Conference of the Entente.

Some people believe that henceforward, in view of the hegemony of America, the contradiction of interests in Europe will disappear, that America, being interested in the export of capital to Europe, will be able to put the European countries on rations and compel them to live in peace in order to enrich their bankers and that, therefore, peace in Europe, even though a compulsory peace, may be regarded as more or less guaranteed for a more or less protracted period.

This assumption is absolutely false.

Firstly, the conference settled the question of Germany without reckoning with its host, the German people. It could, of course, plan the transformation of Germany into a colony. But actually to attempt to transform a country like Germany into a colony at the present time, when even the backward colonies are held in submission only with the greatest difficulty, would be to place a mine under Europe.

Secondly, the conference somewhat pushed France, which had come too much to the fore, into the background, the result of which was, of course, to secure the virtual predominance of Britain in Europe. But to think that France will submit to the predominance of Britain is to ignore the logic of facts, which as a rule is stronger than any other logic.

Thirdly, the conference recognised the hegemony of America. But American capitalism is interested in financing Franco-German industry with the object of securing its most

rational exploitation, as for example, by uniting the French metal industry with the German coal industry. There cannot be the slightest doubt that American capitalism will use its advantage in this direction. But to think that England will reconcile herself to this is to fail to understand England, is not to know how much England values the interests of its metal industries.

Finally, Europe is not an isolated country; it is bound up with its colonies and lives upon the sap of the colonies. To believe that the Conference can achieve any change for the better in the relations between Europe and its colonies, that it is able to prevent or restrain the development of their differences, is to believe in miracles.

What, then, is the conclusion?

There is only one conclusion, namely, that the London Conference failed to solve any of the contradictions in Europe, but on the contrary, added fresh contradictions, the differences between America and England. There is no doubt that England will continue to intensify the antagonism between France and Germany in order to secure its own political domination over the Continent. There is also no doubt that America in its turn will intensify the antagonism between England and France in order to secure its own hegemony over the world market. We already talk of the profound antagonism between Germany and the Entente. World events will be determined by these antagonisms and not by the "pacifist" speeches of Hughes and Herriot. The law of the unequal development of the imperialist countries and the inevitability of imperialist war is in force. The London Conference is only making these antagonisms in order to create the conditions for an unprecedented crisis.

III. The Strengthening of the Revolutionary Elements in the European Labour Movement. The Increasing International Popularity of the Soviet Union.

One of the surest signs of the instability of the "pacifist-democratic regime," one of the surest signs that this regime is merely foam on the surface of profound revolutionary processes going on in the depths of the working class is the decisive victory of the revolutionary wing in the Communist Parties of Germany, France and Russia, the increasing activity of the left-wing in the British Labour movement, and finally, the increasing popularity of the Soviet Union among the working class masses of the West and East.

The Communist Parties of the West are developing under peculiar conditions. Firstly, they are not homogeneous in composition, since they are made up of former Social-Democrats who have passed through the old school and of young party members who do not yet possess the necessary revolutionary temper. Secondly, the officials are not always Bolshevik, since the responsible posts are filled by members of former parties who have not yet succeeded in finally breaking with the Social-Democratic heritage. Thirdly, they are faced with such tried and experienced opponents as the Social-Democrats who still represent a tremendous political force within the working class. Finally, they are faced with so powerful an enemy as the European bourgeoisie with its tried state machinery and its all-powerful Press. It is a profound mistake to believe that these Communist Parties are capable of overthrowing the European bourgeois order in a single night. The task facing us, therefore, is to make the Communist Parties of the West real Bolshevik parties, to give them real revolutionary leaders capable of re-shaping party practice in the spirit of the revolutionary education of the masses, and preparation for the revolution.

Such was the state of affairs within the Communist Parties of Europe up to very recently. But during the last half year a distinct change for the better has begun. The last half-year is remarkable inasmuch as it witnessed a fundamental change in the life of the Communist Parties of the West, consisting in the final liquidation of the relics of Social-Democracy, the Bolshevisation of the Party leaders, and the exclusion of opportunist elements. How dangerous to the revolution the relics of Social-Democracy in the Communist Parties can be was clearly revealed in the unfortunate experience of the Labour government in Saxony, when the opportunist leaders attempted to transform the idea of the united front from a means of revolutionary mobilisation and organisation of the masses into a method of Social-Democratic parliamentary combination. This was the turning point which opened the eyes of the Party masses and aroused them against the opportunist leaders. The second factor which destroyed the authority of the right leaders and brought new revolutionary leaders to the fore, was the so-called "Russian" question, *i.e.*, the discussion within the Russian Communist Party. As it is known, the Brandler group in Germany and the Souvarine group in France, actively supported the opportunist opposition within the Russian Communist Party against the leaders of the Party and against the revolutionary majority. This was a challenge to the revolutionary working class masses of the West,

who definitely sympathise with the Soviet Government and its leader, the Russian Communist Party. It was a challenge to the Party masses and the revolutionary wing of the Communist Parties of the West. It is not surprising that that matter found an echo in every other Communist Party in the West. When we add the fact of the complete isolation of the opportunist tendencies in the Russian Communist Party the picture is complete. The Fifth Congress of the Comintern only consolidated the victory of the revolutionary wing within its most important sections.

There is no doubt that errors of the opportunist leaders played an important part in accelerating the Bolshevisation of the Communist Parties of the West. But there is also no doubt that here other, more profound causes were at work, namely, the successful offensive of capitalism during the last few years, the worsening of the condition of the working class, the growth of unemployment, the acute crisis, and the spread of revolutionary unrest among the working class masses. The workers are moving forward to revolution and they want revolutionary leaders.

In a word, the process of the **final** formation of real Communist Parties in the West, serving as the bulwark for the impending revolution in Europe **has begun**. That is the feature of the last half-year.

Still more difficult and peculiar are the conditions for the development of the trade unions in the West. Firstly, they are narrow in their "tried" craft practice and hostile to Socialism, for, having grown up prior to the Socialist parties, and without their aid, they are accustomed to be chary as to their "independence," they place their craft interests higher than their class interests, and will recognise nothing but shillings and pence. Secondly, they are conservative in spirit and hostile to every revolutionary innovation, since they are headed by an old and venerable trade union bureaucracy, servile to the bourgeoisie, and always ready to hand over the trade unions to the service of imperialism. Finally, the trade unions, being united around the Amsterdam reformists, represent that huge army of reformism upon which the contemporary capitalistic structure rests. Of course, apart from the reactionary Amsterdam unions, there exist the revolutionary unions affiliated to the R.I.L.U. But firstly, large numbers of the revolutionary unions, anxious to avoid a split in the trade union movement, remain within the Amsterdam Federation and submit to its discipline, and secondly, in the most important countries in Europe (England, France and Germany) the Amsterdamers

still represent the majority of the workers. It should not be forgotten that Amsterdam unites not less than 14 million organised trade unionists. To think that we can secure the dictatorship of the proletariat in Europe **against** the will of these millions of workers is to commit a profound error; it is to depart from Leninism and to court inevitable defeat. Our task, therefore, is to win these millions of workers over to the revolution and Communism, to emancipate them from the influence of the reactionary trade union bureaucracy, or at least to secure that they should adopt towards Communism an attitude of benevolent neutrality.

Such was the state of affairs until quite recently. But during the last few years things began to change for the better. The narrow and reactionary trade unions could arise in Europe only under the conditions of the British hegemony over the world market, and the colossal growth of German capitalism prior to the war. It is, therefore, not surprising that the British workers were the first advocates and organisers of such unions. But, firstly, British hegemony, as is well-known, no longer exists, and secondly it is not secret that the so-called "allies" have long put an end to the colossal growth of German capitalism. It should also not be forgotten that the war considerably disturbed production in Europe. The total production of Europe is at present no more than 70 per cent. of pre-war production. Hence the reduction of output and the successful offensive of capitalism against the working class. Hence the reduction of wages, the virtual abolition of the eight-hour day and the numerous unsuccessful defensive strikes which only once more demonstrated the treachery of the trade union bureaucracy towards the working class. Hence the colossal unemployment, and the growth of dissatisfaction of the workers with the reactionary trade unions. Hence the idea of the united front in the economic struggle of the working class and the proposal for the fusion of the two trade union internationals into a single international capable of organising the resistance to capitalism. The speeches of the reformists at the Vienna Congress of the Amsterdam International (June, 1924) on negotiating with the "Russian" unions, and the appeal made by the British trade unions at the Trade Union Congress (the beginning of September, 1924) for the unity of the trade unions are simply the reflection of the growing resistance of the masses to the reactionary trade union bureaucracy. The most remarkable thing in all this is that it was the British unions, the centres of conservatism and the core of the Amsterdam International, which have taken the initiative in the cause of uniting the reactionary and the

revolutionary trade unions. The appearance of left elements in the British Labour movement is a sure indication that all is not well in Amsterdam.

Some think that a campaign for the fusion of the trade unions is essential at the present moment because left elements have appeared in the Amsterdam International and must be **unconditionally** supported at all costs. This is a mistake, or rather, partially a mistake. The fact is that the Communist Parties in the West are becoming mass organisations, they are becoming real Bolshevik parties, they are growing and are becoming powerful together as the discontent of the working masses increases. A proletarian revolution is in fact approaching. But it will be impossible to overthrow the bourgeoisie if it has not first been deprived of the bulwark of the reactionary Amsterdam International; it will be impossible to win dictatorship if the bourgeois citadel in Amsterdam has not first been won for the revolution. This, however, cannot be achieved by one-sided work from without. It can be achieved only by combined work from within and from without with the purpose of securing the unity of the trade union movement. That is why the question of the unity of the trade unions and of international industrial federations has become one of first class importance. We must, of course, support and spur on the left-wing. But real support can be given to the left-wing only if the banner of the revolutionary trade unions is not lowered, if the reactionary leaders in the Amsterdam International are flayed for their treachery and split-tactics, and if the left leaders are criticised for their half-heartedness and indecision in the struggle against the reactionary leaders. Only by such a policy can a real fusion of the trade unions be achieved. Otherwise a state of affairs may arise such as arose in Germany last October, when the left Levi group was successfully used by the reactionary right wing Social-Democrats in order to isolate the German revolutionary workers.

Finally, as to the increasing popularity of the Soviet Union among the populations of the bourgeois countries. Perhaps the best indication of the instability of the "pacifist-democratic regime," is the fact that the influence and authority of the Soviet Union among the toiling masses of the West and the East, far from diminishing, is increasing from year to year, and from month to month. The point is not that the Soviet Union is receiving "recognition" from a number of bourgeois states. In itself "recognition" represents nothing important, since it is dictated, firstly, by

the exigencies of capitalist competition among the bourgeois countries, each striving to find a place in the market of the Soviet Union, and, secondly, by the "programme" of pacifism which demands the re-establishment of "normal relations" with the Soviet Union and the conclusion of some sort of "treaty." The fact is that the "Democrats" and "pacifists" have beaten their bourgeois competitors at the parliamentary elections thanks to their platform of "recognition" of the Soviet Union; that Ramsay MacDonald and Herriot have come to power and can remain in power thanks to their talk of "friendship towards Russia," that the authority of these "democrats" and "pacifists" is a reflection of the authority of the Soviet Government among the masses. It is characteristic that even such a notorious "Democrat" as Mussolini considers it necessary to make a show of "friendship" towards the Soviet Government before the workers. It is no less characteristic that even the acquisitive Japanese Government cannot dispense with "friendship" towards Soviet Russia. We will not speak of the tremendous authority of the Soviet Government among the populations of Turkey, Persia, China and India.

How is this unusual authority and popularity among the populations of foreign countries of such a dictatorial and revolutionary government as the Soviet Government to be explained?

Firstly, the hatred of the working class towards capitalism and its endeavour to emancipate itself from capitalism. The workers of the bourgeois countries sympathise with the Soviet Government primarily because it is a government that overthrew capitalism. Bromley of the British railwaymen said at the recent Trade Union Congress that the capitalists know that the eyes of the workers of the whole world are turned towards Russia and that if the Russian Revolution succeeds the class conscious workers of other countries will ask themselves why they too cannot overthrow capitalism. Bromley, of course, is not a Bolshevik. What he said is a reflection of the feelings and thoughts of the workers of Europe. For, indeed, why not overthrow European capitalism if the Russians have been able for seven years to get on without the capitalists to advantage? Hence the tremendous popularity of the Soviet Government among the working class masses. The growth of the international popularity of the Soviet Union signifies the hatred of the world working class for capitalism.

Secondly, the hatred of the masses for war and their endeavour to prevent the military machinations of the bour-

geoisie. The masses know that it was the Soviet Government which first opened the attack upon the imperialist war and that it is continuing the attack. The masses see that the Soviet Union is the only country fighting against a new war. They sympathise with the Soviet Government because it is the standard-bearer of peace among the nations and a real defence against war. The growing international popularity of the Soviet Government is, therefore, an indication of the growing hatred of the masses of the whole world for imperialist war and for its organisers.

Thirdly, the hatred of imperialism by the oppressed masses of the dependent countries and colonies and their endeavour to overthrow it. The Soviet Government is the only government that has smashed the fetters of patriotic imperialism. The Soviet Union is the only country that bases its life upon the principles of equality and co-operation among the nations. The Soviet Government is the only government in the world that has consistently demanded the unity and independence, the freedom and sovereignty of Turkey and Persia, Afghanistan and China, and the colonies and dependencies of the whole world. The oppressed masses sympathise with the Soviet Union because they regard it as an ally in their fight for emancipation from imperialism. The growing international popularity of the Soviet Government, therefore, signifies the growing hatred of the oppressed nations of the world for imperialism.

Such are the facts.

There can be no doubt that these three hatreds will not in any way help to strengthen the "pacifist-democratic regime" of contemporary imperialism.

The other day the United States Secretary of State, the "pacifist" and supporter of Kolchak, Hughes, issued a reactionary declaration against the Soviet Union. It seems that the laurels of Poincaré are disturbing the sleep of Hughes. But there can be no doubt that the reactionary-pacifist declaration of Hughes will serve only further to strengthen the influence and authority of the Soviet Union and of the toiling masses of the whole world.

Such are the main factors characterising the present international situation.

STALIN.

British Imperialism in China

IF in India, since the advent of the Labour Party to power, the nationalists had occasion to experience bitter disappointment of their hopes that the principal parties of the Second International, with MacDonalld at their head, would redeem the pledges they had made to the oppressed peoples of the colonies in the course of the world war, we now find that in China, the Second International, as represented by the Labour Government, is beginning to reveal itself in an even worse light. British imperialism in India, a colony, is far different from what it is in China, a semi-colony. To begin with, in India, the British imperialists, having no rivals, are able to adapt their policies exclusively to the home interests of England, without having to correlate these policies with the world's imperialist forces in general. Secondly, in India there is not even a relatively independent government, there are no individual war-lords or national militarists backing one or another of the imperialist powers and furthering the interests of one set of militarists to the detriment of another. Thirdly, India, in contradistinction to China, is not divided into separate groups of provinces which take no account whatever of the central power, where the governors carry out their own respective provincial policies. Fourthly, in India there is not an independence movement already in possession of a territorial base, as is the case of the Kuomintang Party in South China, led by Sun-Yat-Sen.

These are the four fundamental conditions which distinguish India from China, and which do not permit the British Imperialists to apply Indian methods of subjugation to the people of China.

It is true that the British Ambassador and the less responsible representatives of British finance, frequently forget about the difference and try, as representatives of British imperialism, to intimidate the Chinese people, at least in the territory of the British sphere of influence, and to reduce it to the type of a colony. In this connection, British imperialism recently took the following course. It endeavoured to secure preponderant influence over the Central Chinese

government, to subjugate to itself the fundamental military clique of China, the so-called Chili Party, at the same time waging the most vicious campaign against the national-revolutionary government of Dr. Sun-Yat-Sen in the South.

Of course, the imperialists of America, France and Japan are none the less more anxious than the British imperialists to acquire such political influence and to stem the tide of the national liberation movement in China. Nevertheless, Britain has certain advantages over all the other imperialists thanks to its more ancient relations with China, established in the hey-day of British capitalism, towards the middle of the last century. Furthermore, Britain was enabled by its vast experience in other colonies to create its colonising apparatus in China.

Indeed, one cannot help marvelling at the refined and, at the same time, comprehensive British apparatus in China for the moral and material subjugation of the Chinese masses. To begin with the large army of customs officials, salt tax collection inspectors, railway officials, chambers of commerce, having their agents in almost every corner of China, economic societies which penetrate into the innermost provinces of China, a large number of commercial travellers of private trading firms and enterprises, who at the same time serve as reporters to the Embassy and to the Chambers of Commerce. And further, there is the network of Reuter agencies which manufacture Chinese "authentic reports" throughout the country in the interests of the imperialist gentry, and the even larger network of missionaries and pastors who infest the towns, villages and hamlets of China, preaching obedience to the Chinese and at the same time informing the imperialists of the least signs of fermentation within the country. All these put together constitute the entire apparatus of British imperialism in China.

Of all these "advantages" for the subjugation of the Chinese masses, the Labour Government of England is trying to avail itself not in a lesser, but in even a greater degree than its predecessors, Lloyd George and Curzon. This, apparently, constitutes an element of the famous principle of MacDonald: "We must not undermine the foundations of the Empire."

China and the Washington Treaty.

It is a well-known fact that the Washington Treaty was the result of two fundamental causes: America's desire after the world war to tear up the Anglo-Japanese Treaty, and to compel Japan to confine herself to those new spheres of in-

fluence in China which she captured during the world war. As to the question of the reduction of naval armaments, it also amounted after all to a weakening of Anglo-Japanese influence on the Pacific. It is also known that during the world war the small nations, colonies and semi-colonies were promised by the fighting groups of imperialists the right of self-determination, and a relaxation of the yoke of exploitation in regard to these nations and countries. It, therefore, happened that the Chinese question too was dealt with by the Washington Conference. It was raised on the initiative of America, which waged its campaign against England and Japan under the guise of the defence of Chinese interests. This hypocritical policy was a necessity to Wilson, whose peace-loving ideas were still fresh in the memories of the American people as well as of the small and oppressed nations.

Lloyd George, who was at that time negotiating an agreement with America on reparation questions in Europe, had consolidated all the debts of the Allies in America into one English debt, was compelled to accept America's attitude in regard to the programme and place of meeting of the Washington Conference. Japan resisted for a time the very idea of convening the Washington Conference, knowing that the Conference was in reality directed against her, but was ultimately compelled to yield. France assumed a position of hostile neutrality towards Britain, while Italy supported America. China seriously counted on the aid of America, and even of England, against Japan, and it, therefore, was not satisfied with the promises of withdrawing the troops from the Shantung Province occupied by the Japanese, but insisted on the cancellation of the well-known 21 demands. Already then the Chinese people were bitterly disappointed in their hopes of obtaining the aid of American and British imperialism against Japan. Nevertheless, some small concessions were promised to China on its being invited to the Conference. These consisted in a promise to relax the customs policies, chiefly British, in the sense that China would obtain an increase of two and a half per cent. of the value of the total imports into the country, and that there would be a gradual abolition of the system of ex-territorial rights and consular courts. Two and a half years have already elapsed since the Washington Conference, and far from fulfilling these promises, imperialist oppression has grown even stronger in these regions.

It is true that as a result of the Washington Conference Japanese influence in China has been weakened, but at the same time the influence of America has been increased, and

with the aid of the latter the British imperialists continued to bolster up their colonial policies in China. The notorious Chinese militarist, U-Pey-Fu, has become the tool not only of British, but also of American imperialism.

The Linchung incident of last year (when an armed group of Chinamen imprisoned several Englishmen and Americans and asked for ransom) served as a pretext for a joint and deliberate imperialist offensive against China. The Curzon satellites in China at the time behaved in a most arrogant fashion, demanding the dispatch of punitive expeditions into China and mocking the promises of the Washington Conference anent the abolition of extra-territorial rights in this "savage country." Since that time the derisive Anglo-Saxon attitude towards the Chinese people has grown tremendously, and is even developing under the MacDonald Government.

MacDonald Policy in China.

It happened that after the elections in England, when it was already clear that the Labour Party would take office, an event occurred in South China that was characteristic of a semi-colony—the leader of the national revolutionary movement dared to ask for the surplus of customs revenues left over after deduction of the interests on the loan in favour of the imperialists. The demand made by Dr. Sun was not directed against the interests of the British imperialists, but merely against the Northern Chinese Government, backed by the British. Nevertheless it served as a sufficient cause for sending British and American cruisers with guns into the Canton waters. The mass meetings of protest held by the students and citizens of Canton district encouraged Sun to send a telegram to MacDonald, asking the latter to curb the imperialist arbour of the British. MacDonald did not even honour the Chinese national-revolutionary leader with a reply, and the British and American cruisers, no less than fifteen in number, compelled Sun to relinquish his rights.

Thus the foundations of the British Empire remained unshaken on the Pacific.

Perhaps MacDonald, on coming into power, could not quickly find his bearings in the colonial apparatus of his beloved Empire? Perhaps he was unaware of the aims of the young revolutionary government and with the history of its anti-militarist struggle in the last decade, and on this tical nature, the territorial base of the national-revolutionary party of China against the British militarists at

Hong-Kong? Such an assumption would be absolutely untenable in view of the events which followed.

During the last six months, since the advent of the "Labour" Government to power, the British imperialist offensive has been strengthened throughout China, and particularly in the South.

In the last few years, particularly since the close of the world war, it was the policy of British imperialists in South China (where British imperialism wields exceptional influence, and where for many reasons of an historical and political nature, the territorial base of the the national-revolutionary party of China—Kuomintang—had always been located) to coax the contending militarist groups in China into fighting with each other. In this way an atmosphere of instability was created in the Quantung Province which constitutes a menace to the Chinese trading class, and to the workers and peasants, and which opens the widest possibilities for British imperialists in Hong-Kong to capture all the channels of commerce, transportation and export.

The MacDonal Government, far from rejecting the methods inherited from Lloyd George and Curzon, is now applying them with even greater shrewdness. The Party now in power in the Quantung Province, led by Dr. Sun-Yat-Sen, is known throughout China, as well as abroad, as the Party which fought against the despotic Manchu dynasty and which started the revolution in 1911, that has not yet been quite accomplished for a number of reasons. This Party, at the present time, having established itself in China and relying upon the toiling elements of the urban and rural population of the Quantung Province consisting of thirty million inhabitants, wages a desperate fight against the militarists, who are subjecting the country to feudalism and imperialist bondage. The MacDonal Government, through its agent at Hong-Kong, is doing everything possible to overthrow the national-revolutionary government of Hong-Kong, and to compel the toiling masses of China once again to submit to the misrule of the militarists who bow to British imperialism. This is fully borne out by numerous facts that have been published in the English Press in China. A glance at any newspaper published by the Britishers in China is sufficient to unmask the attitude of the British Government towards the national-liberation movement of China. The revolutionary aspirations of the Chinese people for independence are being trifled with now to a greater extent than ever before; the Kuomintang Party is being depicted as a criminal gang which leads the country to perdition. Even the very fact of

the instability of the political situation, caused by the aggression of British imperialists, is being described as the inevitable consequence of the activity of the national-revolutionary party which entertains "fantastic" ideas about independence.

Apart from the furious agitation against the liberation movement in South China, the colonisers of the MacDonald Government are taking a direct part in the organisation of the reactionary forces against the Party of national liberation. Out of the British port of Hong-Kong and of the foreign settlement at Canton (Shamin), run the threads of the leadership of the fascist organisations, which was formed in Canton and in the whole of the Quantung Province under the title of "the merchants' militia," or as the people have christened it, "the paper tigers." These fellows have already made themselves felt by killing several scores of workers in the May-Day demonstrations of this year, besides maltreating a number of other workers and raiding some of the trade union premises. These fascist squads, numbering no less than fifteen thousand people in Canton and vicinity alone, constitute a big menace to the national-revolutionary government, hindering it in carrying out any laws that could in any way affect the material interest of the large trading bourgeoisie of the landowners. Behind these hirelings is the MacDonald Government. The British semi-official newspaper of Hong-Kong, on June 5th, 1924, openly hailed the formation of the newly-created fascist organisation, which was to establish order in the country.

But the imperialism of the MacDonald Government is not satisfied with economic pressure and violent agitation and organisation of fascists against the revolutionary government of South China. It inspires and supplies armaments to the reactionary military generals, like Chen-Chun-Min, to fight against Sun-Yat-Sen, and in this respect we find MacDonald guilty of the same bloody work against China as Lloyd George carried on against Soviet Russia in 1919 and 1920, when the British supported and equipped the Kolchaks, Denikins, and Wrangels against the workers and peasants of Russia.

In Central and Northern China, the policy of the MacDonald Government is different in form from that in South China. Nevertheless it is the same in substance, the same imperialist line of economic pressure, violent agitation and constant threats and aggression towards the growing forces of the liberation movement in China.

During the comparatively short time of the existence of the MacDonald Government, there has been such a vast number of cases of violence perpetrated by British imperialism in Northern and Central China, that it is quite easy to get a picture of the existence of a country dependent on the British Empire when one of the leaders of the Second International is at the head of the Empire. Let us take, for instance, the question of a surcharge of $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. in favour of the Chinese Government on the value of all the goods imported into China. As already mentioned elsewhere in this article, this question was settled in the affirmative by the Washington Conference. Nevertheless now, after more than two years, when China asked for the convention of the Commission, which should at last carry out the decision, the British imperialists, together with their American, French and Japanese colleagues, have inaugurated a violent campaign of aggression against the Chinese people, accusing the latter of all imaginable crimes, alleged to have been committed against the imperialists. Since the British colonising apparatus is the strongest in China, the British took the initiative in this campaign.

Again, in reply to the demand of the Chinese public for the abolition of extra-territorial courts, the British imperialists replied in May of this year by demanding from the Chinese Government an extension of the extra-territorial rights. In May this year at Shanghai the British resorted to force in dispersing a mass meeting of Chinamen who protested against the proposed extension of extra-territoriality by removing the houses of a certain street bordering on the British settlement, thus artificially extending the territory of that settlement in Shanghai.

At the same time the whole of the English Press in Peking, Shanghai, Hong-Kong and other Chinese cities, continues to wage a campaign against the abolition of extra-territoriality, pleading the "savage nature" of the Chinese people and the corruptness of the Chinese intellectuals who are organising the masses against the imperialists.

Even if a Chinese soldier walks peacefully along the Peking wall, in that section which adjoins the territory of the diplomatic corps, the semi-official English newspaper in China raises a hue and cry against the Chinese people for the alleged disrespect to the imperialists. If the soldier, punished by flogging for his innocent walk, wreaks his vengeance on some Europeans, the whole English press, led by the aforesaid semi-official newspaper, inaugurate a vicious campaign against the students' movement, the workers'

movement, and the individual revolutionary leaders in China, demanding from the Chinese Government the punishment of the rebels, threatening otherwise to adopt repressive measures against China itself.

Indeed in May of this year, Wu-Pei-Fu, the war-lord backed by the British imperialists, as a result of a most vicious campaign by the English Press, consented to comply with the demands of these gentlemen, arresting seven labour and public leaders at Hankow and shooting them shortly afterwards at his headquarters at Lao-Yan. At Peking the representatives of the revolutionary students, who are identified with the national-liberation movement, are thrown into jail and threatened with the same fate as their comrades at Hankow. Anyone capable of viewing the recent events in China more or less impartially, is bound to come to the conclusion that the hands of the murderers who shot the workers' leaders and revolutionaries at Hankow this year, the same as in February last year, during the Peking-Hankow strike, were directed by British imperialism: last year by the Curzon Government, this year by the MacDonald Government. This bloody deed alone is quite sufficient to demonstrate that the imperialism of MacDonald is by no means inferior to the imperialism of Curzon, but rather exceeds it.

The imperialists in February last year, when shooting the Chinese workers, had at least the ostensible cause of a general strike of railwaymen: this year the satellites of MacDonald did not bother to look for ostensible reasons, shooting the workers merely to prevent any possible action by them against the imperialists.

The calendar of crimes of the MacDonald Government against the Chinese people could be extended. But it would not add anything new, besides confirming the already patent fact, that the so-called "Labour" Government of Great Britain does not even think of pursuing its own opportunist policy on the colonial question—a milder regime for the colonies for their better exploitation—the policy advocated by the leaders of the Second International when they were in the opposition. On coming into power, they have entirely taken over the methods of the big financial bourgeoisie and are endeavouring to improve on them.

G. VOITINSKY.

The above article was written at the end of last June. It was difficult to imagine that events in China would develop with such incredible rapidity. One could not believe that

the Labour Government of Ramsay MacDonald would take the side of the counter-revolutionary Chinese merchant class in such an open manner, and would, in agreement with American and French imperialism, initiate the first general attack on China from the South. As soon as the Labour Government came into power it became evident that MacDonald's policy in China, India, Egypt, Afghanistan and Persia would not in substance differ from the aggressive and imperialist policy of Lord Curzon. Yet, it was sufficient to imagine that the advocate of pacifism and democracy, the representative of an army of millions of workers would adopt so openly a policy calculated to defend the interests of finance capital and of the colonising aristocracy.

The recent events in China, India and Egypt—where MacDonald is even more ready than Curzon to put down the national-liberation movement by armed force and with the assistance of the navy and the entire technique of the devilish militarist apparatus, handed over to him by the previous imperialist governments of Great Britain—must have had a truly overwhelming effect not only on British workers, but on the workers of the whole world.

MacDonald's colonial policy is superior to that of Lord Curzon, for his methods of colonial administration and subjugation of the workers of the East to the interests of British banks are manifold. As one of the most experienced opportunists who has made a fine art of the betrayal of the interests of the workers to the capitalists, MacDonald has transferred his experience on this field to the Eastern countries. He is developing and improving the colonising apparatus of British Imperialism. His method in India is twofold: on the one hand, he deteriorates the national-liberation movement of the urban and rural petty bourgeoisie by the poison of pacifism and democracy, by making insignificant concessions to the growing national bourgeoisie of the country which has still influence over the masses. But on the other hand, he puts down with a strong hand all budding working class organisations, and applies mass terrorism to the peasant movement. He employs the same tactics in Egypt, while throwing out sops to the representatives and leaders of the national movement, who are inclined to support the interests of the growing national bourgeoisie, he shoots on the vanguard of the Egyptian proletariat which is beginning to enter the political arena as an independent factor.

But the best example of this policy of MacDonald is to be found in China. Having grasped better than any other

imperialist the significance of Southern China as a basis of the national-liberation movement not only in China, but also for all colonial peoples inhabiting the coasts and islands of the Pacific, MacDonald is the first among all imperialists to undertake an attack on Southern China with the object of destroying this base. MacDonald considers this attack to be so imperative for the interests of British imperialism that he cannot waste time in choosing his means for it. He sees the growing liberation movement in China with its 400,000,000 people, a movement greatly stimulated by the Russo-Chinese agreement on the one hand, and by the growth of the Chinese Labour movement on the other hand, and he does not wait for better opportunities in the future, but puts naval forces at his disposal for the suppression of this movement.

In this case the imperialism of MacDonald's Government co-ordinates its actions with those of American capitalism, which since the Washington Agreement, is waiting impatiently for the moment when to give a definite shape and form to its influence over China. Simultaneously with the note of the British Consul in Canton to the government of Sun-Yat-Sen, the American Ambassador sends a note to the Central Governor of China, threatening intervention in the event of an outbreak of civil war. The Americans are sure of the possibility of the latter eventuality, for they have been preparing for the last six months a collision between the military governors of the provinces of Tcho-Tsian and Tsiansu. This collision must inevitably draw into the conflict the militarist clique of the Tchjili Party headed by Tzao-Kun and U-Pei-Fu who have on the one hand the support of the Anglo-American capitalists, and on the other hand, the support of the adherents of the former Anhui (pro-Japanese) headed by Tuan-Tsi-Chui and Chang-Tso-Ling. Thus the antagonism of the militarist forces within China is fostered and exploited by American capitalists with the assistance of the British, with the object of liquidating the former Japanese influence in Northern and Central China and paving the way for America.

The French imperialists, headed by the pacifist, Herriot, are alarmed by the extension of the imperialist activity of the British Government, and hasten to send men of war from Indo-China to Shanghai and Tian-Zin, in order to share the booty when the time for the partition of China will have come. The Japanese imperialists are joining their squadrons with the Anglo-American squadron, to show that in spite of American-Japanese antagonism in the Far East, it has with respect to China the same intentions as the other

imperialists. And at the head of these two imperialistic groups is the MacDonald Government, which has inherited the best colonising apparatus from its predecessors.

There can be no doubt whatever that the millions, which constitute the population of China, will learn more during a few weeks of the general imperialist attack about the question of the anti-imperialist movement than they could learn from years of newspaper, book and oral propaganda at any other time. That this is so, is shown by the rapidity and energy with which anti-imperialist groups, societies and leagues are formed in China.

The imperialists expect to get for themselves from the present campaign the same results which they obtained after the suppression of the Boxer rising, but they forget to take into account the new historical epoch, which has accumulated too much inflammatory material for the imperialists to be able to start the conflagration without themselves perishing in it.

G.V.



The London Conference

The New "Era of Peace and Well-being."

AFTER five weeks of tiresome labour, the London Allied Conference came to an end, having secured the capitulation of the German bourgeoisie. The President of the Conference, Ramsay MacDonald, declared that this had been the first peace conference at which no nation had forced its will on another, everything had been carried out in a most peaceful manner, and a general peace-loving result was attained. "General" Dawes, the agent of the Morgan Bank, whose name the report bears which served as a basis for the decisions of the Conference, is now, as a reward for his services, standing as a candidate for the Vice-Presidency of the Republican Party in the United States. On the 19th of August, he declared in his candidature speech that, "France, England, Germany, Italy, Belgium and all Europe are now entering into a new peaceful era, since the Experts' Report has been accepted. Hope and joy will replace the former despair which filled the hearts of the people. The certainty of coming well-being is clear to everybody. The United States will be saved from the danger of almost unavoidable big depression in industry and agriculture, which would otherwise have caused interminable chaos and misery. *The whole world is entering on an era of peace and well-being.* In this way only will it be possible for the *United States to take its proud position as leader of the world, which fate has determined for her.*"

This tamtam contains the leitmotif to which is attuned the press of the Second International. The London agreement is represented as a new era in the history of the peace of the world. Therefore we must consider the work of the London Conference quite soberly, for the results will not bring peace and well-being to the International proletariat, but only new and heavy burdens. The sooner this will be thoroughly understood, the sooner the proletariat will be able to form its international front to meet the onslaught of international capital.

Three Stages of the Reparations Question.

The essence of the London decisions becomes clear when considered in connection with the history of the reparations policy of the Allies, which, since the war, forms the greatest part of world policy.

In *Versailles* no plan was drawn up according to which Germany was to be forced to pay the costs of its own defeat. In the period of the German capitulation, until the formation of such a plan, the Allies were satisfied with simply plundering Germany. They took everything that they could lay hands on. Locomotives and railway carriages were expedited from Germany to France, the German merchant fleet was confiscated, cows were driven away and even bees were transported to France with the unfortunate result that, since the poor insects were in ignorance that Germany was the only defaulter and the only war criminal, they did not feel any moral obligation to remain in France, to produce honey for the French bourgeoisie, and therefore, flew away. It would be difficult to calculate the sums which the various plunderings amounted to; but, the American Professor Moulton, in his book, which is up to the present the best presentation of the basis of the reparations question—calculates that German property confiscated and liquidated abroad amounted to 10 milliards gold marks, the confiscated German State property amounted to 5 milliards, the merchant fleet to $3\frac{1}{2}$ milliards, railway material to 0.14 milliards, the equipment delivered on the West front (not including military) to 1.2 milliards, the confiscated Saar coal-mines to 0.6 milliards, cattle, river-ships to 0.6 milliards, private bonds to 0.3 milliards marks. Then came the period of deliveries in kind; coal, coke, dyes, which continued to September, 1922, and amount to 1 milliard. All these give a total of 23 milliard gold marks which were forcibly taken from Germany before the Allies had fixed on their campaign of robbery.

In May, 1921, the Allies finally drew up their plan and forced Germany to accept it by delivering an ultimatum. Germany was to pay 132 milliard gold marks; but in respect of 50 milliards of this fantastic sum, their plan made definite arrangements for the date of payment and the interest. But the Allies did not define from what sources this tribute was to be paid. Germany undertook on the basis of its entire State wealth, to pay off the debt. Germany paid 1,860 million marks and the story was closed. The depreciation of the mark which took place in the summer and autumn of

1921, raised the following question: How is a country to pay its debts? The answer of all sensible people was: that the capital of the country is in the earth, in factories, mines and machines, which cannot be sold offhand and which a bourgeois government cannot confiscate from the owners; (and the Allies were very much concerned in maintaining the bourgeoisie in power in Germany), therefore, a capitalist country can only pay its debts by increasing the exploitation of its proletariat, by selling the results of the work of its proletarian slaves in the world markets. But the productivity of Germany had been greatly reduced by the robbery which took place since the war, thanks to the loss of the ore in Lothringen and the coal in Upper Silesia, and the loss of West Prussian corn. In order to exist it was forced to import more raw materials than was the case before the war. Professor Moulton estimates that the German capacity of payment from 1919 to 1922 showed a deficit of 10 million gold marks. It would be impossible for Germany to pay large sums to the Allies in the near future. What it did actually pay was due to the swindle manoeuvre which the German government carried through with the ever-depreciating German mark abroad. Confidence in the revival of German industry was strong abroad, and on this account the German government was able to sell large sums of the depreciated marks abroad. The petty bourgeois in foreign countries believed in the recuperation of the mark, and bought them for a song in the conviction that in the future they would do a very good business with them.

When the bankruptcy of the mark grew nearer and nearer, the second phase of the reparation question opened. France decided to occupy the Ruhr and hoped that this centre of German enterprise, this domain of Stinnes, Klöckner, Krupp and Stumm would be transformed into a gold mine from which French imperialism could draw the German tribute. The French government, which saw how the German kings of industry utilised the time of inflation to make new millions by paying their workers with the depreciated mark, but at the same time selling their goods abroad for dollars, pounds and gulden, hoped by occupying the Ruhr, to force the coal and iron barons to bleed for the reparations. On the other hand, French heavy industry circles hoped by the pressure of bayonets to force their German colleagues to come to an agreement on the basis of forming a German-French iron and coal syndicate, with the French in the ascendancy. French military circles for their part hoped that Germany, in order to liberate the Ruhr, would agree to separate the left bank of the Rhine entirely from Germany,

which, under the Versailles Peace Treaty, was to be occupied only for a period of 15 years.

The German bourgeoisie lost the Ruhr war, just as it lost the big Imperialist war. The mark catastrophe brought about discontent amongst the German working masses, and Germany was placed on the threshold of a proletarian revolution. The German bourgeoisie capitulated; but the loss of the German bourgeoisie did not indicate the gain of the French. For the Ruhr expedition was not a source of gold. On the contrary, it cost France one milliard francs. In view of the fact that the Ruhr crisis threatened to develop into serious disagreement not only between Germany and France (it was not possible to keep the German people in tow for ever), but also between France and England, because of the proposed formation of a German-French iron and coal trust which threatened its position on the Continent, the confidence of the petty bourgeois masses in France visibly declined as to the economic future of France. The franc began to fall and British capital utilised the situation in order to deal France a further blow. Ten milliard francs were in foreign hands. Part of this was thrown by the British banks on to the gold market and the franc fell to one-sixth of its normal value. France was obliged to appeal for help both to British and American capital, and undertook in return to accept the new reparations plan of British-American capital.

On April 9th, 1924, the representatives of international finance capital published their report—having been installed by the Reparations Commission to examine Germany's capacity to pay—which has now been accepted in a somewhat modified form by the London Allied Conference and by Germany. This marks the beginning of a third stage of the history of the Reparations question.

The London reparations plan of 1921 let the German bourgeoisie decide for itself how it would pay its debts. Poincaré tried to secure tribute from a certain territory, the Ruhr. The Experts defined the sources of German payments thus: 1. The consumption of the masses, beer, brandy, tobacco, duties; 2. The German railways, and 3. German industry. German railways are being handed over to a private international company which is issuing bonds to the extent of 11 milliards. German industry is issuing 5 milliards in bonds. These 16 milliard bonds are to be sold abroad, and in Germany to the capitalists, and the annual interest on this will be paid by the German workers. The real difficulty begins with the infliction of

this new burden on the German proletariat : after five years this is to amount to an annual sum of $2\frac{1}{2}$ milliards. There can be no doubt whatsoever that if the German proletariat does not resist, if it does not shake off its capitalist rulers, or at least move the burden by increasing its revolutionary activities, if it does not force the bourgeoisie to pay the tribute out of its own pockets, then the German bourgeoisie will succeed in squeezing large sums out of the very blood of the German proletariat. The question is, how is this money which is squeezed out of the German proletariat to be brought to foreign countries? If the Entente exports big sums of money from Germany, then the German bourgeoisie will be obliged to bring so much money into circulation as the demands of German trade requires, and increase this sum by that required for the tribute. Thereby a new inflation and a new crash are possible.

And then, what can the Entente do with German money? If it is of no value to it, if it does not want to paper its walls with it, then it must, as a matter of course, buy German goods with it. Hence, if reparation payments are to be continued, German goods must begin to be produced. Germany must procure raw material abroad and also buy the necessaries for its workers. Hence, the already existing hole in the German deficit comes for inflation. Germany imports more from abroad than it sells. This deficit will be increased should it import goods. The Experts' Report is not capable of solving this problem. It tries to avoid it by determining that the money taken from Germany can only be exported by the Entente if thereby neither the German currency nor German trade is affected. If such a danger should exist, then the money is to remain in Germany and to be employed there by the representatives of the Entente. It can be employed : (1) to credit German industry and German trade ; (2) purchase of German industry. Hence, the French military occupation of the Ruhr is substituted by the economic occupation of Germany by the Entente, by means of sums which are to be forced from the German proletariat. That is the essence of the reparations plan which was accepted in London, in August, 1924.

The meaning of the new reparations plan is therefore : (1) The German proletariat is to pay $1\frac{1}{4}$ milliards annually in new indirect taxation, either by the reduction, or the increase in price of its consumption ; about $1\frac{1}{4}$ milliards is to be produced for the Entente in industry, from the railways. The sums collected in this way are tantamount to handing over German industry to international capital, in

the first instance, to British and American, which provide the money for the purchase of the bonds of German industry, and of the German railway, for financing the German gold bank, etc. So that the Entente may take money from Germany, Germany is obliged to increase enormously its export. Professor Moulton estimates that if Germany is to maintain its population in a conditions capable of work, and the German factories in a position of carrying on work, even in a small degree approaching pre-war conditions, 14 milliard gold marks must be imported; in 1922 there was an importation of only 6.2 milliards. This means that German export to maintain Germany on the same level as in pre-war times must amount to 14 milliards; in 1922, not even the half of this sum was exported, and this year was naturally better than that of the Ruhr crisis in 1923.

If Germany is to pay the Entente the tribute outlined by the new London plan, then its export must be increased to at least 16 milliard gold marks. It will not change much if the money which is pressed out of the German proletariat is not to be exported, but to be invested in German credit and German industry. Germany will be obliged, in order to carry out the plan, to conquer new and larger markets on account of the restriction of the home market of Germany due to indirect taxation and increase in exploitation. The London plan does not say where these markets are to be found. It merely denotes an increase of the exploitation of the German masses, but it is in no way a solution of the reparations question. It does not solve it because it is impossible to be solved, without an immense increase in the scope of the world market. The reparations question still remains in the world as the source of new increased exploitation of the masses, and new struggles on the political field.

The Conquered Victor.

The new London plan of payment for the Allies means certain monetary relaxation for Germany when compared with the demands made for payment in 1921. Even if the 50 milliard gold marks of series A and B of the London payment plan of 1921 are considered as actual demands, whilst the remaining 82 milliards may be considered as a centre for political bargaining between the Allies in respect of the inter-Allied debts, then the demands of the new plan are 10 milliard less. It implies relaxation involving the liquidation of the French economic occupation of the Ruhr. The German government gets back the control of the taxes

and the railway in the Ruhr, the Micum duties* disappear. Economic life can continue in the Ruhr without being subject to attacks from the French Commission. Still, in spite of all this, the new London plan is a much more serious danger for Germany than the old one. The old one was absolutely impossible; it was capable of inflicting serious wounds on German industry for a period. But at the same time through the crisis which it caused it shook the foundations again and again of the Versailles Peace. The new London plan implies the economic enslavement of Germany for a long time; that is, if it should be put into operation.

Whilst handing over German industry to foreign capital, it creates the definite interest of European capital in the exploitation of the German working class. It is quite evident that hitherto the international bourgeoisie considered the possibility of the German revolution as a serious danger. It is also evident that in case of a proletarian revolution in Germany it would attempt to suppress this revolution. But all these tendencies become intensified tenfold when 20 milliards of foreign capital are invested in German industry.

Still the London Conference marks an important stage in the liquidation of the Versailles Peace Treaty. The Versailles Peace Treaty was not merely an act of the enslavement of Germany, but it was the *enslavement of Germany in the first place by France*. It is true, France was not able to carry through its desire at Versailles in reference to the separation of the Rhineland, but it had an opportunity of carrying out this policy. The last guarantee of the success of this programme lay in the fact that the Versailles Treaty is impossible. Because it was impossible for Germany to carry out the Versailles Peace Treaty it had first of all to suffer economic chaos to enable French imperialism not only to proceed with the annexation of the Rhineland, but to the extension of the French frontier on the Rhine, to the separation of South Germany and to the formation of a German Catholic State composed of Bavaria and Austria.

The victor of Versailles was France. And this was due not to its actual strength, but to the strength of its position at the time of the peace negotiations. The war weariness of the masses, the necessity of the Allies, to pretend to the masses at large the possibility of an era of peace, was far greater as far as England was concerned than in the

* Micum—the economic representation of France and Germany in the Ruhr which imposes tribute on the German industrialists in the Ruhr.

case of France. The working class in France was still in a weak position, whereas in England the working class composed the majority of the population. France would have lost the war without the assistance of England and the United States. Having won the war with their help, it still possessed its army of 500,000 men, whereas England, which had no conscript service prior to the war, had to disband its army and be contented with its handful of paid soldiers. The formation of Poland at the expense of Germany created for French militarism a vassal in the East, which kept a watch on the Versailles Peace in its own interests. What had England to oppose to the stiff-necked will of France in its endeavour to secure the hegemony of the European Continent? There were great disturbances in the colonies. Revolutionary proletarian waves of struggle surrounded the British Isles. America was no support. Did it not see how Wilson gave way on one point after another before the iron will of the exponent of French Imperialism, Clemenceau? Then, when the Versailles Peace Treaty was signed, and America refused to ratify it, it became still clearer to England that it had no support in America. The United States of America withdrew for the time being from the arena of European politics.

The war brought about a complete change in the nature of war itself, by the development to an extraordinary degree of the air force and chemical means of warfare. This meant that England ceased to be an island. The economic power which America had developed during the war was another incipient danger for the British, greater perhaps than any which British imperialism had hitherto encountered. This danger of Anglo-American competition and Anglo-American armaments race is not yet apparent to the broad masses of the people or even to the hundred thousands who are politically interested; but the high priests of the Foreign Office, whose eyes are trained by the tradition of struggles for the past 300 years, saw it coming and knew only too well that there was no retreat. The hegemony of France on the Continent denoted for England a big and actual danger. The Versailles policy shook the very basis of the European economic system and restricted the markets of Great Britain, which are more dependent on international trade than any other State. If Germany were finally to submit to the will of France, the trustification of the German and French heavy industry would become a menace to Great Britain. The German-French iron and coal Trust would dominate the whole of Europe. The German chemical industry would

equip the French air fleet and the French land army very extensively. French domination of Central Europe would have her access in time of war to the Polish and Rumanian oilfields, the significance of which was greatly enhanced during the war.

Great Britain could not fight openly and directly against all these perils. For a time the allies endeavoured to conceal their differences from the world; the tussle between France and Britain was carried on covertly. The fight was waged behind the scenes for every position on the diplomatic and economic chess board. But these were only outpost skirmishes. Great Britain kept its chief weapon in the background for the time being. Time had to pave the way and weaken France before it could be brought into play. This weapon was the French thirty milliard gold francs' debt to the British and American government. The financial weakness of France also constituted this weapon. This weakness was bound to become a peril and a factor in the situation. The longer and fiercer France fought for the German reparations, the more evident it became that Germany could not pay, or at least could not pay enough to satisfy France's needs in the immediate future, the more evident it became that the ground would begin to tremble under the feet of French imperialism. If Germany does not pay, France herself will have to bear the burden of her internal and external debts. In order to be able to pay her internal debts, France must impose heavy taxes on the most numerous class of her population—the peasantry. But the peasantry is the foundation of the French army, and a government which imposes heavy burdens on the shoulders of the peasantry cannot hope to have an army eager for war. And if France wanted to reduce her indebtedness to Great Britain and America, and in addition raise loans in these countries to lessen the burden of taxation at home, the hour would strike when France should resign her hegemony in Europe. This moment has come and was brought about by the depreciation of the German mark, and the fall of the franc. The London Conference of August, 1924, has ratified this new order of things.

When the moment will have arrived for the British and American capitalists to float the loans for Germany, the latter will not be confronted by France, but by Anglo-American finance, France will not then dictate its will to the German Reich, the German bourgeoisie and the German people, for British and American finance capital and the British and

American governments, which represent it, will dictate their will to Germany. France has grasped the situation and Herriot said in his speech before the Chamber, which was a vindication of his policy in London, and the Ruhr policy had not given the results expected. France could not choose, for she was threatened with complete isolation, which would have ended in catastrophe, had she not capitulated—which she did. But while declaring her willingness to submit to the will of Great Britain and America, should the Experts' Report be carried out, she said : but it is not yet carried out, and we will only submit in so far as it will be realised. France will remain another 12 months in the Ruhr. This is interpreted by some as a complete retreat of the American and British Allies before the will of France. Others declare that this is of no importance, since the Ruhr policy is already bankrupt. The economic control of the French in the Ruhr is being liquidated, hence the French troops in the Ruhr Basin may be regarded as the watch over the corpse of Poincaré's policy. On the strength of the London decisions, France will herself have to pay the costs of this guard of honour—a luxury which she will not be able to afford for very long. Both conceptions are wrong.

The fact that France remains in the Ruhr Basin does not rob the economic and juridical decisions of the London Conference of their significance. If we put the pros and cons of the decisions of the Sanctions Commission into a nutshell, France loses the majority in the reparations commission through the entry of an American. But should France appeal to the arbitration court provided by the London decisions, which is the supreme arbiter of the eventual failure of Germany to carry out the London decisions, she will have to deal with a neutral arbitration court under American chairmanship, that is to say, with the interests of world-finance. France has not relinquished the right of independent action against Germany, but she cannot act independently unless international finance recognises Germany's delinquency, that is to say, unless international finance has an interest in an independent action on the part of France. Thus, if the London decisions come to fruition, if Great Britain and America finance Germany and if Germany pays what was promised in London, the French troops in the Ruhr Basin will be really and truly nothing but a guard of honour at the grave of the Poincaré Ruhr policy. But if the entire London plan comes to grief, the presence of the French troops in the Ruhr will provide an opportunity for the renewal of the policy of the dismemberment of Germany,

which will then be carried out by France with all the energy and determination of despair. The situation can be put into the following words : **The dollar and the pound have declared their will to the French bayonet. The French bayonet has submitted to them on the condition that the dollar and the pound can really carry out their intention to stabilise the economic system of Germany as the colony of Anglo-American capitalism, to pay the German mortgages and to feed the German slaves.** The dollar and the pound are taking the place of the bankrupt bayonet. But should they also declare themselves bankrupt, then the bayonet will come again into its own. Thus, the London Conference is a phase in the displacement of French hegemony in French policy based on the lack of confidence in the possibility of carrying out the provisions of the Dawes Report and the London decisions which are based on it. We Marxists have no occasion to be less realistic than the leaders of French imperialism.

Prospects of the London Agreement.

What will be the consequences of the London Conference if the Dawes Report is carried out? We do not think that it can be carried out in its present form. But it is not out of the question that in the event of it being inapplicable in its present form, the Allies might agree to alter and modify it and rest content with drawing out of Germany as much as is required for the payment of interest on the loans granted to Germany. Whether this report be carried out in its present or in an altered form, the results will be : (1) consolidation of the bourgeois order in Germany, progressive disintegration of French imperialism which will be compelled to impose heavy taxes on the peasantry, world revolution, hemmed in between the Rhine and the Oder, would find an outlet on the left bank of the Rhine. Then pressure of the French and hence also of the Polish bayonet would become much weaker. The direct struggle for power in Germany would be slightly postponed, but on the other hand the military and political conditions of the German revolution would greatly improve. It will find support from a growing French labour movement, and will find itself face to face with a very much weakened French imperialism. But this would mean that the greatest danger which threatens the German revolution because of the results of the London Conference, namely, the danger of increased pressure by international capitalism on the German revolution, would be weakened. International capitalism would have a **great**

interest naturally in the complete enslavement of the German people. **But the French Army as a means to hold down the German revolution, the instrument of the pressure of international capitalism would be weakened.**

2. The London Conference has brought about the solidarity of the international capitalists in their attitude to Germany only in as far as the suppression of the proletariat is concerned. The London agreement will be just as incapable of establishing solidarity between the capitalist powers interested in the exploitation of Germany as any of the other previous diplomatic documents. Just as there was a mad struggle in connection with the Dette Publique Ottoman in which all the capitalist Great Powers were interested, between the national capitalist groups for the exploitation of Turkey, there will be a covert struggle between the organs created by the Allies for the exploitation of Germany for the spoils which the interested Powers want to extract from Germany. Before the decisions of the London Conference were even ratified, this scramble began with the well-known interview of the British Chancellor of the Exchequer, Mr. Snowden. By keeping her troops for another year on German territory, France has a weapon which she will use as a means of obtaining the most favourable trade agreement possible for herself. The Alsatian textile industry which was able, on the strength of the Versailles Treaty, to export its wares duty free to Germany, will endeavour to retain this privilege because of this trade agreement. What this would mean to Great Britain is plainly shown by the statistics published by the *Manchester Guardian*, on August 20th. In 1922, Germany imported from Alsace-Lorraine, 6,505 tons of textiles, while it imported only 1,090 tons from Great Britain. The continuation of such a state of affairs represents a great peril for Great Britain. Alsace-Lorraine imports cotton yarn from Great Britain, which it makes into manufactured goods with which it can compete with Manchester to the detriment of the latter. The second question with which this struggle will be concerned, will be an attempt by France to bring about, under the pressure of the bayonets which are to remain another twelve months in the Ruhr Basin, an agreement between the German and French heavy industry which French industry would use against British industry. In his interview Snowden points out that this is a very serious peril, and calls upon British industry, namely, upon the British Government, to fight against it. But the difference on principle is even greater which will divide the branches of industry and the countries which fear the economic revival of

Germany, and the growth of her export, and also the capitalist circles which would float the German loan, which can only bear interest if Germany increases her export. Thus, the London agreement becomes a point of departure of renewed dissension between the capitalist parties.

3. All these differences are only part of new and crystallised groups of the capitalist Great Powers. The world of political differences has not yet found its pivot. It was thought for a considerable time that the Franco-British dissension would be that pivot. But that is nonsense, because France is a Continental European Power which regards its large African colonial Empire from the viewpoint of strengthening her position in Europe. But Great Britain is a world Power which in the first instance will find herself face to face with the United States of North America. Part of the struggles waged around the London compromise will consist of preliminary skirmishes which will decide whether Germany and France will side with Africa or Britain, together, or each one on its own.

4. The new burthens of the London agreement will produce after a certain time a new wave of mass struggles—the outcome of the misery of the working classes and of the capitalist attempts to rob these classes of all the advantages gained both in the pre-war and in the post-war periods. These struggles will be of an international character. The proletariat of the Entente countries will realise by its own experience that the decisions of the London Conference are not only a menace to the German people and the German proletariat, but constitute also a great danger to the life interests of the British, French and American proletariat. The London decisions will either remain a scrap of paper, or they mean increased German exports because of low wages and the long working day. The result of this situation will be an attack of the British, French and American capitalists on the wages and the working hours of their wage slaves on the plea of the peril of German competition.

But should the work of the London Conference suffer shipwreck, which is quite possible, because of the contradictions in the basis of the decisions of the London Conference and because it is very improbable that the main condition of the success of the London decisions, namely, rapid improvement of the world market, is feasible, the European proletariat will be very soon confronted by another and even more acute international revolutionary crisis. One must be

prepared for both eventualities : for the success, as well as non-success of the London compromise. Although the tasks of the Communist International will be quite different in connection with these two eventualities, the work which will have to be done for both of them is the same for the time being. The Communist International must be the champion of the proletarian masses in their fight against the London plan of enslavement. The Communist International must show that it is able to be the leader in any spontaneous outbreaks, it must be able to develop an agitation on a large scale for a successful issue of these struggles. It must be able to strengthen and to capture all the proletarian mass organisations, and above all the trade unions. It must understand a thousand times better than hitherto how to internationalise these everyday struggles.

The London Slavery Pact and the Second International.

It will require a special article to summarise the documents proving the treachery committed by the Second International against the international proletariat at this London Conference. This treachery is more flagrant than any previous act of the Second International. When the Second International was supporting the fratricidal imperialism during the war, it had the excuse that this war was a fight for the independence of the nations engaged in it. Large proletarian masses believed in this. And the petty bourgeois leaders of the Second International themselves were victims of all the illusions about defence of the fatherland which had been handed down in history. When in 1918-1920 the Second International helped to suppress the proletarian revolution, it, or rather some sections of it, laboured under the illusions that a proletarian victory cannot be achieved by Communist methods, that the so-called democratic method, is a slower but safer means of leading the proletariat, if not to Socialism, at least to far-reaching social reforms. In London the Second International did its utmost for the establishment of the dictatorship of Anglo-American finance in Central Europe. Now, when the London Conference brings this fact very vividly before the masses, when these masses must realise that the same people who railed against the dictatorship of the proletariat are helping to establish the dictatorship of the most relentless brutal imperialist oligarchy, the leaders of finance capital as well as the leaders of the Second International, begin to feel uneasy about their own cynicism in this transaction.

Mr. Morgan tells the world through his Press bureau,

that all the talk about the dictatorship of the bankers is a legend. He had been asked by the Allied Governments to tell the bankers on what conditions the German promissory notes will find buyers in America. But it was not his business to give or to force on anyone political advice. And Mr. Snowden, the British Chancellor of the Exchequer, and one of the leading members of the Second International, declared at the same time in his interview in the *Manchester Guardian*, on August 19th: "I have read in the French Press many sarcastic and bitter commentaries on the influence of international finance on the Conference. I saw in the Press caricatures of myself as a tool of international finance. I consider it my duty to make it known that no attempt was made at any time by the international financiers to bring political pressure to bear on the Conference. When they were asked to express their opinion, they did no more than state the conditions on which according to their views the public would buy the loan." This attempt to throw again a veil over the unveiled picture of Sais is a very clumsy attempt. As the Hearst American bourgeois paper, *The American*, rightly said, it was demonstrated before the eyes of the world that, "The world is not governed by the elected representatives of the people, but by bankers who have command over other people's money." And then came Lloyd George, who certainly knows all the ins and outs of this transaction, and had an opportunity to obtain first-hand knowledge of them and said: "The London agreement could not have been achieved without the brusque, nay brutal intervention of international finance. The protocol which was drawn up last Saturday by the Allies and signed by the representatives of Germany, is a triumph of the international financier who brushed aside in London statesmen, politicians, lawyers and journalists and issued his commands with all the authority of an absolute monarch who knows that there is no gainsaying his imperial decrees. The London agreement was achieved by the joint Ukas of king dollar and king sterling . . . Mr. Montagu Normann used polite but firm language in the Conference Chamber of the Chancellor of the Exchequer's office, and Mr. John Pierpont Morgan made it known by wireless that the issue of a loan depended on the acceptance of the financiers' conditions. . . . Such was the bankers ultimatum. Nothing, neither persuasion nor pressure could induce them to surrender their positions. This stern message caused profound consternation at the Conference. The Herriot-MacDonald agreements were brushed under the table as of no account."

Lloyd George is no doubt as good a servant of the capitalists as Mr. Snowden. If he tells Mr. Snowden now with much show of indignation that he, a member of the Second International, has acted as a faithful tool of the London Stock Exchange gentry, the reason for Lloyd George's candour is perhaps that he is annoyed that he has no longer a seat in the temple of the moneylenders. But nevertheless, what he says is true. The Second International stands now revealed as a direct agent of international finance capital. It will attempt to extricate itself by the lying statement that it has served the cause of peace. But the proletariat does not want the peace of slaves, even if the gentlemen of the Stock Exchange would become now manufacturers of peace weapons with the same zest as they were formerly manufacturers of weapons of war, and of war itself. The pacifism of the Dawes, the Morgans, the Montagu Normanns, and of their lackeys, MacDonald, Blum and Wels, is not the pre-war pacifism of petty bourgeois ideologists. Pre-war pacifism was closely connected with the idea of social reform, the idea of the betterment of the conditions of the working class. The pacifism of world capitalists and world financiers, who having reduced the world to ruins, are attempting now to reconstruct it by means of the most flagrant exploitation of the proletariat, in order to gain time for the preparation of new wars. The Communist International should bring to the notice of the masses—during the interval left us for organising the pending new conflicts—this new role of the Second International as the direct organ of world finance intent on the enslavement of the workers of the world. Without this knowledge the workers will be unable to do their duty in the coming fight.



Exit Hoeglund

WHEN all the material for our journal had already gone to press, news came from Sweden of Hoeglund's rupture with the Communist International. Was this news unexpected for us? Could we not have expected even earlier such a finale to the mutual inter-relations between Hoeglund and the Communist International, based on all those disagreements which had already long ago ideologically separated Hoeglund from the Comintern? We think it is worth while briefly recalling to the readers of the International the instructive history of the evolution of Hoeglund during the last few years. Let us remark, in passing, that we are no longer concerned with Hoeglund as a personality. Hoeglund's specific gravity in the Comintern, lay in his connections with the Swedish Communist movement. From the moment he broke with his Party, he no longer existed as a personality for the Communist International. From now onwards he is like a discarded crust that the best elements of the Swedish proletariat will throw away with contempt, recalling not without bitterness, that at one time this man stood on the left flank of the workers' movement. Hoeglund also interests the enemies of the working class, inasmuch as they can use him as an arm in the disorganisation of the proletarian movement. No sooner will he have fulfilled his ignominious task, than the bourgeoisie will cast him aside, just as the Franco-Polish bourgeoisie flung away Savinkoff like a squeezed out lemon; Hoeglund will no longer be a "national" hero. The Moor has done his work, let him depart into the realm of oblivion.

The World Communist Party, forged under the most difficult trials, has outlived, during the time of its struggles, no small number of individual onslaughts and betrayals. During the March days episodes of desertion to the enemies' camp were enacted before our eyes of no less importance. When Levi stabbed the German proletariat in the back, this was an even greater treachery than this present betrayal of Hoeglund's. Likewise, when the general secretary of the French Communist Party, Frossard, after the Fourth Congress, raised a mutiny against the E.C. of the Comintern, then also, there was no lack of pessimistic voices which foretold that Frossard's betrayal would constitute a heavy

blow to the young French Communist Party. Now we know that the German and French proletariat have gone forward over the heads of Frossard and Levi. Where are they now? From those days onwards, our Communist International grew up, politically, through such events as these. Their passing over into the camp of Social-Democracy and of the bourgeoisie, serves as a lesson on the fighting and Bolshevik tempering of the Party masses. Only in basing ourselves on our past experiences can we say with assurance that not even the blackest of individual betrayals would disorganise our Communist movement. During its stern trials, and its ideological struggles against opportunism, our movement has grown larger and stronger, and learnt to attribute its successes not to personalities, but to the collective organisation, of the Comintern. If we take up the pen at the present moment it is not to make polemics on the Hoeglundites' programme or organisational questions. Only the conscious swindlers of Branting's "Social-Democrats," and other bourgeois organs, could mistake them for plain dealing people. We have quite a different aim. On the basis of the Hoeglund betrayal, we will endeavour to extract a few lessons for the international labour movement, and especially for the Swedish masses.

All those who followed closely the life of the Comintern during the last few years, know that Hoeglund's disagreements with the Communist International did not commence yesterday. At one time, during the war, Hoeglund stood within the ranks of the Zimmerwald Left. But already, during the struggle against the German Independents, he showed signs of certain relapses. It is difficult to say whether it was the influence of the Social-Democratic school that spoke here, or whether it was the slow tempo in the maturing of the Revolution. Perhaps it would be truer to say both, and especially the latter factor. The tempo of the Revolution did not justify the hopes that many of the partisans of Zimmerwald had placed in the developments of events connected with the end of the war. The more the development of the revolutionary movement in Europe assumed a drawn-out and laborious character, the more did scepticism and Menshevik doubts eat their way into Hoeglund. Subjectively it appeared to him that his mental reflexes were the means of foreseeing events, and not simply the mechanical means of their mental registration. This was in reality a swing round to the Social-Democratic way of thinking, and frame of mind. During the period of the rise in the revolutionary tide, Hoeglund did not come out against the Communist International, he simply presented a few "amendments" to its decisions, in which only the experienced eye of the

Bolshevik could detect the already recognisable traces of Menshevism. At the Second Congress of the Comintern, when the Soviet troops were advancing on Warsaw, when the Italian workers had seized the factories, and authority was lying in the dust, when Crispian and Frossard and Darra-gona were knocking at the door of the Third International, at the suggestion of Lenin, 21 conditions were worked out. The object of these conditions was to prevent opportunist elements from entering the Communist International, and to prevent it from contagion from undesirable and harmful growths. Even then, Hoeglund formulated a whole series of reservations to these decisions, which actually amounted to supporting the policy of the open door for Centrist elements. Even at that time many of the leaders of the Communist International were perplexed at Hoeglund's position. How could a man who had supported the Zimmerwald left at the time of the begetting of the Communist International, afterwards try to bring it to ruin by an attitude of this kind? But at that time one could still assume that it was simply a chance error that Hoeglund could soon correct. Now we see that we were mistaken. The Hoeglund's mistakes began to pile up more and more. Like branches carried down a stream, they overran one another, and then heaped up into a pile, acting as an impediment to the Bolshevisation of the Swedish Communist Party. Whether it were a question of arming the proletariat, of the attitude of the Communist Party to pacifism, or of the views of the Swedish E.C., on those disagreements, manifested in the struggle against Right deviation in the Danish and Norwegian Communist Parties, it was all the same; Hoeglund, as though on ice, slips into the slough of Social-Democracy. Hoeglund's true political physiognomy is particularly clearly disclosed in the Norwegian conflict, on the field of the struggle started by the Communist International for the creation of a real Communist Party in Norway.

The Norwegian conflict has by no means a local significance limited to the precincts of Norway. It acquired an all-Scandinavian significance, not only because it drew all the Scandinavian sections of the Comintern into the struggle, but because it disclosed the **weakness** of the Communist movement common to the Scandinavian countries. The Scandinavian labour movement, as it were, lay aside a little from the main road of the European working class movement. We do not believe we shall offend the *amour propre* of the Scandinavian comrades if we say that the Scandinavian Labour movement always bore traces of a kind of provincialism, which our young Communist sections had to surmount. What

Hoeglund at the present time takes for specifically European traits of the Labour movement in Sweden, opposing them to "Moscow" methods, are in reality nothing more than an obstinate conversation of this provincialism in the Swedish Party. It is not by chance that like Charles XII. Hoeglund has now become a national hero. But behind this "national" provincialism, international opposition can be quite easily concealed. The first fight against opportunist digressions was started by the Norwegian left-wing comrades. The right-wing of the Norwegian Party headed by Tranmael, fought with the utmost determination against the Left revolutionary elements, preventing them by every manner and means from revolutionising the Party. The Norwegian question was a test of the maturity of our Communist sections in the Scandinavian countries. To fold arms indifferently, and declare neutrality in the internal fractional fight that was rending the Norwegian Party, indeed disclosed a complete lack of faith in the revolutionary principles of Marxism, and in the prospects of the European revolution.

At the enlarged Executive meeting in the summer of 1923, at the very height of the struggle, Bukharin proved that the elements following Tranmael, such as Lian and Falk, represent a ready-made nucleus for Norwegian Fascism. It would have seemed that this warning would convince Hoeglund of the necessity for the most decisive and unconditional struggle against the right-wing of the Norwegian Party. Meanwhile, Hoeglund, in the fight for the recuperation of the Norwegian Party that had now started declared for "neutrality," which actually amounted to turning the whole balance of the Swedish Communists in favour of the Tranmaelists. This internal struggle dragged on for almost two years (1922-23) and Hoeglund "manœuvres" and maintained the best relations with the right elements of the Norwegian Labour movement, replying to all reproaches—"they are honest opponents." He did not come out openly against the policy of the Comintern, but everlastingly grumbled that it is too inflexible, and would inevitably lead to the breaking away of Tranmael & Co. And when Tranmael, after all the attempts at agreement with the left-wing, openly breaks with the Communist International, Hoeglund continues to remain in a state of benevolent neutrality towards the other group. Was such conduct on the part of one of the responsible leaders of the Swedish Communist Party permissible? Ought not the E.C. of the Comintern to have reminded Hoeglund about discipline?

To be in the Communist International and at the same time

support those elements of the Norwegian Party who fought against the Communist International—this was indeed the highest form of double-faced hypocrisy and cowardice, and was what made the split in the Norwegian Party possible. Hoeglund bears a part of the responsibility for this split. After the scission in the Norwegian Party, the Tranmael group swung over in earnest to the side of the struggle against Communism and against the best elements in the Norwegian Labour movement. It did seem that the metal workers' strike, during which the treacherous role of Lian was disclosed in all its nakedness, would open the eyes of the blind. But this did not prevent Hoeglund from offering every support to the renegades of Communism in Norway. Before becoming himself the Swedish Tranmael and Lian, Hoeglund simply defended their policy within the Swedish Party.

Such is the traditional path of all renegades. But the discord between Hoeglund and the Comintern was not limited to this. It goes much further and deeper. The Norwegian question is only the background on which the other disagreements between Hoeglund and the Communist International—both organisational, and on matters of principle, are painted in relief. Those who followed the debates of the Fourth International Congress know what a great significance the organisation question acquired at this Congress. The old structure, which served as a basis for the inter-relations of the Socialist Parties in the Second International, was founded on the principles of organisational autonomy. Each of the Parties of the Second International actually lived its own individual life. The international congresses that met from time to time, passed elastic resolutions which were in no way obligatory to the separate sections. Without exaggeration the structure of the Second international to a very great extent resembled the present structure of the League of Nations; loud speeches, empty compromising decisions, and the individual policies of each of the national sections of which it was composed were the order of the day. The inter-relations of the Socialist Parties with their local organisations, were also built upon such principles as these. As opposed to the authority of Party decisions, the way was left open for the "popularity of local leaders. By this organisational concession, the Party was nothing more nor less than a mechanical unification of local organisations, living their own isolated lives, and brought together only for a brief period during electoral struggles.

In the first place, the Communist International had to liquidate this organisational heritage, handed down from the

Second International. The new organisational structure, based on the principles of democratic centralism, answered the purpose of the strategy of the revolutionary struggle, through the organised central direction of the Comintern. If we indeed wished to become a united world Party of the proletariat, we should adapt our organisations to the new conditions, liquidate the period of local anarchy, the struggles for petty ambitions, and the little intrigues and actings of the self-enamoured pretenders to genius. We had to cut out with tempered steel, the morals of parliamentary democracy that had become imbedded in the party, and which had supplied the basis for a moral and political renaissance. We are aware that this reconstruction of the Communist International on new principles, in bringing the individuality of the "leaders"—which the epoch of parliamentarism had rendered degenerate—within the boundaries of international discipline, provoked strong opposition on the part of the opportunist elements of the Communist International. We know that it was on this question that Frossard broke with the Comintern. In Italy, to the present day, Vella, Nenni and Co., have opposed the firm discipline that the Comintern demands of all sections entering its ranks, simply because they are fighting for a regime of self-will and the immunity of the "leaders" from control. These people exceed all bounds when it is a case of "centralism" within their own Party, but they are decentralists in respect to the Communist International. In Italy, Vella, Nenni and Co., excluded the Maffi group from the party for breach of party discipline, but they themselves cannot become reconciled with the discipline of the Comintern.

Hoeglund is for the strict discipline of the Swedish Party masses in respect to himself, but he does not recognise the discipline of leaders under the Comintern. Such a primitive morale as this is common to all these opportunist gentlemen. On this question the real nature of each leader may be revealed—whether he be a true proletarian democrat, or a caste priest, opposing himself to the masses. And on this question Hoeglund started his new struggle with the Comintern. Hoeglund, it must be understood, cannot forgive the direct intervention of the E.C. of the Comintern in the internal affairs of the separate sections. He stands for such an organisational structure as would allow the "leaders" bound by time to the roots of their Second International origin, to be the sole masters in their "own" Party. Hoeglund uses a whole series of suspicious looking arguments to defend his position. It is sufficient to examine the polemic which he waged during the last few weeks against the delegation of

the E.C. of the Comintern in Stockholm, to be convinced of what monstrous acts of vulgarity a man can prove himself capable, once he begins to dissent with his own political conscience. He uses as an argument against democratic centralisation and discipline, reference to the peculiar conditions existing in Europe, in general, and in Sweden in particular. The organisational structure of the Comintern, he says, is all very well for Russia, but it in no way meets the requirements of the European Labour movement. He pokes fun at the decisions of the international congresses on discipline, comparing them with the barrack-room discipline of Peter I. Tsar Peter of Russia ordered his soldiers to jump out of the window into the gutter, as a test of their discipline. The "Moscow" International, according to Hoeglund, wants to revive this tradition of the Moscow Tsars.

But Hoeglund, the European, has not the slightest desire to commit suicide at the whim of the new Moscow tyrants. This actually amounts to re-signing the same *leit-motifs* of the leaders of the Second International, affirming that Bolshevism is a specific feature of Russia's lack of culture, and democracy corresponds with the level of highly-developed self-consciousness of the European workers. In his struggle against the Comintern, Hoeglund stoops to the most vulgar nationalism. Is it surprising that the whole of the Swedish bourgeois press is with him, and ready to disperse, as with a fan, any doubts that may assail him on his new path. Such organs of the Press as *Dagens Nyheter*, *Stockholms Dagblad*, *Socialdemokraten*, and others, devote large articles to the Swedish conflict, and to the role Hoeglund plays in it. They burn incense before Hoeglund, for he is saving the honour and worthiness of the Swedish people, fighting against Moscow tyranny, and revolting against graveyard discipline (Kodaperdisciplin). Lack of time and space prevent me from quoting word for word from this bouquet of falsehood and hypocrisy, but it will say more to the Swedish workers, who have the opportunity to read all these newspapers themselves, about the true meaning of the crisis in the Swedish Party, than the whole of this article.

The divergencies of view between Hoeglund and the Comintern do not end here. Part and parcel with these organisational disagreements, can be discerned divergencies on the programme question. At the Enlarged Executive meeting following the Fourth World Congress, Hoeglund carried on a fight with the Comintern on the question of religion, demonstrating, as it were, once again the inevitable internal connec-

tion between tactical and programme opportunism. And he left that meeting of the E.C. beaten, with bowed head, and conscious of his complete defeat.

Such are the most important stages of Hoeglund's evolution. Add to these his systematic fight with the Swedish Young Communist League, and his bitter hatred for the Left revolutionary wing of the Communist Party—typical of all renegades—and you have before you the picture of a man completely played out, who, only through misunderstanding or inertia belonged to the Communist International during this latter period. For several months the E.C. of the Comintern did its utmost to correct the harmful course that Hoeglund had steered, and preserve, under such onerous conditions, the unity of the Swedish Communist movement. If it had been simply a question of Hoeglund personally, other measures—quicker and more radical—would have been adopted. But the E.C. of the Comintern took into consideration the fact that besides Hoeglund there is the Party, which in Sweden had not yet conquered the masses, and that there are rank and file Party members who, deceived by Hoeglund, supported him simply from tradition, and in remembrance of his former services. We can understand how painful an experience any such shock as this must be to the workers, and for this reason the E.C. of the Comintern had to do all in its power to spare the advance-guard of the Swedish working class from new trials.

In December of last year, a number of very responsible decisions were taken, the loyal execution of which would have ensured the recuperation of the Swedish Party, the revolutionising of its political course, and the possibility of Party unity. Hoeglund systematically sabotaged these decisions. Hoeglund's whole conduct at the moment of the Fifth Congress sharply brought to the fore the question of fitting in his views with the fundamental programme and tactical principles of the Communist International. Nevertheless, realising the extreme urgency of a solution to the crisis in the Swedish Party, that would be as painless as possible, the Communist International made its final endeavour, entrusting the Swedish Commission of the Fifth World Congress with working out the basis for the collaboration of the Hoeglund group with the revolutionary wing of the Swedish Communist Party. In the resolution on the Swedish question, the Fifth World Congress asserted that on all fundamental questions the Hoeglund group had committed a series of errors. The Fifth World Congress demanded from Hoeglund the discontinuation of his double-dealings, and the unconditional putting into force of

the decisions of the Comintern. At the same time, in order to give Hoeglund the possibility of correcting his errors, the Fifth World Congress went yet further. It agreed to the election of Hoeglund as a member of the E.C. of the Comintern, displaying, as hitherto, the greatest consideration for these working class elements who, by tradition, might still adhere to Hoeglund. He criminally misused the trust that the Fifth World Congress had placed in those workers who still had faith in Hoeglund. Immediately upon his return to Sweden, Hoeglund opened up an unworthy campaign against the decisions of the World Congress, dubbing the latter a "jesuit comedy." He consciously deceived the Swedish workers, distributing printed legends about the execution of the Fifth World Congress decisions bringing inevitable "Austriaisation" to the Party. He clearly aimed at bringing about a split in the Swedish Communist Party, at the height of the electoral campaign. It is difficult to think that Hoeglund could not understand the objectively base role that he was enacting in the name of the bourgeoisie, in the interest of the bourgeoisie and with the support of the bourgeoisie. So much the worse for him. Paltry petty-bourgeois instincts awakening in him, Hoeglund spat on his past, soiling it beyond recognition, like a murderer disfiguring his victim. From now onwards he has placed himself outside the ranks of the Communist International. To Hoeglund we shall return no more.

What are the conclusions that the international working class should draw from the Hoeglund betrayals?

1. Hoeglund thought out to the very end, talked over thoroughly, and dotted the "i's" of that very same position that certain right elements of the Communist movement adopted until the Fifth Congress. Not to perceive the internal connection between the Hoeglund attacks and this position—which even after the Fifth Congress, the right elements are here and there trying hopelessly to galvanise—this means not to understand the fundamentals of the present situation. It was not by chance that the quarrel over democratic centralism in the Swedish Party was a continuation of the discussions that took place in other countries up to the Fifth Congress. To consider the whole of the Hoeglund incident as a separate episode, torn away from the general chain of events would be a grave error. The ideological strings lead from Hoeglund not only to Tranmael, Vella and Frossard—they must be sought in the Social-Democratic prejudices that have not yet been outlived even in our own ranks. To all those who hesitate with their "self-determination," who are dreaming of

finding some middle course, capable of reconciling discipline with unlimited rights of criticism, the Hoeglund lesson should serve as an example. He who says A, has also to say B, if he does not perceive his error in time. You cannot formally belong to the international, and during a long terms of years fight it ideologically. The time will come when the fine threads uniting this type of person with the International will inevitably break. Thus ended Levi, thus ended Frossard and thus also ended Hoeglund. All those who cannot submit their personality to the collective will, and who in their petty bourgeois conceit imagine that the whole world is mistaken except their own "genius"—never erring, always foreseeing—all such as these will meet the same end. Our working class movement, our stern struggles do require neither a "Mephistopholes" nor a "super-man" sarcastically smiling at our efforts, watching the trend of History by the hands of the clock, waiting to see to whom to say, "You were right!" What we need are sincere, self-denying, fighters for the Revolution, fulfilling the will of the hundreds of thousands of proletarians organised in the Comintern.

2. It is also not by chance that Hoeglund has chosen the present democratic-pacifist era as the setting for this rupture, galvanising certain pacifist illusions in so doing. Indeed, the present moment, when the British experiment, with the coming into power of the "Labour" Party, commences to disclose in various comrades the tendency to revise the tactics of the Communist International, it is indeed at this moment that a clearer and more legible statement of the fundamental questions of principle are necessary.

3. Hoeglund broke with the Communist International on the pretext that its present leadership was weak, or at least that was how he wrote last year. But Hoeglund, just as all those who follow his example, will soon be convinced that outside the Communist International there is only the camp of the enemies of the working class, the camp of Social-Democracy, of Branting, Turatti and Scheidemann. Hoeglund's path leads to Branting.

4. More than at any other time, the Swedish Communist Party should undertake the task of conquering the masses. The exit of Hoeglund will strengthen the Party course, will make it more revolutionary and capable of manœuvring. The question of the conquest of the Trade Unions by our Swedish comrades, at the present moment falls in with the general lines of the Communist International on an international scale. Without the fulfilment of this task, we cannot become a real mass Party in Sweden.

5. Hoeglund's departure like the departure of all those elements, who, with their Social-Democratic baggage hang like a heavy burden upon our Communist sections, preventing them from carrying out the Bolshevisation of the Communist parties by the shortest and least painful methods, will help not only the Swedish working class, but the whole international proletariat to make a step forward. The road upon which the working class of all lands marches to victory, is a difficult one. Happily, the currents of revolutionary proletarian energy in all countries passes by Hoeglund. In Sweden also, they will pass by the feeble-hearted straggler. At this moment of cleaning out from the Swedish Communist Party all casual and renegade elements, we say to the Swedish workers:—Let your steps be firmer and your heads raised higher!

D. MANUILSKY.



On the 60th Anniversary of the First International

This Third Communist International which was established in March, 1919, in the capital of the Russian Socialist Federative Soviet Republic in the city of Moscow, solemnly proclaims before the entire world that it takes upon itself to continue and to complete the great cause begun by the First International Workers' Association.—(From the Statutes of the Communist International).

TEN years elapsed after the serious defeat of the working class in the bloody repression of the revolutions of 1848, before new Labour movements developed in the countries of European capitalism. In this classic epoch of capitalist prosperity the bourgeoisie put into practice with feverish energy Quizot's slogan: "Enrich yourselves!" All the political organisations of the working class crumbled into ruins. There was nothing which could have united the different movements, which had set themselves partial aims and considered their task consisted in an insignificant improvement of the workers' situation, coupled with a synthesis of the idea of the emancipation of the working class. The trade union and co-operative movements were at this time far from aiming even in general programmatic form at goals outside the limits of capitalist reality, because of the lack of the political organisations' ideologically co-ordinating influence.

The Socialist idea retreated to books and libraries, to the field of research. The defeated fighters of the revolution—primarily Marx and Engels—expected and prophesied the crisis; this would cause mass movements, filled with revolutionary ideology, which would close with Socialist consciousness the gap in the ranks of the battlefield.

The period of crisis began at the end of the fifties. Not a crisis like the one which to-day has brought capitalism to the verge of ruin, but strong enough to interrupt the quiet of the uninterrupted ten-year development of capitalism undisturbed by mass movements of the working class. This forced the Socialist idea, confined in the darkness of books, libraries and scientists' desks, into the daylight of the everyday struggle of the working class. The theories, the foundations of which Marx and Engels had already laid be-

fore the revolution of 1848, and which they had enriched with new elements through a synthesis of the experiences of the calm development of capitalism and of the revolutions, obtained new life. The spontaneous Labour movements, which lacked the consciousness of the general goals of the liberation of their class, were seeking an ideology. The class "in itself" was looking for the path whereby it might become a class "for itself." It was looking for the ideology, the organisation and the ways and means of emancipation. In these Labour movements about 1859—for the first time since the suppression of the revolution of 1848—we saw the union of the Labour movement and Socialism. The result of this meeting was the foundation of *the First International, the first world party of the revolution*, fifteen years after the suppression of the revolution.

The Labour movements, isolated within national boundaries and aiming merely at every-day goals, sought unity in the interests of success and sought the far-away goal, conscious of the fact that this seeking was itself already a better guarantee for the attainment of immediate aims.

Socialism, revolution and internationalism—these three fundamental ideas were expressed in the First International. There is no doubt that the Communist International at the Sixtieth Anniversary of the foundation of the First International is justified in considering itself the heir of these three basic ideas.

It is absolutely justified in this, because the Communist International does not consider itself "an instrument of peace"—as the Second International was according to Kautsky—which to-day cannot even be called a *peace instrument of internationalism*, but always an instrument of revolution. For the Communist International, after the unparalleled collapse of the Labour movement in 1914, not only saved the flag of the *revolutionary orientation of the working class*, but also Socialism, which the Second International had more or less openly consigned to the realm of utopia, to "honorary exile," but established Socialism as a *factor of real politik in the proletarian revolution*, through its first fruits, Soviet Russia. In this sense the Communist International is not only the sole heir of the revolutionary principles of the First International, but also the perpetuator of its great work and the instrument of the realisation of these principles.

The Genealogy of the Present-day Labour Movement.

The First International was, of course, far from being a homogeneous unity organisationally and from the point of view of principles and tactics such as the Communist International, or rather as the Communist International is to become. The First International contained the germs of all three branches of the Labour movement of to-day. The fight of the three wings existing within the First International was a miniature reproduction of the present fight in the Labour movement. The conflict of the proletarian-Communist, the petty bourgeois Socialist, and the petty bourgeois anarchist tendencies comprised the inner disputes of the First International. This struggle is continued to-day with other means, in other dimensions and on an altogether different plane, corresponding with the epochs of capitalism and of social revolution, between the Communists on the one hand and the two forms of petty bourgeois Socialism—social fascism and social pacifism (as well as anarchism) on the other.

The conflict of these three views was already manifest in the very first steps taken by the First International. These revolutionary proletarian tendencies represented by Marx and Engels at once joined issue with the Socialist apostles of humanitarian petty bourgeois ideology, who wanted to assure the working class a place in the sun of civilisation by legal and moral methods (Fridour, Tolain, etc., the Paris Proudhonist Internationalists). On the other hand it fought against the opposite pole, "seditious anarchism," which from the point of view of class dissent was identical with the above tendency, and equally petty bourgeois and threatened the International with isolation from the mass movement of the workers. British trade unionism, which was of a proletarian character in composition, was also far from recognising revolutionary Communism as its dominant ideology. But it was just by exploiting the internecine struggles of these different tendencies that Marxism was able to conquer a dominant position in the First International for the revolutionary class-ideology of the proletariat.

The first most violent struggle broke out between the revolutionary Marxist tendency and the anarchist. The problems of this dispute were identical with the present differences between Communist and anarchists: the question of the conquest of political power, centralised or federalist organisation, etc. Already in the First International anarchism finally separated from the two other groups and at

the same time almost completely from the mass movement of the working class.

In the Second International the two other tendencies, the petty bourgeois-reformist and the revolutionary Communist (and for a short time even certain anarchist groups—Domela, Nieuwenhuis, etc.)—were represented. As the Labour movement grew and developed more or less peacefully, the reformist tendency gradually got the upper hand in the masses. The revolutionary Marxist group, which played a dominant role in the First International, was represented internationally by comparatively unimportant groups (the Bolsheviks, Rosa Luxemburg). The germs of the Right-wing in the First International developed to an extraordinary degree in the Second, and deprived the revolutionary tendency dominant in the First International of all influence. The political split followed the theoretical, and the organisational the political, which made the political split even more profound. The Left-wing of the bourgeoisie smuggled its ideology into the Second International. This ideology developed into the Right-wing of the working class. As a result of the development of objective conditions which were favourable to it, the Right-wing obtained a dominating position in the Second International. In the course of time *the Right-wing became*—in the historical sense—*the Left-wing of the bourgeoisie*. However, the dominating tendency of the First International, Marxian Communism, which had been forced into the background in the Second International, gains more and more strength in the revolutionary movements of the working class, in the Russian Revolution. To the problems brought by the further development of capitalism, by the crisis of the imperialist and capitalist system, only *Leninism* gives the answer: The continued development of Marxism in the epoch of imperialism and of the social revolution. Thus the ruling revolutionary tendency of the First International, Marxism, is organisationally expressed in the Communist International, and is an ideological renaissance and enrichment in Leninism.

The First International comprised all three tendencies. The Second International marked the separation from anarchism, which had already begun at the dissolution of the First International. In theory, tactics and organisation, the Communist International represents the separation from petty bourgeois reformism and the consummation of the dominating tendency of the First International in all these three questions. Thus did the three tendencies at logger-

heads in the First International become three tendencies in the *Labour movement*.

Of these the anarchist tendency is irrevocably bankrupt. The reformist-opportunist tendency is in the re-organised Second International, the Left-wing of the bourgeoisie which appears in the form of social fascism and social pacifism, and still has large masses of workers under its influence. And lastly, the Communist International, as the heir of the tendency which Marx and Engels helped to victory in the First International through incessant struggle and the exploitation of the differences between the diametrically opposed, but in the same way unproletarian tendencies, the reformists and the anarchists.

The genealogy of the Third International decides the question of the heritage of the First.

Theory and Practice in the First International.

The First International carried through no large scale revolutionary actions. The only great revolutionary deed at the time of the First International was the *Paris Commune*, but even this was not under the direct leadership of the International. It was merely, as Engels wrote, a spiritual and not legitimate child of the International. Nevertheless, the General Council of the First International considered itself the general staff of the international revolution of the working class. Its attitude in theoretical as well as in practical and political organisation questions showed this. The interior struggles in the International also gave proof of this.

The inner struggles were the fight of Marxism for recognition, even if not for exclusive rule, then at least for hegemony. Marx and his group had to make certain concessions (in the Statutes as well), but nevertheless all the fundamentals of Marxism, which are also the fundamentals of the theory and practice of the Communist International, made their influence felt in the International.

The first membership card of the First International bore these words :

“ The emancipation of the working class must be won by the working class itself. The fight for the emancipation of the working class is no fight for new class privileges, but for the destruction of all class rule. The economic subjection of the worker under the expropriator of the means of labour, *i.e.*, of the sources of life, is at the basis of serf-

dom in all its forms, social misery, intellectual stuntedness and political dependence. The economical dependence of the working class is, therefore, the great goal to which every political movement must be subject. All attempts aiming at this goal have failed hitherto because of the lack of unity among the different *trades in a country* and among the working classes of the various countries. The emancipation of the worker is neither a local nor a national task. It concerns all countries in which modern society exists. It can only be solved through the methodical collaboration of the workers of these countries. Therefore, "Workers of the World, Unite!"

In these sentences the Socialist goal was proclaimed, the class struggle and its international character. The further development in detail of the theory as well as of the political and organisational practice was reserved for the later activities of the International.

The Paris Commune afforded the International the opportunity of taking a stand on *the problem of the State* and drawing a line of demarcation between it and the anarchist standpoint which meant nothing but a negation of the State, as well as reformism which sought a transformation of the bourgeois State into a "people's State." The First International left us the idea of the *proletarian dictatorship* almost entirely cleared theoretically. From this there followed its attitude towards the *defense of the fatherland*, as well as to the conduct of the proletariat in war, and to the character of the class struggle, of the use of force, and of the civil war.

There are wars and wars. There are unjust, bad wars, and there is *the war for one's own rights—the revolution*. Revolution is violent: "The worker must one fine day win political superiority and establish the new organisation of labour; they must overthrow the old policy. . . . But if this is so, we must recognise that in the majority of the countries of the Continent, force must be the lever of our revolution. One must, at a certain moment, appeal to force for the final establishment of Labour's rule." (Correspondence between Marx and Engels).

The First International also expressed its views on the role of the party and its attitude towards the masses, not only to the workers but also to the peasantry.

"The International was founded in order to establish the real organisation of the working class in place of Socialist or semi-Socialist sects. The original statutes, as well as

the inaugural address show this at a glance. On the other hand, the International would not have been able to maintain itself if the march of history had not already crushed sectarianism. The development of Socialist sectarianism and that of the real Labour movement are always inversely proportional to each other. As long as the sects are hustified (historically) the working class is still not ripe for an independent historical movement. As soon as it has reached this maturity, all sects are at bottom reactionary. Thus the history of the International repeated what history had everywhere demonstrated. The obsolete tries to renew itself and maintain its position within the newly won forms.

“The history of the International was the continual struggle of the General Council against sects and amateur attempts which tried to maintain themselves within the International itself against the real movement of the working class. This fight was fought out at the Congresses, but even more so in the private negotiations of the General Council with the different sections.”

Thus does Engels in a letter characterise the point of view of the First International on the role of the Party and its relationship to the masses. In the conflict with the Bakuninists, the First International was with great difficulty able to force through the following declaration on the role of the Party and its tasks :

“In its struggle against the collective power of the possessing classes, the proletariat can only fight as a class, when it organises its own political party, opposed to all the old parties founded by the owning classes. Such an organisation of the proletariat into a political party is indispensable to ensure the victory of the social revolution and its final goal—the abolition of classes. The union of the workers’ forces already obtained in the economic struggle, must also serve in the hands of this class as a lever in the fight against the political power of its exploiters.”

The fight which the First International carried on during its entire life for *centralisation* leaves no doubt as to the opinion of the International on the question of the *kind of organisation* the Party should have.

In the eyes of the International, the Party was no loosely-bound organisation, but a firm and centralised organisation of the *vanguard*, not only with regard to the *leadership* of the different sections, but also to the other branches of the Labour movement, principally the *trade union movement*. This point of view was also the result of the

revolutionary standpoint of the International. As with all the branches of its activities, the *entire Labour movement* was subordinated to the goal itself, the revolution and the Party as its directing force. The International was not able to solve this problem in practice—just because of the low state of development of the trade unions at that time. In theory, however, the International was the indubitable leader not only of the political movement, but also of the trade union movement. *This revolutionary unity of theory and practice* was the characteristic feature of all the activity of the International and of its standpoints on all questions.

The International of the Future—The Communist International.

The First International could only conclude the fight against one inner enemy: the revelation of petty-bourgeois ideology in the form of anarchism. It fought this fight to a finish at the cost of great sacrifices, at the price of its own dissolution. It left to its heir, the Communist International the fight against the second form of petty bourgeois ideology within the working class, reformism.

Engels' statement on the end of the First International showed that the leaders of the International clearly foresaw this and that they considered it necessary to fight this out to a finish.

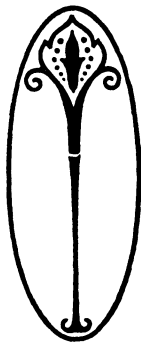
“ . . . The old International is completely finished with and at an end. And that is well—it belonged to the period . . . when the pressure all over Europe prescribed unity and abstention from all inner polemics for the re-awakening Labour movement. It was the moment when the common cosmopolitan interests of the proletariat could come to the fore. In reality, in 1864, the theoretical character of the movement was still very unclear all over Europe, that is, amongst the masses, the first great success had to break asunder the naive collaboration of all factions. This success was the Commune. When through the Commune the International became a moral power in Europe, the dissensions began at once. Each tendency wanted to exploit the success for its own ends. The inevitable decay commenced. The International dominated ten years of European history in one direction—in the direction in which the future lies—and and can look with pride upon its work.

“ But in its old form it had outlived itself. . . . I believe that, when the writings of Marx have been studied for a few years, the next International will be *wholly Communist and will really raise the banner of our principles.*”

The works of Marx had to act for a long time and had to suffer all the falsifications of the Second International before the International was founded which is “ wholly Communist,” and is based upon the principles which, often through conflicts and at times even at the price of compromises, nevertheless were dominant in the First International. This International is the Communist International, the “ wholly Communist ” organisation of the working class built up on the basis of the theory and practice of Marxism and Leninism.

The day of the First International is the day of the Communist International.

Moscow, September 1st, 1924.



On Marx's Letters to Kugelmann : On Marx's Relation to Lenin

IN the epoch of world revolution, we look with different eyes on Marx than did the generation of the Second International. The experience of the last decade teaches us that the "heirs" of Marxism, with the exception of the small left radical group (within which there were also many differences) misinterpreted Marx's precepts and work despite the best intentions to be honest. It may be said without exaggeration that it is only since 1914 that the world proletariat has been given a real insight into the actual revolutionary substance of Marxism and its methods. But there is one exception: during the first wave of world revolution, the Bolshevik Party was established in Czarist Russia in the beginning of the present century. This Party became, under Lenin's leadership the only bearer and vindicator of revolutionary Marxism. Already two decades before the world war the works of Marx and Engels were considered by the Bolsheviks, not as objects of scholastic, but instruments of revolution.

It is from this viewpoint that Lenin's introduction to Marx's letters to Kugelmann was written in 1907.* The *Neue Zeit*, published these letters without creating a deep impression in the ranks of German social democracy. Lenin published the same letters in Russian in 1907 and deduced from them immediately a number of practical lessons for the Russian Party. The three main ideas which he inculcated into the Russian workers with the help of Marx's letters, also related to important contentious questions between Mensheviks and Bolsheviks. Lenin considered that the most practical lesson to be drawn from Marx's letters is—the utilisation of the bourgeois-democratic revolution for the revolution of the proletariat.

Already in 1907, Lenin extracted from Marx's letters the kernel and *the substance of the Bolshevik method*; indivisible unity between theory and practice. He wrote:

* Recently the "Viva" Publishing House, Berlin, published a new edition: "Karl Marx, Letters to Kugelmann," with an introduction by Lenin.

“This is the connection between revolutionary theory and revolutionary policy, a connection without which Marxism becomes Brantanism, Stuvism, Somartism. The Marxian doctrine has welded the theory and practice of the class struggle into an *indivisible whole*. He is no Marxist who, to justify existing conditions, distorts the theory which soberly confirms the objective situation, who goes so far as to adapt himself with the greatest possible speed to any temporary lull in the revolution(!), to throw quickly overboard his ‘revolutionary illusions’ and to set about collecting the ‘realistic’ shreds.”

Is there anyone who, when reading these lines written for the Russian liquidators of 1907, would not be reminded of our German liquidators of yesterday and to-day?

Having expressed himself on the bourgeois-democratic revolution and analysed the rôle of theory, Lenin drew his third conclusion from the Kugelmann letters: the attitude of Marxism toward armed rising. In answer to the stupid class pacifism of the liquidators (they repeatedly say: “the rising is not a ‘technical’ *viz.*, military, but ‘purely’ (!) a political question,” a Menshevik theory which is still the talk at every corner), to this silly talk of the opponents of conscious military preparation for armed rising, Lenin points out Marx’s attitude to the Paris Commune:

“Marx was not imbued with the wisdom of those quill drivers who are afraid to discuss the technique of the higher forms of the revolutionary fight. *It is just the technical questions of the rising which he discusses.* Attack or defence? is the question he raises, just as if it were a question of military operation at the gates of London. He said “One should have marched immediately to Versailles,” which shows that he made provision for the absolute necessity of attack.”

Of course, for Lenin it was not a question of Marx’s concrete tactical scheme, for he was never a believer in the doctrinaire military “offensive theory.” What really matters is—that Marx makes the solution of the military questions, of the proletarian revolution an indispensable part of the class struggle. This precept, which the Social-Democrats betrayed, and which was even lost sight of by the West European Left radicals, led by Rosa Luxemburg,* was

* Rosa Luxemburg’s arguments on the “refinement and growing complication” of the class struggle through the mass strike in “Mass strike, Party and Trade Unions”; also her *purely negative* opposition of the terrorist and “guerilla warfare” tactics of the left wing of the Polish Socialist Party in various articles of the Polish periodical *Prazegled*.

re-awakened by Lenin with the aid of Kugelmann's letters. He gave thereby a classical example of the Leninist application of Marxism. Lenin never looked upon the precepts of Marx as on a subject of study, but always as a guidance of revolutionary practice.

II.

Let us now consider the letters themselves. The wealth of material they contain is obvious at a glance. They throw light on the three main pillars of the Marxian system.

In the letter of March 6th, 1868, Marx dealt with the philosophical side of his method. In a close controversy with the well-known people's philosopher, Duhring gave one of his famous formulations of materialistic dialectics. Especially to-day when the Lukacz group and others, even in the ranks of our Party, wish to obliterate the division line between Marx and Hegel, the following Marxian declaration becomes of paramount importance: "My method of development is *not* that of Hegel, as I am a materialist while Hegel is an idealist. Hegel's dialectics are the primary form of all dialectics, but *only after they have been stripped of their mystical form*. This is precisely what distinguishes my method from his.*

On the field of Marxian economics the letter on the application of the law of value is a valuable contribution. Marx disapproved with biting precision the assertion of the popular economists that the theory of value in "Capital" is erroneous "because objects in reality appear different. The laws on which the blindly active reality of capitalist production are based, are of real importance and not the fact that the actual exchange conditions cannot be strictly identical with values. This Marxian viewpoint provides, also, no doubt, methodically, also material on the question of "scientific abstraction," and on the assumption of "pure capitalism" in general, which will play an important role in the new discussion on accumulation which is just beginning. Marx's close application of seemingly remote economic problems to the everyday class struggle, which Lenin also especially emphasised, is of considerable interest. The popular economic "Critique" of the law of value is nothing but the "absolute interest of the ruling classes to perpetuate thoughtless confusion."

The most space and the greatest importance are devoted to the letters which deal with the revolutionary policy of the proletariat.

Marx, as a revolutionary class politician, is known far

* From here onwards the italics are ours.

too little to the wider circles of contemporary Marxists even within our ranks. This is the only explanation for the fact that in our Party recognised theorists, disciples of the old Spartacusbund, who are fairly well acquainted with Marxian philosophy and economics, could calmly commit one mistake after another, culminating in the farce in Saxony. They do know, of course, what historic materialism is, but they cannot handle properly the method of materialist dialectics. In this respect they are not Marxists. For revolutionary practice, to which Marx attached the greatest importance, is an essential part of Marxism without which it would cease to exist.

The old social democracy consciously prevented the real Marxist education of the Party members. Gunow and Kautsky placed before the workers a more or less vulgarised scheme of Marxian economics and philosophy, but they killed the method of Marxian class politics in the interests of reformist practice. Hence we see that the growing generation of Marxists, have some knowledge of "Capital" and Marx's most important works on economics, of the "Thesis on Feuerbach" and the anti-Dühring, and at best, of small historical works, but the most important documents of Marxian politics are only known to a small circle of "experts." Such documents are the letters of Marx and Engels. They contain invaluable material for all Communist Parties. It is only from them that the working masses can learn that Marx and Engels were never armchair philosophers as represented during the epoch of Social-Democratic "Marxism." Almost on every page of the voluminous correspondence of the founders of Marxism, they showed themselves not only as world politicians on a large scale, but also as active revolutionary everyday politicians who devoted a maximum of attention to all tactical, organisational and personal political questions and to the entire everyday work of revolutionary organisation.

In perusing German Marxian literature, we very seldom find an allusion to the practical policy of Marx and Engels as expressed in their letters. If, on the other hand, we compare with this the 20 volumes of Lenin's works, we find the political letters of Marx pulsating in almost everyone of them. Lenin never omitted to "quote" Marx's attitude to definite concrete questions, and to draw from them lessons for definite political tasks, if in their concrete *form*, these tasks had a different appearance from half a century ago.

The letters of Kugelmann are among the most concentrated, uniform and comprehensive portions of the Marxian

correspondence. Lenin was able to make extensive practical use of them in the Russian workers' movement, we are of opinion also that for the most important questions of the Comintern and of the German Communist Party in its present condition, these letters contain valuable hints. The Bolshevisation of the Party, made incumbent on us by the decision of the Fifth World Congress of the Comintern, demands among many other things, the revival and systematic study of the Marxian correspondence. Let us study the Kugelmann letters from this viewpoint.

The letters extend over the long period from 1862-1874. From a historic-political viewpoint, this period was extremely important, especially for the Labour government. It is sufficient to recall a few dates. In 1864 the First International was founded. In 1866—outbreak of the Austro-Italian War. In 1867 *Capital* was published. In 1870—the Franco-German War. In 1871—the Paris Commune. In 1872—the Hague Congress in which the destruction of the First International by the Bakuninists was practically achieved. The historical Labour movement had much in common with the position of the Russian Labour movement after 1906, and especially also with the present world situation. The first wave of the international revolution of 1848 had been suppressed and reaction had triumphed. But in 1866 a new political orientation set in. The dead calm of the period of reaction began to lift, and in most countries the first signs of another revolutionary wave made their appearance. While Bismarck was preparing the bourgeois "revolution from above," the revolutionary parties of the proletariat began to stir again in Great Britain, France, and also in Germany. Since the foundation of the First International, in the decade preceding the Paris Commune, the proletarian revolution severed connection with the bankrupt and treacherous "revolutionary" democracy of 1848. The steady development of capitalist industry conglomerated for the first time considerable numbers of workers not only in Great Britain, but also on the Continent. This more advanced situation demanded a change in the tactics adopted hitherto by the proletariat. The crisis arising all over the capitalist world were a sign that we were at a parting of the ways with the past and that new fighting methods had to be devised.

On this historical background, Marx worked out his political directions, as laid down tersely and decisively in the Kugelmann letters.

Marx considered conscious conduct of the class struggle:

by the revolutionary party the main pivot of proletarian revolution. He was a strong opponent of all mechanical "collapse theories," and of the consequent childish belief in the "spontaneity of the masses." Knowledge of our objective material conditions on the basis of which our policy is built up and which is only the *pre-requisite* of our strategy, is not enough to lead revolution to victory. It is not analysis of the objective situation which is decisive, but conscious intervention of the subjective factor: the leading party. The task of the latter does not consist only in right appreciation of the general trend of development, but rather in its acceleration. The task of the Party is—to make the best possible tactical use of every constellation, to seize consciously all opportunities "accidentally" provided by history, to make a well-considered use of all "accidentally" weak points of the enemy class. In a word, the task of the Party is the **acceleration** of the revolution by conscious leadership and application of all tactical "manœuvres from the viewpoint of uniform revolutionary class strategy." "It would be, of course, very convenient to make world history," wrote Marx in his letter of April 17th, 1871, "if the fight were not to be entered upon unless victory were assured. On the other hand world history would be of a very mystic nature if there were no room for 'chance.' This chance itself becomes naturally part of the general trend of development and is compensated by other forms of chance. But acceleration and retardation depend on such 'accidentals' which also include the 'chance' character of people who are at the head of the movement in the beginning."

These sentences contain already the embryo of the Leninist precept of the role of the Party. The methods of Bolshevism, the utilisation of every kind of "chance," (as in October, 1917) including Lenin's demand to every member of the Party, to everyone of the "people" who in the beginning were at the head of the movement, were only the continued development of the political precepts of Karl Marx.

In the same letter on the Paris Commune Marx gave an example of the application of his conception of the role of the Party. Kugelmann had evidently condemned the Commune's entry into the fight as a "hopeless" and "romantic" undertaking, just as the Russian Mensheviks rejected the revolution of 1905, and as our opportunists—to compare the great with the small—defended the October retreat of 1923 which was carried out without putting up a fight. Marx did not consider the question of struggle from the opportunist viewpoint of the movement, but within the framework

of revolutionary strategy and as a whole. *To him momentary losses were less important than the winning of a strategical point for the coming struggles through these losses.* He took all the factors into account in his reply to the liquidators :

“ But this was also known to the Versailles bourgeois canaille. On that account they placed the Parisians before the alternative either to take up the fight or to succumb *without a fight*. In the latter case the *demoralisation* of the working class would have been a *much greater misfortune* than the loss of any number of “ leaders.” *Through the Paris fight, the fight of the working class with the capitalist class and its State has entered upon a new phase.* Whatever the direct results may be a *new strategical position* of world historic importance has been won.”

Marx occupied himself not only with general questions of proletarian class policy, but also with *organisational* measures for their application, and especially with the military questions of armed rising. This was nothing but the logical application of his method of class struggle. We mentioned already that Lenin considered this correct and positive appreciation of revolutionary “ technique ” of the greatest importance. Marx criticised very minutely the military prospects and mistakes of the Commune. He blamed its leaders for taking up the defence instead of marching on Versailles and defeating the already retreating enemy by a bold attack. He blamed the military central committee of the national guards for relinquishing its powers too soon to the civil administration.

The parallel between Marx's attitude during the war of 1870 and Lenin's attitude during the world war of 1914, is almost staggering. For Marx, the leader of the First International, intensive fight against the capitalist war was a matter of course. However, he did not by any means rest content with such a negative attitude, but examined at once all political and military possibilities, in order, like Lenin in the world war, to study the possibility of *transforming the imperialist war into civil war*. Sacrificing all pacifist dogmas “ against all wars ” which we still meet even in the Junius pamphlet, Marx laid special stress on revolutionary exploitation of the war of exploitation. “ Whatever the issue of the war, it has been a military training for the French proletariat, and this is the best guarantee of the future.

It is significant that here the French *proletariat* is ex-

pressly mentioned, and not the democratic-revolutionary role of the French bourgeoisie towards the German junkerdom.

While Marx took up from the first an irreproachable internationalist attitude towards the capitalist war of exploitation, he, on the other hand, abstained from all Nihilism towards revolutionary national movements. In his works he frequently urged that support be given to Polish, Irish and other fighters for liberty. In his polemics against Rosa Luxemburg* Lenin referred again and again to Marx's attitude to the national question. Rosa Luxemburg had accused Lenin of a "relapse into utopian Socialism," of an "un-Marxian" treatment of the national question.† Some "ultra-left" Party comrades still make use of this assertion, referring to Rosa Luxemburg for the purpose of criticising the attitude of the Comintern on the national question. A section of them asserts point blank that Lenin's position has nothing in common with Marxism; another section does not go so far, but says that Marx supported the revolutionary democratic movements of the bourgeoisie against the expiring feudalism, while Lenin transferred this strategy "mechanically" and without any justification to the epoch of advanced capitalism and imperialism.

Marx's letter to Kugelmann of November 29th, 1869, disproves this theory in a very drastic manner in as far as it does not deal with the fight of the Poles or of any other East European nationality against national Czarism, but solely with the revolt of "backward" Ireland against Great Britain, the then metropolis of world capitalism. Marx provided a positively classical justification for Lenin's attitude to the national question, as shown in the following sentences:

"I have become more and more convinced—and it is only a question of hammering this conviction into the heads of the *British working class*—that they will never be able to do anything decisive here in Great Britain, unless and until they definitely dissociate themselves from the policy of the ruling class towards Ireland, unless and until *they not only make common cause with the Irish, but even take the initiative in the dissolution of the union established in 1808 and in the substitution of free federal relations.* This demand must not be brought forward as a manifestation of sympathy with

* See Lenin, "On National Self-Determination," published originally in the periodical *Prosvyestchylene*, April, June, 1914, especially chapter 8: "The Utopian Karl Marx, and the practical Rosa Luxemburg." (Collected works, Vol. XIX., p. 97).

† Compare Rosa Luxemburg's "The National Question and Autonomy," in the Polish periodical *Nowy Przegląd*.

Ireland, but as a demand *vital to the interests of the British proletariat*. If this is done, the British people will remain in the leading strings of the ruling classes because they will have to make a common fight with them against Ireland. Every people's movement in England itself will be paralysed by disunion with the Irish who in England itself constitute a considerable section of the working class. And the present relations with Ireland are not only paralysing the internal social development of Great Britain, but also its foreign policy, especially with relation to Russia and the U.S.A. And as the British working class is certainly the most decisive factor in the question of social emancipation, *it is here that the lever must be applied.*"

Six months later, on the occasion of the discussion on the resolution of the General Council of the International Workers' Association, Marx wrote even more emphatically :

"If Great Britain is the bulwark of European landlordism and capitalism, the *only* vulnerable point of official Great Britain is—Ireland, and this is where the blow must be dealt."

Substitute the colonies for Ireland, and Marx's analysis fits the present world situation almost at every point. His method of dealing with the national question is precisely the same as Lenin's. With complete disregard of all doctrinaire and petty-bourgeois sentimental points of view, Marx based his national policy on the interest of revolutionary strategy, on the "initiative" of the proletariat in the capitalist countries. To him, as to Lenin, national movements are not aims in themselves, but only a lever in the proletarian revolution. Even this "mechanical expression" which, in connection with Lenin so frequently horrified all opportunists and spontaneity preachers, is also to be found in Marx.

To be able to carry out strategical manœuvres, it is absolutely necessary to form and train the manœuvring troops with great care. The training and preparation of the Bolshevik vanguard occupied first place in Lenin's life work. Naturally in Marx's lifetime the Party could not possibly play such a role. But the beginnings of specific Bolshevik Party leadership existed already in Marx, especially in his work as leader of the International Workers' Association. In the supplement to his letter of March 28th, 1870, he dealt in great detail with the Bakuninists. In the fight against their "ultra-radical" phrases, he seizes upon all facts which expose the opportunistic petty-bourgeois character of the anarchist opposition. He proved Bakunin's inner connection with

reactionary Pan-Slavism, he censured the petty-bourgeois demands of his extremist programme, such as "equality of classes" and "abolition of inheritance rights as a beginning of the social revolution," etc. Like Lenin in "Infantile Diseases of Communism," he showed that the "radical principles" of these "founders of sects," that their "thoughtless babble—a collection of meaningless ideas which pretend to be awe-inspiring," were only reflecting the influence of non-class elements on the ranks of the revolutionary party.

It was Lenin himself who was most emphatic in proclaiming his direct descent from his work on State theory. Through "State and Revolution," the letter to Kugelmann on the State machine became the common property of the revolutionary labour movement. On April 12th, 1871, when the Paris Commune fight was still proceeding, Marx wrote :

"If you look through the last chapter of my "Eighteenth Brumaire," you will find that I advocate, as the next attempt of French Revolution not to transfer as heretofore the bureaucratic-military machinery from one hand to the other, but to *smash it*. For this is the pre-requisite of every real peoples' revolution on the Continent. Such is also the nature of the attempt of our heroic Paris Party comrades."

Just as the Russian Revolution of 1905 was the direct successor of the Paris Commune, Lenin's State theory is in direct connection with this decisive phase of Marxism.

IV.

We have picked out only a few examples to show that Marx and Lenin have the same method of answering the most important questions of the revolution. The Kugelmann letters did not serve us as an object for investigation, because for outward or accidental reasons, they present very striking "parallels," but for a very different reason. Within the two historic epochs, which separate Marx and Lenin, there was a period of Marxist creation which approximates very closely to the historical periphery of Leninism, not only because of its general historical foundations, but also because of its concrete material and political aspect. This was the decade from 1864 to 1874 during which the Kugelmann letters were written. This period contains most of the links and the most important connecting points between Marxism and Leninism. After the Franco-German war, European capitalism developed with enormous rapidity, also on the Continent. The first signs of the approaching era of imperialism made their appearance. Militarism, protective

tariffs, the beginnings of the development of finance capitalism came into being and grew and developed in the most important countries. For the first time the Labour movement established strong Marxist parties and united in the International proletarian revolution as a Socialist mass movement appeared in bold outline on the horizon. It is clear that this period gave already rise to questions closely connected with the coming epoch of fully developed imperialism. Marx and Engels applied their materialist method to this advanced historical phase. Thereby they altered some of the results obtained by them from the analysis of the early days of capitalist development. Symptomatic of this progress was the treatment of the national question the main point of which was no more support of bourgeois-democratic rebellions against feudalism, but direct exploitation of national risings against the capitalist bourgeoisie through the proletariat. Another important example of this change was Marx's and Engels' changed opinion as to the role of Russia. In their correspondence they revealed step by step the ripening of revolutionary opportunities in the country of Czarism. From the budding industrialisation of Russia after the Crimean War and the abolition of serfdom, they made deductions for their East European policy. For instance, for the treatment of the Polish question and for the general outlook of European revolution. It is at this juncture that Engels elaborated his precept of *union between the proletariat and the peasantry*, which Lenin has made so famous.

From the historical viewpoint, the phase preceding and succeeding the Franco-German war and the Paris Commune can be considered as *the transition period from Marxism to Leninism*. This, of course, does not say much. To understand these two fields of materialist dialectics, it is not enough to recognise the attributes common to both, and to find out when one emerged from the other. To get a clear conception of the substance of Leninism, it is necessary to ascertain and define its special attributes, that which distinguishes it from Marx and Engels and that which *takes its beyond* the founders of scientific Socialism.

Thus, a dialectic establishment of Leninism has the twofold task of defining its *methodic* connection with the Marxism of Marx and Engels, and its *historic* peculiarities in the application of this method to a definite historical phase.

V.

The Kugelmann letters are of the greatest importance not merely because they contain the material results of Marxian theory and tactics. Their enormous importance for a

correct analysis of Leninism consists rather in the fact that the historic-dialectic approximation of these material tasks and solutions of Leninism show clearer and more forcibly than anything else that Marx and Lenin arrived at their results by the same means.

Between the analysis of the Paris Commune by Marx and the analysis of the revolution of 1905 by Lenin, there are no methodical contradictions whatever. The difference consists only in the concrete results of this analysis, and in the form of its political consequences. *To oppose Leninism to Marxism and treat them as two separate systems differing in their methods, is erroneous, petty-bourgeois, and opportunistic.*

We witness to-day attempts to put the teachings of Lenin in opposition to those of Marx. These attempts take various forms. Stalin refutes a number of such attempts in his essays on the "foundations of Leninism"—the finest and deepest analysis of Leninism hitherto attempted.

It has been asserted that Leninism is a specifically Russian, Asiatic Marxism, differing from "the general" Marxism of Marx and Engels. This conception forms also the basis of Rosa Luxemburg's "Criticism of the Russian Revolution." Kautsky and all Mensheviks preach counter-revolution since 1917. Lenin himself has so well defined the foundation of the imperialist epoch as the age of capitalist world economy, and the foundation of the fight for proletarian dictatorship as the epoch of proletarian world revolution, that there is no necessity whatever to discuss the matter with the followers of this conception. Whosoever in our own ranks defines to-day the "peculiarities of Russian conditions" as the substance of Leninism, attacks the foundation of the Communist International and thereby the foundation of our Party.

Another group of opportunists assert that Leninism is merely the "revival" of the "early revolutionary period" of Marx and Engels. This viewpoint too is represented by all opportunists as well as by some (right) Communists. Its origin is due to the old as well as infamous social democratic lie that in connection with the creative activities of Marx and Engels one has to distinguish between a "revolutionary storm and stress period" in the phase round about 1848, and a "scientific period of maturity" in later years. The "youth period" produced the principles of the Communist Manifesto, which must be shaken off, and the "mature period" produced the opportunist and counter-revolutionary practices of the Second International. To explain Leninism

as "the re-birth of the revolutionary elements of the Marxism of the forties of the 19th century," is tantamount to accepting the legend of the opportunists, to declaring the Marxism of 1848 unrevolutionary, and to opposing it to Leninism as an alien element.

The most dangerous and widespread opportunist explanation of Leninism can be formulated thus: Marxism is theory of Leninism, and Leninism is the application of this theory in practice. Although this "explanation" is not always forcibly brought forward, it has numerous adherents in our ranks. For instance, the watchword "From science to action" has been brought forward as an anti-thesis to Engels' formulation of the Socialist trend of development from Utopia to science. This interpretation is in the nature of a silent implication that the Marxism of Marx and Engels is only a "science" in the school sense of the word, and not "the real thing." There is nothing so erroneous, so misleading and so harmful politically as to differentiate between Marxism and Leninism by contrasting theory and practice. Such underestimation is harmful not only because it reduces Marx to the rank of professor and Lenin to the ranks of corporal, but because it destroys that which they have in common, the pith of their dialectic method: the indivisible unity of theory and practice.

There was never a moment in the development of Marxism—from the "Union of Communists" to the International Workers' Association—when Marxism was only a matter of theory. The Kugelmann letters are the clearest proof of the enormous significance of practice, of energetic action in Marxian methods. Neither can one imagine Leninism, or even one of its phases, separated from its theoretical elements. Lenin himself attached great importance to the *theory* of Bolshevism. Lenin was as much an economist and a philosopher as Marx was a strategist and politician. He wrote in "What is to be Done?" the programme book of Bolshevism, "without revolutionary theory there can be no revolutionary movement," and the role of pioneer can only be carried out by a party which is guided by a pioneer theory. Stalin says in the "Foundations of Leninism";

"There is the experience of the Labour movement of all countries in its general form. Theory becomes meaningless if separated from revolutionary tactics, just as tactics grow blind if the light of revolutionary theory does not illuminate their path. But theory becomes the greatest force of the Labour movement when it associates itself with revolutionary practice, *for it alone can*

give to the movement security, strength, to find its bearings and comprehension of the inner connection of current events. For it, and it alone can help practice not only to understand how and where the masses are moving to-day, but also *how and in what direction they must move in the immediate future.*"

On the other hand theory in Marxist dialectics always means "practical critical activity." Lenin said that "revolutionary theory reaches its final development only in connection with the practice of a real mass movement and of a real revolutionary movement." In his pamphlet on the people's friends, he says: "Theory must answer the questions brought up by practice." It must be continuously tested on the strength of the results of this practice.

This connection of dialectic unity of theory and practice, which in the philosophy of materialist dialectics corresponds with the connection between being and thinking, between the object and subject of history, constitutes the substance of the dialectic method. It is the common point of departure and the common characteristic which connects Leninism with Marxism. Marx's letters to Kugelmann contain some threads of this methodical unity.

VI.

The question has yet to be answered: what is there new and special in Leninism; what are the causes which make the same materialistic-dialectic method produce when applied other results, other material conclusions in Leninism than in the hands of Marx and Engels?

Only by answering this question and not otherwise, is it possible to define finally and unequivocally *the position of Leninism in the proletarian class struggle*. There is yet another reason which makes such a clear definition a practical necessity. There is already—only a few months after Lenin's death—a whole crowd of interpreters of Leninism, whose objective activities consist in confusing and diluting Lenin's clear precepts. One of these interpreters, August Thalheimer, seeks, for instance (in No. 2 of the periodical *Arbeiter Literatur*) to analyse through Lenin the special features of the application of Marxist methods. After an emphatic declaration that the methods applied by Lenin are the materialist dialectics "taken over from Marx," he says:

"Two things distinguish (!) Lenin: firstly, his application, especially to questions of revolutionary strategy and tactics, that is, his correct and successful application."

In connection with this application of dialectics to questions of revolutionary strategy and tactics, Thalheimer forgets that Kautsky has reduced them to a mere means of historical explanation, and proceeds to define as follows what he considers to be the second distinguishing feature of Leninism :

“ Secondly, Lenin is distinguished from all his contemporaries by the swiftness, exactness and instinctive, almost automatic certainty, boldness, and at the same time, caution with which he applied them. This must be studied with the help of the available material, *especially* when applying through Lenin the materialistic dialectic method to questions of the proletarian revolution.”

Such are, according to Thalheimer, the characteristics of Leninism. This means, that Lenin's method does not represent historical progress as compared with Marx, but that the distinguishing features between them consists (1) in the application of dialectic methods, “ especially ” (!) to questions of revolutionary strategy and tactics, and (2) in Lenin's quickness, exactitude, boldness, caution, etc. This brings us to the logical conclusion that Marx did not apply his method to the question of revolutionary strategy and tactics, that his Marxism was first and foremost pure “ theory.” It was only Lenin who put it into practice. Thus, Thalheimer's sensational discovery amounts, in its first part, to nothing more than a slightly improved comparison of Marx and Lenin as the representatives of “ theory ” and “ practice ” respectively. This is merely a resurrection of Bernstein's banal division of Marxism into “ theory ” and “ practice.”

But better still is Thalheimer's second discovery ; Leninist manipulation of the dialectic method is not determined historically and materialistically, but is attributed, after the model of bourgeois historians, to the qualities of great individuality—to subjective causes. That which “ distinguishes ” Leninism—in addition to its concern with practice—Lenin's certainty and boldness tempered with caution. Thalheimer is evidently more in sympathy with the caution than with the boldness. From these two commonplaces, Thalheimer attempts to get into the depths of Leninism, arriving with evident satisfaction to the peculiar conclusion that the “ Russian form of Soviet dictatorship ” is not a general type, but :

“ Already in the term dictatorship of workers' and peasants' councils as a new State *type* is contained by the possibility of a number of *varieties and forms* of this type.”

To arrive at this result, Thalheimer with philosophic zeal, extracts a large number of quotations, especially from 1918 and 1919 and cuts up the uniform structure of Leninism into a number of separate pieces. In connection with everyone of these pieces, he proves that Lenin did not apply the dialectic method to the *predestination* and revolutionary *acceleration* of the necessary historic development on the basis of material reality, but that, as an ordinary empiric, he did not look any further than the horizon of the then given situation. This is what he makes of Lenin's "caution." He makes of Lenin a banal "Realpolitiker" on the model of the German opportunists. This method of dismemberment pre-supposes a great amount of superficiality. In order to prove as an example, that Lenin looked upon the Soviet Power as a "special Russian form" of proletarian dictatorship, he passes over in silence the pith of the Leninist Soviet theory. He does not see in the Soviet Power the *only* form of combination of executive and legislative power, the supreme form of State administration through the masses themselves, the union between the proletariat and the peasantry, the instrument for independent activity of the masses, the elements of the decay of the class State—he sees only the longed-for possibility of "other forms." He also passes over in silence, in spite of the numerous quotations, what Lenin said in his "Thesis on the Legislative Assembly" as far back as 1917:

"The Republic of the Soviets of Workers', Soldiers' and Peasants' Deputies, is not only the form of a higher type of democratic institution, but also the *only form which can ensure the smoothest possible transition to Socialism.*"

This is how popular Marxists already water down and vulgarise Leninism with true vulgar levity. The reason for dealing so fully with this first example is—that Thalheimer has already elaborated a definite method which promises to become the general method of all future Lenin epigones. This method consists in the dismemberment, in the pseudo-"historic" cutting up of Leninism, in representing Lenin as a "cautious Realpolitiker" on the model of the opportunist commonplace members of the right wing of the German Communist Party.

The theory of "variations" of the Soviet type gives us at the same time the key to the political origin of the method of Lenin interpretation. By varieties and variations of Soviet Power, Thalheimer, evidently understands also the Saxon forms of workers' government. It is left to him to go

even a step further than the opportunists. Unlike the latter, he does not only reduce Leninism to "specifically Russian" but even to "specifically Saxon" conditions. Here he beats the record.

No one expects from our Social-Democratic enemies an orthodox representation of Leninism. The dangers threatening Leninism come from the opportunists in our own camp. The first example of this is—the vulgarisation method of Thalheimer and his friends who are at work not only in Germany but also in the opposition in the Russian Party. It behoves us to fight energetically against these first representatives of vulgarised Leninism, against the germs of their watering-down system, in the name of the purity of our theory, and the firmness of our action.

All the hitherto known misinterpretations of Leninism are based on the endeavour to make it by means of boundary posts into a Marxist partial territory, into a "special subject." The colours of these boundary posts vary. They appear as "Russian conditions" against Western Europe, as the young days of Marxism against old age, as (blind) practice against (empty) theory.

This is not the way to discover what is new and special in Leninism. The only way which leads to it is the method of historic materialism itself. Leninism is not some fraction of Marxism, but *Marxism as a whole applied to the conditions of a more developed historical epoch and to all phenomena and fields of this epoch.* Leninism is not the early, the practical, the Russian or Saxon Marxism, but *Marxism in the period of imperialism and of the proletarian revolution.* By applying the dialectic-materialist method in its universal unity to this epoch as a whole, Lenin developed and made more concrete (according to Stalin's definition) "the theory *and* the tactics of the proletarian revolution in general, and the theory *and* tactics of proletarian dictatorship in particular."

Lenin has method in common with Marx. His speciality is the concrete historic material to which he applies this method. But the new and creative in Leninism is the further development, the shaping, the enrichment and the concretisation which the *method itself* has to undergo under the influence of the changed material. On the strength of the laws of materialist dialectics, the changed and extended historical material to which the method is applied produces corresponding progress also in the method itself. This progress is not the destruction and interruption, but the realisation

and development of unity and harmony of the dialectic method in Marx and Lenin.

It is clear that the dialectic method in its development, when applied to a different subject, produces utterly different results where Lenin is concerned than where Marx is concerned.

For instance, Marx could lay only the first foundation stones for the leading and determining *role of the revolutionary party* in the proletarian revolution. His letter to Kugelmann on the significance of the subjective factor in the Paris Commune represents only the first steps in that direction. With Lenin the Party of the proletarian vanguard becomes the pivot of the entire system of his theory and tactics of proletarian revolution.

With the French revolution of the 19th century as a guide, Marx could only establish the general principles of *armed rising*. Lenin, by giving them a concrete form, made them an all-embracing precept, a well-trying practice, a systematic organisation of armed rising, in their fight for the establishment of proletarian State power.

Marx saw in the Franco-German war only possibilities for strengthening the power of the proletariat and for weakening the bourgeoisie. Lenin actually transformed the imperialist war of 1914 into civil war, and in one country into seizure of power by the proletariat.

The Communist attitude to the *national liberation movements* assumed another form and a higher significance in the epoch of expiring capitalism than during the decades of flourishing capitalism when Marx turned his attention to the Polish and Irish question.

The *State theory*, as formulated by Marx in his Kugelmann letter of April 12th, 1871, contains first of all only the theory of the *capitalist State* and of the war of destruction which the Paris bearers of the first wave of proletarian revolution had to conduct against its apparatus. The Paris Commune did not provide enough material for the elaboration of a theory of *proletarian State* beyond the principles and main lines of proletarian dictatorship. Lenin developed his State theories during the lengthy process of the fight for the seizure of proletarian State power in the epoch of imperialism and proletarian revolution. If the Kugelmann letters are the best example of methodical unity among the works of

Marx, and at the same time, of the historical peculiarities of Marx and Lenin, "State and Revolution" is the counterpart of these letters in the works of Lenin. In his State theory, Lenin was guided step by step by the method and results of Marx and Engels, but developed out of them, in the face of historical reality, his own State doctrine. To the establishment of proletarian dictatorship, to the necessity to smash the bureaucratic-military apparatus of the bourgeois State, Lenin added the characteristic features of Soviet power the germs of which existed already in the Paris Commune, but which could only become a reality through the fight and victory of the first wave of proletarian world revolution, in the shape of the Russian October Revolution.

VII.

To understand and apply Leninism the mere acquirement of the dialectic method is not enough. One must be able to trace the most important roots of Leninism in the works of Marx and Engels. From this viewpoint, it becomes an essential task to make a renewed and thorough study of the works, letters and political activity of Marx and Engels. There is no direct transition from the Second International to Lenin: *the way to Lenin leads through Marx*. Without the key of the dialectic method and the results achieved by Marx, with this method, the door to Leninism remains closed.

The theory and consequently the tactics of proletarian revolution have no solid foundation without a clear and correct definition of the role and position of Leninism with relation to the work of Marx and Engels and to its own historic peculiarities.

There can be no Bolshevik Party without a fight against the first attempts and the most insignificant germs of a misinterpretation of Leninism.

Just as Leninism without Marxism is unthinkable, a Marxist Party apart from and beyond Leninism is unthinkable in the present epoch. A fighting intolerant, orthodox Leninism must become the basis of the Communist Party.

Correct analysis of the relation between Marx and Engels is the pre-requisite of the development of Leninist theory and tactics. Such analysis provides a foundation for the development of the application of the Leninist method far beyond the death of its creators. Such analysis is an essential part of the Bolshevisation of the Party.

Anti-Imperialist Struggle in India

SLOWLY, but surely British domination in India is being undermined. It is true that this historic process is not so speedy as many expected or even prophesied. Nevertheless, the process is going on unceasingly. The depression that followed the sudden collapse of the great Non-co-operation Movement lasted rather long, only to be enlivened, not by an intensified revolutionary activity, but by a concerted effort on the part of the bourgeoisie to challenge the absolute position of Imperialism, on constitutional lines. The development of this new stage has been the outstanding feature of the Indian nationalist struggle during the last twelve months. It has culminated in a political deadlock which has not only nonplussed the nationalist bourgeoisie, but has also placed the British Government in a somewhat uncomfortable position. Some decisive action must be taken from one side or the other to break this deadlock. For the nationalists, it is necessary either to compromise with Imperialism or to go a few steps further towards revolution. Imperialism, on the other hand, is faced with the alternatives: to placate the nationalist bourgeoisie with concessions or to adopt openly the policy of blood and iron. It is likely that the initiative will come from the imperialist side, which to-day does not dare take the latter course lest the seething volcano of popular discontent erupt, and even the timid bourgeoisie will be driven to revolution. A sense of practical politics counsels moderation, if not in word (for the sake of prestige) at least in practice. A slight gesture of generosity will be welcomed by the nationalist bourgeoisie, who will find therein a way out of this deadlock created by themselves. Some administrative reforms, not in the least jeopardising the British supremacy in matters essential, coupled with measures calculated to remove some of the restrictions on the development of native capitalism, will solve the situation. And this is precisely the solution things in India are heading towards.

Should this temporary solution be looked upon with pessimism? Certainly not; because it is but a stage in the process of undermining Imperialism. Historic reasons pre-

vent the Indian bourgeoisie from launching upon a revolutionary path; but at the same time, their very existence is an objective menace to Imperialism. In every compromise made the former win, however beggarly the compromise may be, and the latter gives up a little of its ground. Therefore, a compromise made does not end the antagonism, but simply prepares the ground for another one eventually. One concession is inevitably followed by the demand for another concession. This is certainly a very long and tedious process, and the historic necessity of a National Revolution cannot be circumvented within the narrow limits of this contemptible barter. But the Indian bourgeoisie, as they are situated, do not want to strike a short cut. They are not bold enough to throw down the final challenge and unfurl the flag of revolution.

The Indian bourgeoisie are conspicuous for confusion of political thought and timidity of action. The former is expressed through the intellectual poverty of the nationalist movement and the failure to formulate a comprehensive programme of Nationalism; while the latter causes such a surprising phenomenon as the absence of any faction within the nationalist camp which openly stands for a complete break with the imperial connection. The reason for this confusion of thought and timidity of action is to be sought in the history of the last two hundred years.

Timidity of action is caused by ideological confusion. Objectively, the Indian bourgeoisie are a revolutionary factor; but they are totally unconscious of this revolutionary role of theirs, and what is worse still, they are remarkably inclined towards counter-revolution, or rather, reaction. They desire a politico-economic reconstruction of the country, without disturbing the social *status quo*. This strongly reactionary social character of the Indian bourgeoisie makes them timid in political action, because it does not allow them to countenance any revolutionary upheaval of the masses. They not only fail to undertake the historic role of the bourgeoisie, to lead the serf in the revolutionary fight against feudalism, but, on the contrary, are defenders of the modern forms of the latter that prevail in India. The landed aristocracy—both the scions of the old feudal class as well as that created by British Imperialism in its earlier days—is one of the pillars that supports British rule. By failing to deal a mortal blow to this pillar, the nationalist bourgeoisie separate themselves from the social foundation of a revolutionary movement. This being the case, they find themselves hopelessly

weak when at close grips with the forces of Imperialism. Hence their timidity of action, typified by the absurd programme of ousting British domination by constitutional warfare, and the conspicuous failure of the vanguard of a subject nation to put forth the demand for complete independence.

The struggle of a subject people to free itself from the yoke of foreign domination, however, is not based solely upon the antagonism between the interests of the native bourgeoisie and Imperialism. The objective necessity for the progress of the entire people is the fundamental factor that gives occasion to this struggle. Any social class, that happens at the given period to stand at the vanguard of the entire people, and which gives expression to this objective necessity, automatically becomes the leader of the struggle. Under normal circumstances, therefore, the bourgeoisie should be the leader of the anti-imperialist struggle in India. Up till now, they have been the leaders; but experience has proved their failure to give an account of themselves. They have failed to rise to the situation. Consequently a movement fraught with immense objective revolutionary possibilities, has not developed speedily enough, and Imperialism still appears to prosper, while sitting on the summit of a seething volcano.

To determine the strength or weakness of the Indian nationalist struggle by the action of the bourgeoisie, therefore, would be misleading. The present position of the nationalist bourgeoisie does not indicate the correct revolutionary perspectives in India. On the other hand, it would be equally mistaken to persist in the notion that the bourgeoisie is the standard-bearer of revolution. This notion has its origin in the fact that, at a certain period of history, the bourgeoisie plays a revolutionary role; since it has been so in those countries, which to-day stand at the van of human progress, it is bound to be so in the rest of the world. A particular inter-relation of social forces rendered the bourgeoisie revolutionary in certain countries at a certain epoch of history. It would be a mechanical reading of history to assert that an identical juxtaposition of social forces will occur in every other country. In fact, here in India the social forces are somewhat differently related, and this difference has made itself felt upon the political thoughts and movement of the country.

Nor is India a solitary instance. Russia in broad outlines belonged to the same category. The revolutionary sig-

nificance of her bourgeoisie was not very considerable. It was left for the proletariat to carry through the bourgeois revolution—to lead the peasantry in the final struggle against the landed aristocracy. If it was so in Russia, it is likely to be more so in India, where the bourgeoisie is even more backward than their Russian confreres. The Indian bourgeoisie is even innocent of the radicalism which prevailed among the intellectual wing of the Russian bourgeoisie, in the latter decades of the nineteenth century. All the reactionary cults, which find expression in Gandhism, are more hostile to revolutionary ideas than was the Pan-Slavism of the Russian intellectuals. The Indian bourgeoisie are closely bound up with landlordism, and the majority of the intellectuals are generally conservative in their social outlook.

This being the case, if we accept the action of the bourgeoisie as the only indicator of revolutionary perspectives in India, there rises before us a rather discouraging vision. It is notorious how the Gandhite leadership got frightened at the revolutionary sweep of the movement it pretended to lead. This fright, coupled with an innate anti-revolutionary conviction, induced the petty bourgeoisie to set their face against the great mass movement which threatened the security of the Empire. They systematically sabotaged the movement, and finally succeeded in throwing it into hopeless confusion.

The next stage was the passing of the leadership into the hands of the bourgeoisie. The new leaders condemned the vacillating tactics of the Gandhites and promised to take up a determined fight against the British Government. The struggle between Gandhism and the relatively conscious bourgeois politics was the outstanding feature of the movement for nearly a year. It ended in the rout of Gandhism in politics, and the capture of the nationalist movement by the faction which promised to be the pioneer of a well-organised political apparatus of the bourgeoisie. For all practical purposes, the Nationalist demands were not only divorced from the objective necessity of the masses, but even the grievances of the lower middle class were left out of their purview. The beginning of formulating a nationalist programme, exclusively in accordance with the interests of the bourgeoisie, was made. Such a beginning could not be made without discarding all tendencies towards revolutionary tactics. This is demanded by the actual position of the Indian bourgeoisie. Unwilling to adopt revolutionary tactics, the nationalist bourgeoisie fall back upon the slow process of undermining the position of Imperialism by stages. Their

policy is to secure concession after concession, till the entire power passes from the foreign government to the peoples' representatives. The Indian bourgeoisie as a class is wedded to this reformism and, therefore, hopes to accomplish a revolution within the four corners of a non-existent constitution.

This slow process of reformism, which at first sight looks very futile, possesses a deeper significance, owing to the fact that it is carried out upon a revolutionary background. Although the nationalist bourgeoisie fail to mobilize the revolutionary energy of the masses to back up their demands for reform, Imperialism is fully conscious of the existence of the powder magazine, capable at the slightest ignition of blowing it up. It also knows that the dynamic force of nationalism does not lie either in the reactionary doctrines of the lower middle class intellectuals, nor in the "national demand" of the bourgeoisie, but in the partially manifested will of the masses to revolt against their miserable condition. Imperialism is reluctantly inclined to make petty concessions to the reformist bourgeoisie (whose impotency it is fully aware of) to prevent the possible determination of the bourgeoisie to fall back upon these forces of revolution. The Indian bourgeoisie have repeatedly proved themselves so averse to revolution, that they would court it only as the last resort, if they do it at all even then. Thus, the minimum concession would keep them dissatisfied and annoying, but out of harm. The burnt cow dreads the fire. The British government cannot imagine a repetition of the days of 1920-21 without a shudder. They are prepared to bribe the nationalist bourgeoisie to avoid that. Owing to this circumstantial reason, even the timid reformism of the Indian bourgeoisie objectively produces a revolutionary effect. It cuts into the reserves of Imperialism.

In view of this essentially revolutionary character of the situation in India, every phase of the anti-imperialist struggle has its value in the general scheme of events. In the last year, the nationalist bourgeoisie have been busy in organising the fighting qualities of their class inside a powerful political party. As stated above, owing to deep-seated reasons, the programme and tactics of this party still remain essentially reformist. The party leaders do not fail to indulge in bombastic language and veiled threats which, however, are empty. The party is young, lacking the assets of a radical social outlook, constructive political ideology and a firm determination to act. It has not even succeeded in drawing all

the bourgeois elements together. Nevertheless, for the first time in the history of the Indian national movement, it has acted as the conscious spokesman of an entire class, and has, therefore, sounded the close of that epoch when Imperialism could play the one section of the bourgeoisie against the other. This is certainly a long step forward.

The new bourgeois party (Swaraj Party) began its life by rejecting what was called the negative policy of Gandhi. The programme of the latter was to boycott pseudo-parliaments granted by Imperialism to allay the post-war discontent of the bourgeoisie. The parliamentary boycott was to be supplemented by the boycott of law-courts, schools and British manufactures. In the first election held on 1920, the nationalists did not take part, they even persuaded a considerable section of the electorate to boycott the polls. The other three items of boycott, however, were not successful as was to be expected. By steadily refusing to countenance the mass revolt, which swept the country in 1919-21, the Non-co-operation movement headed by Gandhi gradually became politically bankrupt. The upper middle class raised the standard of revolt against the political programme of Gandhism, and began the agitation for a "positive programme," which soon assumed the form of "capturing the Councils" (legislative). The argument was to carry the fight into the enemy's camp; to render the administration of the government impossible by parliamentary obstruction. It sounded reasonable: but the weakness of the programme lay in the fact that the so-called parliaments were nominal and the government was not responsible to them in any sense. Nevertheless, the new party started on the task with enthusiasm.

In the beginning it had to fight the opposition of the petty bourgeoisie, which stuck to the original programme of boycott: but before long the opposition was overcome and the central scene of the nationalist movement was shifted from the National Congress to the Council Chambers. The Nationalists contested the elections in 1923, but failed to secure a majority, except in one province. In the National Assembly as well as in all the provincial Councils they, however, captured such a considerable number of seats that practically everywhere they held the balance. Their failure to secure the majority exposed the impracticability of their programme. The programme, in short, was to bring in what was called the National Demands. If the Government accepted them, the Nationalists would co-operate with Imperialism; but if the demands were rejected, then they would make

government impossible by parliamentary obstruction. Now, since nowhere but in one province they had the majority, there could not be any question of carrying on the obstructionist tactics successfully. The famous National Demands originally were, in short, immediate grant of self-government, which, of course, did not mean separation from the Empire. Nothing even nearly like it. The Reforms Act of 1919 promises another instalment of self-government after ten years. The demand was the immediate grant of this promised instalment. According to the promise, this future instalment was to consist of some more administrative reforms; there is no question of power involved. Even these "National Demands" could not be presented in their original form, because more moderate nationalist members would not subscribe to those demands, and without their vote the demands would be rejected. Under the exigencies of forming the nationalist bloc, the demands were watered down until nothing was left. Finally, a resolution recommending a round-table conference between the Government and the nationalists was moved and carried. The Government quietly forgot the resolution. About the same time, MacDonald shook his mailed fist across the ocean. He warned the Indian nationalists, who counted upon the goodwill of the Labour Government, that "no party in Britain would be terrorised by threats of force." There ended the initial stage of the new tactics of bourgeois nationalism. The Government did not reject the Nationalists' demand, if demand it could be called; but neither did it do anything to comply with the demand.

Then began the period of parliamentary obstruction, which naturally could not be very effective, because the Swarajists did not by themselves have a majority, and they could not always count upon the support of the moderate elements. Nevertheless, some rather exciting parliamentary skirmishes took place. Many resolutions were passed over the heads of the Government, none of which were, of course, acted upon, the so-called "parliament" having little control over the administrative apparatus. A sharp battle was fought over the annual budget, a considerable portion of which was rejected. But the government sat tight. The events reached a real parliamentary deadlock first in the Central Provinces, where the Swarajists got a majority. The Council refused to sanction the money for the government; the Governor dissolved the Parliament, assuming all authority in his person, as is provided for in the Reforms Act. Then followed Bengal, another province where the Swarajists have almost a majority.

The same issue was also raised there, and the same course was adopted. The constitution does not call for a new election after a dissolution; so that nationalists cannot take the issue before the electorate. Now they are at their wit's end; the government is also in an uncomfortable position, being forced to admit its autocratic character.

While things have been heading towards this little parliamentary crisis, cautious but definite steps were being taken by Imperialism, headed by the Labour Government, to reconnoitre the ground in order to estimate how much should be conceded to rescue the Government of India from this *impasse*. The first step was the appointment of a Committee to enquire into the administration of the reforms, with the object of finding out if there are any defects in them, and if there are, how they can be removed. Some nationalists of the moderate school sat on this committee. This cautious step, taken principally for temporising, however, unexpectedly led to ugly consequences. Those leaders of Moderate Nationalism, who five years ago accepted the Reforms with gratitude one after another with the government all through the hectic days of Non-co-operation, appeared before the Committee one after the other, not to defend, but to denounce the present system of administration as defective and unworkable. With more or less vehemence, all demanded further measures of self-government.

The second step taken was tentative negotiation in London. Of course, no official commitment whatsoever was made. A delegation from the right wing and the centre visited London, ostensibly on its own initiative, but obviously at the desire of the Labour Government. Underground negotiations took place. Even a persistent rumour was set afloat that the leader of the Swarajists, Mr. C. R. Das, had been invited to London. The latter appeared to be well-disposed towards such an invitation. But nothing came of it. The delegation returned home and expressed satisfaction at the result of its trip. The nature of the result, however, still remains unknown. The Nationalists, meanwhile, have inflicted another parliamentary defeat upon the government of India. A project to reform the Public Services has been rejected by them, as totally inadequate to meet the demands of the people.

Thus the matters stand at the time of writing. How will this deadlock be broken? How far will the nationalist bourgeoisie go to make the inevitable compromise? The question

of their surrender does not arise, because they have taken an uncompromising position. On the other hand, how much is Imperialism prepared to concede? There is no doubt that the former will meet the latter more than half-way. What effect will that make upon the nationalist struggle as a whole? The following months will answer these questions. Meanwhile, we can measure up the situation, in the light of experience gathered, and the inter-relation of the forces involved in the struggle.

While a great deal of noise was being made over political questions of paltry importance, concessions of considerable value have been made in the economic field. One of the principal demands of the nationalist bourgeoisie has always been to protect the native industries by a tariff wall. After a continued resistance of two decades, Imperialism has given in on this very vital question. In sequence of the Industrial Commission of 1916-17, according to whose recommendation the economics of Imperialism were placed on a new footing (that of developing India industrially as against the former policy of obstructing) another commission was appointed in 1921 to explore the fiscal ground. The Fiscal Commission was composed of a number of very influential Indian industrialists, together with the representatives of British capital and government. After an exhaustive enquiry of a year, the Fiscal Commission reported in favour of Protection on principle. In accordance with its recommendation, a Tariff Board was appointed to select the industries which should be protected immediately. The selection fell upon the iron and steel industry. On behalf of the industry, Tata and Co. demanded a duty of 30 per cent. on manufactured iron and steel imported into the country. The demand was granted with but slight modification. The people will suffer from the high prices that will be caused by this protection to the principal national industry; nevertheless, when the Protection Bill came before the Legislative Assembly, the nationalists abandoned their obstructionist tactics, and voted with the Government. In fact, they complained that the protection was not extensive enough. The effect of this economic concession will be very far-reaching, and will reflect considerably upon the political field. The Indian Government has already expressed its intention of placing, as from the coming year, all its orders for railway material in India. This indicates a very rapid development of the iron and steel industry. British industry will suffer in consequence. But Imperialism is not committing suicide. The protection, which will injure British manufacturers, is not meant only for Indian

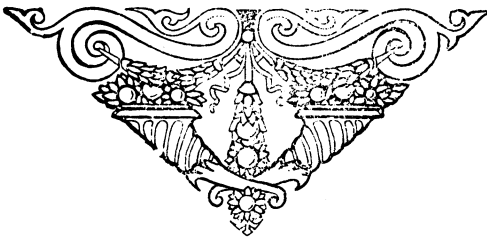
capital. There is another scheme involved in the whole new policy. British capital is being exported to India to build up the iron and steel industry there behind the tariff walls. Incidentally, the most powerful section of the Indian bourgeoisie controlling the steel industry, will be so closely linked up with British banks, that the backbone of bourgeois nationalism will be broken.

The next concession in the economic field is the contemplated removal of the impediment on India's premier industry—textile. Already during the war, this industry was granted protection which, however, could not be fully effective, owing to the excise duty levied upon the cotton manufactures. Now demand for the removal of this excise duty is being pushed vigorously. The demand is not very seriously opposed. It even finds response in the Anglo-Indian Press. Once this contemplated second step is taken, the acuteness of the conflict between the Indian bourgeoisie and Imperialism will temporarily subside. But the political leaders of the nationalist movement do not belong to the capitalist class. They are mostly intellectuals, and not a few hail from the lower middle class. A reconciliation between British and Indian capital will confirm the reformism of these leaders; but they will keep on pressing for political concessions, in addition to the economic ones. So, in order that the new policy of reconciliation may be worked smoothly, Imperialism will find it advisable to placate the intellectuals also. That means that on both the fronts, economic as well as political, it will be obliged to yield ground, however little it might be in the beginning.

By itself, this conflict is insoluble. Now, if the attempts of Imperialism to smooth it, can be counteracted by action on our part to accentuate the conflict, the state of war that obtains to-day will never end. On the contrary, it will grow acuter every day, and the anti-imperialist struggle will soon exceed the bounds of reformism, and be consciously heading towards revolution. It is obvious what should be the nature of our activities. While supporting the nationalist bourgeoisie in every act of resistance to Imperialism, we should mobilise the revolutionary mass energy which the nationalist bourgeoisie is afraid of touching. The rapid crystallisation of bourgeois nationalism around a reformist programme has left the field clear. For the first time in the history of the Indian national movement, there will come into existence a political party demanding separation from the Empire. Nationalist elements, which up till now followed the

bourgeoisie, will enter this party; because the programme of reformism advocated by the bourgeoisie neglects their interests altogether. To aid the organisation of this party of revolutionary nationalism, is our immediate task. The objective situation is quite ripe, although there are enormous subjective difficulties. The masses are very restive. The peasantry is a veritable inflammable material, while the city proletariat demonstrates its revolutionary zeal whenever there is an opportunity. The process of uniting all these revolutionary elements into an anti-imperialist army is going on steadily. The collapse of bourgeois nationalism, as expressed by the present Parliamentary deadlock will only accentuate this process. The people will see that the reformist programme of the bourgeoisie does not lead anywhere. The centre of gravity of the nationalist movement will be shifted back to its proper place, namely—mass action. As soon as the rank and file of the nationalist forces are freed from the reformist leadership of the bourgeoisie, they will begin to follow the standard of revolution, because in that case, they will be convinced that the anti-imperialist struggle cannot be conducted successfully in a different way. There is every indication that things are moving in that direction, and that the next stage of the Indian movement will be a great advance towards revolution.

M. N. ROY.



Letters from Afar

THE PROLETARIAN MILITIA

THE inference I drew yesterday concerning the wavering tactics of Tcheidze is fully confirmed by two documents published to-day (the 10th, (23rd W. Style) of March). The first, a telegraph communication to the *Frankfurter Zeitung* from Stockholm, consists of extracts from the manifesto of the Central Committee of our Party, the Russian Social-Democratic Party in Petersburg. This document does not mention a word either about supporting or overthrowing the Gutchkov Government. The workers are called to organise themselves round the Council of Workers' Deputies, electing representatives to it for the fight against Tsarism, for the revolution, the eight-hour day, for the confiscation of landowners' property, and corn supplies, and what is most important, for the cessation of the predatory war. The opinion expressed quite correctly by our Central Committee, that, to obtain peace, **contact with the proletariat of all the warring countries is necessary**, is of particular importance.

It would be deceiving oneself and the people, to expect peace to ensue from negotiations between the bourgeois governments.

The second document, also despatched by telegraph from Stockholm to another German paper, the *Vossische Zeitung*, contains a report of the conference that took place between the Tcheidze and labour fractions of the Duma together with representatives of 15 trade unions on the 2nd (15th, new style) of March. It proceeds to give extracts from the manifesto issued the next day. Out of eleven points, it communicates only three; the first, the demand for a republic, the seventh, the demand for peace and immediate negotiations in that direction, and the third demanding "a sufficient participation of representatives of the working class in the government." If this point has been correctly expressed, I can understand why the bourgeoisie praises Tcheidze; the reason the French supporters of Gutchkov in *Le Temps*, joined in the laudation of the English supporters of this minister. This paper (*Le Temps*) expressing the opinion of

French millionaires and imperialists, publishes on the 22nd of March, the following sentiment :

“ The leaders of Labour Party, especially Tcheidze, are using all their influence to temper the demands of the working class.”

As a matter of fact, it is foolish, both in theory and in practice, to demand the participation of the working class in the Gutchkov-Miliukov Government. To take part in the work of the minority means to be a pawn in the game. It would be impossible to be on an “ equal footing ” with others since the demand for armistice and peace negotiations and the demand for the continuation of the war are incompatible. To take part in the majority means to have the power to **overthrow** the Gutchkov-Miliukov Government. In practice, the demand for “ participation ” in the government means to forget the class war and its realities. It means being carried away by empty phrases ; it means the propagation of illusions among the workers. It means losing **valuable** time which would be better used creating a real revolutionary class force—a proletarian militia, able to **inspire the confidence** of **all** the poorest classes forming the majority of the population. It would be far better to help them organise themselves, help them fight for bread, peace and freedom, than to advocate “ Louis-Blanc ” measures of the worst kind.

The mistake made by Tcheidze and his group is most peculiar in view of the fact that Skobeliev, one of his closest adherents, stated at a conference on the 2nd (15th) of March : “ Russia is on the eve of a second real revolution.”

This is a truth from which both Skoboliev and Tcheidze forgot to draw any practical inferences. Incidentally, in talking of Tcheidze and his group, I am not talking of the **party** of the O. K., the organisation committee, as the sources of information at my disposal do not say a word about the O. K.

I cannot judge from here, from this cursed “ afar,” how near this second revolution is. Doubtless, being on the spot, it will be easier for Skoboliev to judge.

Being abroad, I cannot deal with problems that require concrete facts for their solution. I can only emphasise the endorsement by an “ outside witness ” Skoboliev, who is not a member of our party, of the conclusion I drew in my first

letter. I said that the February-March revolution was but the **first stage** of the revolution, that Russia is going through a peculiar historical moment, the **transition** to the next stage of the revolution, or as Skoboliev says, to the "second revolution."

If we wish to be Marxists and learn from the experience of the world's revolutions, we must endeavour to understand the meaning of this singular moment of transition, and determine what tactics should be applied to its objective peculiarities.

This singularity is created by the fact that the Gutchkov-Miliukov Government achieved its victory with great ease. There are three reasons explaining this. Firstly, it has the help of Anglo-French financial capital and its agents; secondly, the upper ranks of the army were on its side; and thirdly, the Russian bourgeoisie was already organised in rural and city institutions of the Duma, in war-industry committees and so forth.

At the present time, the Gutchkov-Miliukov Government is held in a vice of capitalist interests; it is forced to use all in its power to continue the predatory war; it has to safeguard the landowners' and capitalists' profits, it must restore the monarchy. On the other hand it is tied by its revolutionary origin and the necessity of sharply turning from Tsarism to democracy.

Under the pressure and demands of the starving masses, the government is forced to lie, twist and turn, proclaiming and promising, fulfilling little, giving with one hand and taking away with the other, in order to gain time. At this time of high prices, promises are the only cheap articles obtainable.

Under certain conditions, even the best possible for it, the new government can only succeed in delaying the crash, falling back on all the powers of organisation the Russian bourgeoisie and bourgeois intellectuals can command.

Even in this case the new government will be **incapable** of averting the crash.

It cannot free itself from the clutches of the frightful imperialist war and the extraordinary famine created by international capital. It cannot do so without abandoning its

bourgeois relations; without using revolutionary measures, without turning to the greatest historical heroism of both the Russian and international proletariat.

The deduction is that we cannot overthrow the government with one blow. If we are able to do so (the bounds of possibility are widened a thousandfold in revolutionary times) then we shall not be able to retain power without putting against the excellent organisation of the Russian bourgeoisie and all the bourgeois intellectuals, an organisation just as excellent of the proletariat and petty traders.

It does not matter whether the "second revolution" has already begun in Petersburg (I have already said that it would be foolish to attempt to follow the actual pace of its development from here), whether it has been postponed for a time, or whether it has already begun in different parts of Russia (there seem to be some indications of this); **in any case** the slogan of the moment must be **organisation of the proletariat**. It must be the slogan on the eve of the new revolution, during it and on the day after.

Comrade workers! You have shown wonderful proletarian heroism in overthrowing the monarchy. Sooner or later, perhaps now, while I am writing these lines, you will have to show similar heroism in overthrowing the rule of the landowners and capitalists who are carrying on the war. Your victory will not be lasting if you do not show **extraordinary proletarian organisation** in this second revolution.

The slogan of the moment is "organise." However, if we limit ourselves to this, it would still mean nothing, because organisation on the one hand is **always** necessary. Consequently, merely to call for the "organisation of the masses" does not carry us any further.

On the other hand, he who limits himself to this slogan would be merely echoing the liberals. The latter do not wish workers to go further than those legal organisations acceptable to a "normal" bourgeois society, to strengthen their own rule. The Liberals only desire the workers to join their party, their trade union, co-operative and similar organisations.

The class instinct of the workers taught them the necessity for forms of organisation different from the ordinary and they correctly applied the experience in the 1905 revolution

and the Paris Commune. They set up the Councils of Workers' Deputies, and developed, extended and strengthened them by enlisting the support of **soldiers' deputies**, and of course, deputies of the agricultural labourers and representatives of all the poorer peasantry.

The formation of similar organisations in all parts of Russia, representing the whole of the proletarian and semi-proletarian classes irrespective of occupation, *i.e.*, all the toilers and exploited, **to use a popular if not economically precise term, is a matter of pressing importance.**

I will say, in anticipation, that our party* must recommend the establishment of soviets of wage workers and small peasants not producing corn for sale, **separate** from the wealthy peasantry.

Unless this is done, it will be impossible to follow a truly proletarian policy†; it will be impossible to approach the vital question affecting millions of people; it will not be possible correctly to approach the question of increasing its production.

But, one may ask, what must the councils of workers deputies do? "They must be regarded as organs of revolt, as organs of revolutionary administration." This was the answer I gave in No. 47 of the Geneva *Socialdemocrat*, of the 13th of October, 1915.

This theoretical supposition deduced from the experience of the Paris Commune and the 1905 revolution, must be explained and concretely developed on the basis of the practical features of the present stage of the revolution in Russia.

We must have revolutionary **power**, we must have a **state** (for a definite period of transition). In this our position differs from that of the anarchists. The differences between revolutionary Marxists and anarchists, lies not only in the fact that the former stand for a centralised, heavy industry and the latter for a scattered light industry. No! the differ-

* In one of my future letters, I hope to discuss the participation of our party in this new type of proletarian organisation.

† In the villages the support of the petty peasant and part of the middle class peasantry will now become the bone of contention. The landowners, supported by the wealthy peasantry will endeavour to bring them under the control of the bourgeoisie. Our task will be to bring them into a close alliance with the town proletariat, using the influence of the agricultural labourers and the poorer classes.

ence lies in the question of the State. We are **for** the revolutionary use of revolutionary forms of State in the struggle for Socialism, while the anarchists are against this.

A State is necessary, but we do not require such a State as the bourgeoisie have created everywhere—from constitutional monarchies, to democratic republics. Here lies the difference between us and the opportunists and the followers of Kautsky, members of old, decaying Socialist parties, who have forgotten the lessons of the Paris Commune and the analysis of them given by Marx and Engels.*

We require a State different to that required by the bourgeoisie. Their organs of state, such as the police, the army, and the civil service bureaucracy, are separated from and opposed to their subjects. All middle class revolutions simply perfected this State machine, handing it from one party to another.

The proletariat, if it wishes to retain the successes gained in this revolution, and advance further towards securing peace, bread and liberty, to use the words of Marx, must **break** the “ready-made” state machinery and replace it by a new apparatus, merging the police, army and bureaucrats in an **armed population**. Following the experience of the Paris Commune and the 1905 Revolution, the proletariat must organise and arm all the poorest, exploited classes of the population so that they themselves could directly take the organs of the State into their hands **and themselves** form its departments. The Russian proletariat followed this path from the very beginning of the February-March revolution. Our problem now is to understand clearly what this path represents in order to pursue it further boldly and firmly.

The Anglo-French and Russian capitalists wished only to **remove** Nicholas II., perhaps just frighten him, leave the apparatus of the police, and army and civil service intact.

The workers went further and smashed it, and now, not only the French and English, but even the German capitalists are **howling** with rage and horror at the thought that the

* In another letter or perhaps in a separate article, I will discuss this analysis more fully. This analysis is given in part in Marx's article, “The civil war in France,” partly in Engels' preface to the Third Edition and in Marx's letters beginning with the 12th of April, 1871, and Engels' letters beginning the 28th of March, 1875. I will also give attention to Kautsky's mutilation of Marxism in his controversy with Pannekoek in 1912 on the question of the so-called destruction of the state.

Russian soldiers shoot officers even like Admiral Nepenin, who was a supporter of the Gutchkov-Miliukov government.

I said, "The proletariat has smashed this old state machinery." It would be more correct to say, "the proletariat has **begun** to smash it."

Let us take a concrete example. In Petersburg and other places the police is partly broken up, partly dismissed. But the Gutchkov-Miliukov Government cannot dream of restoring the monarchy or even think of retaining power unless they restore the police force in the form of an armed force separate from and opposed to the people, and under the command of the bourgeoisie. This is as plain as plain can be.

On the other hand, the new government has to reckon with the revolutionary population, feed it with half concessions, in order to gain time. It consents to a half-measure; it establishes a "people's militia" with elected officers. How well it sounds! How awfully democratic, how revolutionary! How pretty!

But . . . It places the militia under the control of the provincial and city councils, which is equivalent to their being controlled by the landowners and capitalists, elected under the laws of Nicholas the Bloody and Stolypin the Hangman.

Secondly, it calls the militia "the peoples'" militia, in order to throw dust in the eyes of the people. It does not call upon **all** the people to volunteer and does not compel the masters and capitalists to pay the workers their usual wage during the time spent in **social service**, *i.e.*, the militia.

This is the secret of the whole thing! In this way the landowners and capitalist government of Gutchkovs and Miliukovs succeed in making the peoples' militia an empty phrase while in reality gradually restoring a bourgeois anti-proletarian militia. The foreign papers describe the Petersburg militia as consisting of 8,000 students and professors. This is an obvious game. Later it will absorb all the old and new **police**.

"Do not permit the re-establishment of the police! Do not allow the local power to slip your hands. Establish a

real peoples' militia, including and headed by all the proletariat!"

This is the slogan, this is the task of the moment. It serves the interests of the future class struggle, the further revolutionary movement, and the democratic instincts of any workman, any peasant, any working and exploited man that cannot but hate the police, the guards, the village constables, and the bodies of armed men, under the command of the landowners and capitalists, and given authority over the people.

The kind of police required by Gutchkov and Miliukov is the kind that existed under the Tsar. All the bourgeois democratic republics in the world formed or re-established such a militia after the shortest revolutionary period. They formed special organisations of armed men, separate from and opposed to the people, and subjected them, in some way or other to the rule of the bourgeoisie.

What form of militia do we, the workers, require? We need first of all a real peoples' militia, formed of all the adult population of **both** sexes, and secondly, one combining the functions of a peoples' army and of the police, as well as the principal organ of public order and administration.

To make this idea clearer, let us take a purely schematic example. It is, of course, ridiculous to talk of making any form of "plan" for the peoples' militia. The workers and the real masses do things a hundred times better in practice than could possibly be conceived in theory. I do not propose any "plan." I merely wish to illustrate my idea.

The population of Petersburg is nearly two millions. More than half of them are between the ages of 15 and 60. Taking one-half of the population, *i.e.*, one million, we will allow 25 per cent. for the sick and those not performing any kind of social work for valid reasons. We thus get 750,000 who would work in the militia one day in fifteen (their wages would be paid by their employers), and we would have a force of 50,000 men.

This is the type of State required. This militia would indeed be a **peoples'** militia.

This is how we have to act so as to make it impossible for the bourgeoisie to establish any police or army distinct from the people.

Such a militia as I have described would consist of 95 per cent. workers and peasants. It would be the real expression of the will, the strength, and power of the great majority of the people. Such a militia would arm and give military training to all the population, and unlike the Gutchkov and Miliukov way, would serve as a real guarantee against any attempt at restoring the reaction and checkmate the plans of the Tsarist agents. Such a militia would be the executive organ of the Council of Workers' and Soldiers' Deputies; it would enjoy the full respect and confidence of the whole population, composed as it is of the masses. Such a militia would convert democracy from being a handsome signboard, screening the capitalist oppression and mockery of the people, into a real education of the masses for participation in all state offices. It would attract our youth to political life and educate them by deeds and actions and not by words. Such a militia would develop all those functions which in scientific language is called the "welfare work," sanitary inspection, and so forth. All the adult women should be employed for this work. If we do not attract women to social work, to the militia and political life, if we do not tear them away from the stultifying house and kitchen work, we cannot guarantee real freedom, we could not even build a democracy, to say nothing of Socialism.

Such a militia would be proletarian because the industrial and city workers would naturally and inevitably take a leading part over the mass of the poorer classes, as it did in the revolutionary struggles of 1905-07 and 1917.

Such a militia would guarantee absolute order and real complete, comradely discipline.

At the same time it would enable them to deal with the severe crisis now prevailing in all belligerent countries, in a really democratic manner. It would help distribute food and other supplies rapidly and fairly. It would render it possible to put into practice what the French call civil mobilisation and the Germans compulsory civil service. Without this it is impossible—as has been proved—to heal the wounds inflicted by the frightful predatory war.

Did the Russian proletariat spill its blood only to receive rich promises of political democratic reforms? Can it be that it will not demand and endeavour to obtain such conditions as will enable every worker immediately to feel an improvement in his position as will enable every family to

have bread, and each infant a bottle of good milk; that in which no adult of a rich family will have a drop until the needs of the children are satisfied, that the palaces and mansions left by the Tsar and aristocracy be used for housing the homeless and needy? Who else but the peoples' militia formed by men and women on an equal footing could carry out these measures?

Such measures are not Socialism. They are only concerned with the distribution of articles of consumption and not the re-organisation of production. They are not "The Dictatorship of the Proletariat," but simply a "revolutionary-democratic dictatorship of the proletariat and poorest peasants." It does not matter at the present time what their classification in theory is. It would be a great mistake at present to attempt to run the complicated, daily, rapidly developing practical problems of the revolution into the narrow groove of a theory: instead of this, one should consider theory mainly and primarily as a guide for one's **actions**.

Can the Russian working masses display the consciousness, endurance and heroism to perform a "miracle proletarian organisation," after that miracle of bravery and initiative they performed in direct revolutionary struggles? We cannot tell, and to conjecture on this account is an idle task, for answers to such questions are only given by practical work.

One thing we do know, and this as a party, we must explain to the masses that on the one hand, we have the enormous forces of the driving power of history bringing with it an unparalleled crisis, famine and unestimable distress—the war, which the capitalists in both camps are waging for predatory aims. This "driving force" has brought a whole world—the richest, freest and most civilised nations—to the brink of the precipice. It forces them to mobilise all their energy to the last ounce; it places them in unbearable conditions; it brings to the front not "theories" (of this there can be no talk, and Marx always warned Socialists of this illusion) but the execution of the most extreme measures, for without these extreme measures millions would be doomed to absolute and inevitable death by starvation.

It is unnecessary to prove that the enthusiasm of the vanguard of the working classes is capable of resorting to extreme measures when the objective conditions demand

them. All can see and feel this in Russia at the present time.

It is important to understand that the objective situation in revolutionary times changes as rapidly and as sharply as life in general changes. Our problem lies in **adapting** our tactics and immediate problems to the peculiarities of each given situation. Up till February, 1917, our problems were bold revolutionary-internationalist propaganda—calls to the masses to fight, to stir them up. The days of February-March demanded heroism in struggle to crush our immediate enemy—Tsarism. Now we are living in a period of transition from the first stage of the revolution to the second, from the “hand to hand” struggle with Tsarism to the “hand to hand” struggle with the Miliukov-Gutchkov, capitalist and landowners’ imperialism.

The question of the moment is the question of **organisation** not in the stereotyped sense of the word, but of attracting the masses of the oppressed classes as a whole into the organisation, and of the embodiment of that organisation into military state, and economical problems.

The proletariat has tackled and will tackle this peculiar problem from different sides. In various parts of Russia, the revolution of February-March gave the proletariat nearly complete power—in some places it may create and develop a proletarian militia by “usurpatory” methods. In other parts they may demand immediate re-elections to the provincial and city dumas on a basis of universal suffrage, so as to make them revolutionary centres, until the growth of organisation, the closer contact between the army and the masses, the disillusionment of the people in the readiness of the military-imperialist government of Gutchkov, will bring nearer the displacement of this government by a “government” of the Council of Workers’ Deputies.

We will not forget that quite close to St. Petersburg is Finland, one of the most advanced of real republican countries, which from 1905 to 1917 under cover of the revolutionary struggles in Russia has comparatively peacefully developed a democracy and won over the **majority** of the population to Socialism. The Russian proletariat will guarantee the Finnish Republic complete freedom, including the right to secede. At the present time there is hardly a single Social-Democrat who wavers on this point while Raditchev, a Constitutional Democrat, in Helsingfors, is bargaining in such

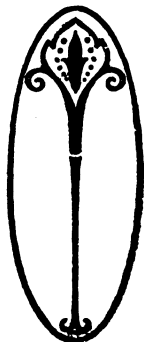
an unworthy manner for petty privileges for the great Russians. By this, the proletariat will win the confidence of the Finnish workers in the cause of the All-Russian proletariat. In carrying out great and difficult tasks, mistakes are inevitable. The Finnish worker is an excellent organiser and will help us in our work. They will further the establishment of a Socialist Republic in their own way.

The revolutionary victories in Russia, the peaceful organisational successes in Finland under cover of the victories, the transition of the Russian workers to revolutionary organisatory problems on a new scale, the conquest of power by the proletariat and poorest classes of the population, the encouragement and development of Socialist revolution in the West—this is the path that will bring us to peace and Socialism.

N. LENIN.

Zurich, March 24th, 1917.

(Translated by W. Fisher.)



How to Attain Peace

I HAVE just read (March 12/24) in the *Nouveau Journal Auisse* (No. 517 of March 24) the following communication transmitted by wire from Berlin :

“ We are informed from Sweden that Maxim Gorky has sent enthusiastic greetings both to the government and to the Executive Committee. He welcomes the victory of the people over the lords of reaction, and calls upon all the sons of Russia to help in the building of the new Russian State. At the same time he calls upon the government to crown its work of liberation by the conclusion of peace. This must not be, says he, peace at any price ; for there is less foundation at the present time in Russia than ever before to strive for peace at any price. It must be peace of a nature that will enable Russia to live with honour among the other peoples of the world. Enough human blood has been shed. The new government would acquire the greatest merit not only in the eyes of the people of Russia, but of all humanity, if it succeeded in an early conclusion of peace.”

So is the contents of Gorky's letter reported.

One experiences a bitter sensation reading this letter, permeated through and through with middle class prejudices. The writer had occasion in his meeting with Gorky on the island of Capri, to warn him against this tendency and to rebuke him for his political mistakes. Gorky parried the rebuke with that inimitable sweet smile of his and the frank declaration “ I know I am a bad Marxist, but then we artists are all irresponsible people.” It is difficult to quarrel with a statement like that.

There is no doubt that Gorky is a great artistic genius who has rendered and is still rendering great service to the world proletarian movement.

But why should Gorky concern himself with politics? In my opinion, Gorky's letter expresses the prejudices so extraordinarily widespread, not only among the petty bourgeoisie, but also among that section of the working class which is under their influence. *All* the strength of our Party, all the efforts of our conscious workers must be

directed toward stubbornly and persistently combating these prejudices.

The Czarist government began and carried on the present war as an **imperialistic**, predatory, robber war for the purpose of plundering and oppressing the weak peoples. The government of Gutchkov and Miliukov is a landlord and capitalist government, which is forced to continue, and wishes to continue the war **for the very same ends**. To address a proposal to conclude a democratic peace to such a government is the same thing as to address a sermon on virtue to the keeper of a brothel.

Let me explain what I mean.

What is imperialism?

In my brochure "Imperialism as the Highest Stage of Capitalism," which was accepted by the publishing house "Parus" before the revolution, and whose forthcoming publication was announced by them in the journal *Letopice* (Chronicle), I answered the question thus :

"Imperialism is capitalism in that stage of development, when the domination of monopolists and finance capital has become established, when the export of capital has become a matter of supreme importance, when partition of the world by the international trusts has begun, and the division of all the territory of the world by the great capitalist countries has been completed." (Chapter 7, of the above-mentioned brochure, announced in *Letopice*, when the censorship was still in force under the title "Modern Capitalism, by V. Illin).

The result of this is that capital has grown to enormous dimensions. Small groups of the most powerful capitalists (united in combines, syndicates and trusts) deal in milliards and divide the whole world among themselves. The whole earth has been divided up. The war was the result of the collision of the two most powerful groups of millionaires, the Anglo-French and the German, over a *new partition* of the world.

The Anglo-French group of capitalists wish first of all to plunder Germany, to take away her colonies (most of them have already been seized), and Turkey.

The German group of capitalists wish to seize Turkey *for themselves* and to compensate themselves for the loss of their colonies by the seizure of the small neighbouring states (Belgium, Serbia and Rumania).

This is the real truth, cloaked with the whole gamut of bourgeois lies regarding "liberating" and "nationalist" war—war for "right and justice" and all the rest of the fol-de-rol with which the capitalists always fool the common people.

Russia is not carrying on the war on her own money. Russian capital is a shareholder in Anglo-French capital. Russia carries on the war in order to plunder Armenia, Turkey and Galicia.

It is no mere chance that people like Gutchkov, Lvov, and Miliukov, our present ministers, are now in office. They are the representatives and leaders of the entire landlord and capitalist class. They are bound up with the interests of capital. Capitalists may no more repudiate their own interests than a man can raise himself by his own hair.

In the second place, Gutchkov, Miliukov and Co. are bound up with Anglo-French capital. They have waged and are still waging the war on foreign money. For the use of billions they have promised to pay an annual interest of *hundreds of millions*, and to squeeze this tribute out of the Russian workers and peasants.

In the third place, Gutchkov, Miliukov and Co., are united by direct **treaties** regarding the piratical aims of war, with England, France, Japan, Italy and other groups of robber-capitalists. These treaties were concluded by Czar Nikolai II., while he was still in power. Gutchkov, Miliukov and Co. took advantage of the struggle of the workers against the Czarist monarchy to seize power for themselves, and they have confirmed the treaties concluded by the Czar.

This was done by the entire Gutchkov-Miliukov government in its manifesto, transmitted abroad by the "Petersburg Telegraph Agency," on March 7/20: "The Government (of Gutchkov and Miliukov) will faithfully observe all treaties uniting us with other powers,"—so says the manifesto. The new Foreign Minister, Miliukov made the same declaration in his telegram to all Russian representatives abroad on 5/18/17.

These treaties are all **secret**, and Miliukov and Co. do not wish to make them public for two reasons: (1) they are afraid of the people, who do not want a predatory war; (2) they are bound up with Anglo-French capital which demands secret treaties. But everyone reading the newspapers and informing himself on the matter knows that these treaties deal with the plunder of China by Japan, of Persia, Armenia, Turkey (Constantinople in particular) and Galicia by Russia, of Albania by Italy, of Turkey and the German colonies by France and England, etc.

Such is the condition of affairs.

Therefore, the proposal to the Gutchkov-Miliukov government that they should speedily conclude an honest and democratic peace will bring just about as much result as the proposal of the good village "batoushka" (priest) to the landlords and merchants that they should live "in a Godly way," love their neighbours, and turn the other cheek to their enemies. The landlords and merchants listen to the sermon, continue to persecute and rob the people, and are delighted with the "batoushka's" ability to soothe and appease the moujhiks.

Just such a role is played consciously or unconsciously by those people who address themselves to the bourgeois governments during the present imperialist war with well-meaning speeches about peace. Sometimes the bourgeois governments refuse entirely to listen to such speeches, and even forbid them, sometimes they listen to them, scattering assurances right and left that they themselves are fighting for the speediest possible conclusion of a "most righteous peace" and that only the enemy is to blame for delay. The practical result of speeches about peace addressed to **bourgeois** governments is merely deception of the people.

The capitalist groups, spilling oceans of people's blood for the division of the earth, for the capture of markets and concessions, **cannot** conclude an "honourable" peace. They can only conclude a **shameful** peace, a peace of **division of stolen booty, of the partition of Turkey and the Colonies.**

But in addition to this the Gutchkov-Miliukov government is not at all desirous of peace at the present moment, because their share of the "booty" would be "only" Armenia and part of Galicia, and they wish in addition to grab

Constantinople, and to win back Poland, that country so ruthlessly and shamefully oppressed by Czarism from Germany. And further the Gutchkov-Miliukov government is in reality, no more than the clerk of Anglo-French capitalists who want not only to retain the colonies stolen from Germany, but what is more, to compel Germany to restore Belgium and part of France. Anglo-French capital helped Gutchkov and Miliukov to overthrow Nicholas II. in order to obtain their help in conquering Germany.

What then?

To attain peace (and what is more, a really democratic and honourable peace) it is necessary that the political power should belong not to the landlords and capitalists, but to the **workers and poor peasants**. The landlords and capitalists are a negligible minority of the population; the capitalists, as you well know are piling up huge profits out of the war.

The workers and peasants are the overwhelming majority of the population. They make nothing out of the war, but are reduced to complete poverty and starvation. They are bound neither by capital nor by the treaties between groups of robber capitalists: they can end and sincerely wish to end the war.

If political power in Russia were in the hands of the Soviets of Workers', Soldiers' and Peasants' Deputies, then these Soviets and the All-Russian Soviet elected by them might and certainly would agree to adopt the peace programme which our Party (the Russian Social-Democratic Labour Party) already indicated on October 13th, 1915, in No. 47 of the Central Organ of the Party, the *Social Democrat* (printed at that time in Geneva because of the pressure from the Czarist censorship).

This peace programme would probably contain the following clauses:

1. The All-Russian Soviet of Workers', Soldiers' and Peasants' Deputies (or its provisional substitute, the Petersburg Soviet) would declare immediately that it was not bound by any treaties either of the Czarist monarchy or of the bourgeois governments.

2. It would immediately publish all those treaties in order to expose at once to public shame the scoundrelly aims of the Czarist monarchy and every one of the bourgeois governments without exception.

3. It would openly and without delay propose the immediate conclusion of an armistice to all the warring powers.

4. It would immediately make public our workers' and peasants' peace conditions for the information of all the peoples.

The liberation of **all colonies**.

The liberation of *all* dependent, oppressed and enslaved peoples.

5. It would declare that it expects nothing good from the bourgeois governments and proposes to the workers of all countries to overthrow them and transfer all political power to Soviets of Workers' Deputies.

6. It would declare that the debts amounting to milliards incurred by the bourgeois governments in carrying on this criminal, barbarous war, may be paid by the capitalists themselves, but the workers and peasants do not recognise these debts. To pay interest on these loans means to pay tribute for years to come to the capitalists for their kindness in permitting the workers to kill each other so that the capitalists might divide the spoil.

Workers and Peasants!—the Soviet of Workers' Deputies would say—are you willing to pay hundreds of millions of roubles to the capitalist lords as a reward for the war which was waged to effect the partitioning of the African colonies, Turkey and other weak peoples?

For these conditions of peace the Soviet of Workers' Deputies would, in my opinion, agree to wage war against any and all bourgeois governments of the world, because this would be a really righteous peace, because all the workers of all lands would help to bring it about.

The German workers now see clearly that the militaristic monarchy in Russia has been replaced by a militaristic republic, a republic of capitalists, who desire to continue the

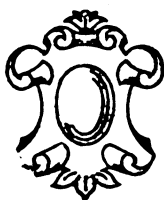
imperialist war, and to carry out the robber treaties of the Czarist monarchy.

Judge for yourselves whether the German workers can have confidence in such a Republic.

Judge for yourself, whether the war can continue, whether the domination of the world by capital can endure, if the Russian people aided by their vivid recollections of the great revolution of '05, shall win full freedom and transfer political power entirely into the hands of the Soviets of Workers' and Peasants' Deputies.

N. LENIN.

Zurich, 12/25 March 1917.



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