

INTERNATIONAL
COUNCIL
CORRESPONDENCE

For Theory and Discussion

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The period of progressive capitalist development is historically closed. The decline period of capital, a permanent condition of crisis, compels to ever greater convulsions of economy, to new imperialistic and military conflicts, to ever increasing unemployment and to general and absolute impoverishment of the workers. Thus is given the objective situation for the communist revolution in the capitalist countries. For the working class, there is only the revolutionary way out, which leads to the communist society. No one can deprive the workers of this task, which must be carried out by the class itself.

The publishers of Council Correspondence see in the acting self-initiative of the workers and in the growth of their self-consciousness the essential advance of the labor movement. We therefore combat the leadership policy of the old labor movement, and call upon the workers to take their fate in their own hands, to set aside the capitalist mode of production and themselves to administer and direct production and distribution in accordance with social rules having universal validity. As a fighting slogan and statement of goal we propose:

All power to the workers' councils! The means of production in the hands of the Workers!

THE DEVELOPMENT OF SOVIET RUSSIA'S FOREIGN POLICY.

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Recent developments in the policy of a number of Communist Parties have been labeled the August 4th of the Third International. Although this label has certain justification, it does not take into consideration the actual historical background of these developments. When the phraseology of the Comintern is disregarded and only the essence of its activity is considered, it becomes evident that the present action of the Comintern is a logical step in a process that was initiated in the first stages of the Russian Revolution by Lenin himself.

It is a well-known fact that the Comintern is completely dependent upon Russian Foreign Policy and in turn the latter is determined by the innerdevelopment of Russia as well as the position Russia takes among the capitalist powers. An outline of the development of Russian foreign policy will clearly illustrate this relationship,

THE PERIOD OF THE REVOLUTION

The Bolsheviks met the World War with a program for revolution in Russia which contained all the fundamental laws of insurrection and which--due to the necessity for the struggle against imperialist war--was internationalized. This program was not based on proletarian internationalism--as it was for example expounded by the German

"Left" around Rosa Luxemburg--but instead it was based on the social and political conditions of Russia and the position the Russian revolution would be required to take towards the imperialist policies of the European powers and their colonial suppression of the Asiatic peasant countries. Upon these basic conceptions Lenin built his theories which were to guide the bolsheviks and the international proletariat in their struggle against war and for revolution. The world war, he wrote, is an imperialist war which must be terminated by the anti-imperialist revolution of the working class. As this is an international task, it can be solved only by the revolutionary socialists in their own countries. For us Russians the situation is different. We must be content to accept the lesser evil, namely the overthrow of the czarist regime through the combined forces of the workers and peasants. Such a revolution, he continued, would merely be a radical bourgeois revolution but it might mean the beginning of the world revolution if other countries should follow our example. For example, the proletarian masses might rise against their capitalist exploiters in favor of a socialist revolution and the peasant and colonial countries in Asia, Africa, etc., might rise against their imperialist oppressors in favor of a national bourgeois revolution. Such developments might serve to initiate a general reorganization of the present ruling powers.

In the highly developed capitalist countries of Europe, the proletariat--a class--was thus looked upon as the advance guard of the world revolution while in agricultural and colonial countries the struggle was to be waged by "suppressed Nations". Lenin steadfastly believed that an amalgamation of these forces--regardless of the prevailing antagonistic contradictions--would serve the interests of the proletariat and the communist world revolution. As a result of these conceptions the bolsheviks deemed it proper to attack the Kerenski regime in 1917 under the following slogans: No separate peace with Germany; fraternization of the soldiers on all war fronts; ending of the war by international revolutionary action of the working class; disregard of all former and new annexations; self-determination of all national minorities up to and including national independence.

Having attained power, the bolsheviks immediately began to carry out this program. In a declaration of November 8, 1917, they proposed to all warring nations a "just and democratic peace". At the same time they appealed to the class-conscious workers of the three most developed nations, England, France and Germany, to give the Bolsheviki immediate support in their struggle. This was to serve a twofold purpose: first, a compromise with the capitalist powers in order to bring about peace,

and second, the utilization of the rest period thus won to arouse the proletariat against the master class speculating that the necessary world revolution would soon follow. Concrete reality soon proved, however, that their plans were ill-conceived and unworkable.

The First Defeat of the Bolsheviki's Foreign Policy

The hope of the bolsheviks of a general soldiers' strike within the enemy armies was not realized. The Bolsheviki themselves were unable to continue the war. The old czarist army was smashed and demoralized; a new army could not be stamped out of the ground. Furthermore, their appeals to the European proletariat to rise against their governments met with no response. Consequently they began to question the hope of a speedy world revolution. Only one point in their program proved to be effective: the right of national self-determination led to the separation of the Russian border states, a move which proved to be very disastrous for the young Soviet Republic. These newly founded states suppressed at first the revolutionary movement within their own boundaries, and later on permitted the Entente and white guards to use their territory as a military base against the Soviet Union. These fateful developments forced the bolsheviks to enter into separate peace negotiations with Germany. At the conference of the two governments at Brest-Litovsk, the German generals demanded more than the bolsheviks were willing to concede, and Trotsky attempted to save his face with the counter-move: "Neither war nor peace". But when the German armies began to march again, the Russians were compelled to accept the German peace dictate under much worsened conditions.

Shortly before the conference at Brest-Litovsk, the executive organ of the soviets had invited the Entente to participate in joint peace negotiations, but in this note they included also the following passage: "Should the allied governments refuse again to participate at the peace conference, the revolutionary working class will face the task of wresting power from those who in blind stubbornness do not want or wish to give the people the long desired peace".

The Entente considered such a language an open challenge and an indirect declaration of war. All relations were severed and the Entente began at once the armed intervention which proved so disastrous for Russian internal development.

The bolsheviks, however, did not as yet abandon entirely the hope of world revolution. They frantically believed that the German workers would rally to their assistance as soon as the anticipated collapse of the German armies

would become an established fact. In the meantime, they considered it necessary to compromise with whatever States were willing to bargain with them and increase, at the same time, their propaganda among the European workers. The development of events after the collapse of the German war machine clearly convinced the bolshevik leadership, however, that the European proletariat was not ripe for the revolution and that for the time being, the hope for a speedy world revolution had to be given up.

The Period of Civil War

The executive of the Soviets announced on November 28, 1917: "The leaders of the successful revolution do not need any approval of any of the representatives of the Capitalist diplomacy". Instead, the Russians cancelled all Czaristic Treaties dealing with the division of Persian and Turkish Territories and appealed to the masses of the working muslims to free themselves of their imperialistic exploiters. Their aim was to combat imperialism from both sides, to meet the very aggressive imperialist invasion against the Bolsheviks. The numerous counter-revolutionary manifestations were supported by the Entente powers with arms, money and special troops to the white Russian Generals. These powers were not able to wage a direct war against the Soviet Union due to the very critical situation within their own countries. But nevertheless they succeeded in occupying the border territories and gaining control of the Murman Railroad; they waged a direct war with the Czechoslovakian Army against the Soviets, cut off Central Russia from the Southern Russian corn supply, robbed a good deal of the Russian Treasury, destroyed Soviet councils and had many Russian workers shot to death,

The Bolsheviks fought the counter revolution with terroristic force and utilized all available resources in this obstinate fight. The period of war communism was introduced to further Bolshevik interests in the Civil War on the economic front. The revolutionary situation in many European countries was expected by Soviet Russia to introduce a Western European revolution which they believed was due. The Bolsheviks cancelled all war debts of the czaristic and Kerenski Governments, but were forced to make a concession in October 1918, declaring in a note to Wilson: "that they agreed for the present to participate in negotiations with such governments that do not yet represent the will of their subjects". They asked Wilson whether the U.S.A. and her allies would stop intervention "providing the Russian people would agree to make payment just as a kidnapped person would pay ransom to free himself". In January 1919 the Bolsheviks again negotiated with the government of the

United States: "We share your desire to re-establish normal relations between America and Russia, to abolish everything that may hinder these normal conditions". Beginning February 1919, the allies suggested that a conference be held at the Prince Islands with the aim of ending all intervention through direct negotiations with Russia, and the Soviet Government then declared in regard to the war debt problem: "to be ready to meet in this respect the demands of the Entente powers", and they suggested to guarantee their interest obligations by the supply of certain raw materials as equivalent. For the first time they offered economic concessions, and finally declared that they did not intend to exclude negotiations regarding the eventual annexation of Russian territory by the Entente powers".

All these offers could not prevent the continuance of the civil war, as the Entente Powers were set on the destruction of the Bolsheviks. They were in an extremely threatening situation when the first Congress of the 3rd International was called to be held at Moscow during March 1919. The foreign member parties represented there were very small and had to go through a number of decisive defeats. The chances for a direct revolutionary action by the new organization was very slight. But the situation was favorable and the first Congress was directed by the revolutionary slogans of Lenin: joint agrarian and proletarian revolution; change war into civil war, worker's councils, dictatorship: "the old capitalist order ceased to exist; it can't exist any longer".

A Bolshevistic socialization program was outlined and the relations between Socialistic Russia and the triumphant imperialistic powers and their vassal states and countries of besieged imperialism were delineated. The newly founded League of Nations was considered to be an instrument of the holy Alliance of Capitalism to overthrow the workers' revolution; the epoch of world revolution was announced. The days preceding the first Comintern Congress were days of defeats in Europe. The March Revolt at Berlin, the Rate-Republic of Munich, the Hungarian Revolution were decisive defeats by the middle European counter-revolution against the revolutionary lefts isolated by the proletarian masses. The Russians as before were in a pressed position. Isolated, they believed the time was not ripe for a revolutionary upsurge in Western Europe. They started the Bolshevik tactics centralized at Moscow, with its methods so well proven on Russian soil. "Appeal to the Masses" was the slogan that made them trail quite unexpectedly along the path of a radically edged opportunism. At the time when by means of the bad bureaucratic methods of Radek and Levi the Communist Party of Germany was directed to parlia-

mentary action and participation in the work of the counter-revolutionary Unions and the ultra-left majority was ousted (fall 1919, Heidelberg Party Conference) they had not yet disposed of their illusions of a timely revolutionary advance. However, as direct experience showed that Lenin's methods, so infallible in Russia, did not work out in Western Europe with its highly developed Capitalism, Russia had to establish herself as a national state in the midst of her capitalist surroundings. Her Comintern policy became, without altering her Bolshevik line, a policy of deferring the West European Revolution. The revolutionary policy was never given up, but it was changed from a problem of hazardous venture to a question of an enterprise with a 100% success guarantee in advance. This meant, if not theoretically, so practically the absolute end of all revolutionary struggle.

The Turn Towards National Self-Assertion

By the end of 1919, the Soviet Government had succeeded in subduing by military force the counter-revolution at home, i.e. to repel the cloaked invasion of the Allies. The victory in the civil war, however, was accompanied by the defeat of the system of war communism. In the first place, the economic supply of the country diminished by 80%. Secondly, the proletariat began to rebel against the terroristic dictatorship of Bolshevism and to demand council-democracy. Furthermore, the peasants violently put forth their economic demands which they emphasized by acts of far-reaching sabotage. (The Kronstadt rebellion was a typical combination of the workers' political and the peasants' economic demands. Trotsky, through Stalin's assistance, made himself the slaughterer of the Kronstadt proletariat, surpassing a Noske in cold-bloodedness and savagery and thereby clearing the path towards fulfillment of the peasants' demands.) The new economic policy (NEP) flung the door wide open to small private capital, primarily of peasant and merchant character. A private economy of small capital, controlled by the state, was to insure the economic rise of the nation.

In foreign politics, the Russians adopted the policy of retreat, after having suffered a considerable military defeat in the war against Poland. In a proclamation to the "toilers" of the Allied countries of January 28, 1920, Tchicherin declared that Russia had no intention of expanding her power to any other foreign country or to force the Soviet system upon any people against their will. The appeal for the proletarian revolution assumed a meek and platonic character. Not the world revolution but the necessity to establish her place among the nations of the world, determined Russia's foreign policy.

Just as Lenin--before and during the Russian revolution--

developed a broadly conceived strategy of making use of the various class forces, so he developed now a strategy of making use of the various nations for the purpose of strengthening Russia's foreign-political position. With the renunciation of an immediate revolutionary world policy, was bound up the necessity of diplomatic security for the Soviet state. Russia started with the first Western securities. In the course of the year 1920, she gained final recognition by Estonia, Lithuania, Latvia, and Finland. Those border states felt the immediate pressure of the Soviet state; they also had the urgent need for a counter balance in order to escape domination by the Western powers, at least to a certain degree.

This policy of the small nations, which--with the assistance of the Allies--two years earlier had put an end to the communistic revolution, caused Lenin to proclaim in the year 1920 the direct alliance with "the bourgeoisie of the small states". He declared that the Bolsheviks had been successful in winning for themselves not only the workers of all countries, but also the bourgeoisie of the small states, because imperialism was not only suppressing the workers of all countries but also the bourgeoisie of the small states. For this reason, the Bolsheviks "had won for themselves the wavering bourgeoisie of progressive countries.

In this period of growing alliances between the Soviet Union and the Bourgeoisie of certain capitalistic countries, the second congress of the Comintern convened. It laid the foundation for a revolutionary bluff-phraseology, which left the Comintern leadership free of all obligations. The manifesto of the congress announced the downfall of Europe and the world, and the uprising of the proletariat: "Civil war throughout the world is the order of the day". - For the rest, the congress directed its attention largely to the colonial East and proclaimed "a policy of concluding a close alliance between Soviet Russia and all movements for national and colonial liberation". Particularly did the congress recommend the organization of the peasant movement in the colonies with the aim of creating peasants' soviets.

This stand for an East-Asiatic revolution still implied a strong will for a peasant revolutionary attack upon imperialism. The decisions with regard to the Countries of Western Europe, however, were mainly of a different character. There the Russians were interested in founding for themselves a broad parliamentarian - trade union mass movement. "Penetrate the Masses" demanded their slogans, giving directions for the displacement of the old leadership and for creating bolshevist nuclei in the various reformistic labor organizations. The twenty-one conditions concerning the joining of the Comintern by new

parties brought forth no fundamental struggle on the question of tactics. Parliamentarism, trade-unionism and the ultimate demands for a proletarian dictatorship brought Centrists and Bolsheviks together. These twenty-one conditions, however, served the Russian leadership with regard to the mass parties of centrism that were to join the Comintern. The old leadership was to be disposed of, the centrist - democratic traditions within the organizations were to be destroyed. The lack of clear understanding among the followers of these parties rather benefitted the Moscow leadership, which intended to direct these organizations in the momentary interest of its complicated foreign policies, and, at the same time, aimed to make them the reserves for a future revolution. These two tasks necessarily contradicted themselves, which explains the duplicity of the Comintern policies and led to the disregard of the interests of the Western Europe proletariat. The core of all decisions of the second congress, however, is to be found in the following statement of the manifesto of the Communist International: "The Communist International has made Soviet Russia's cause its own."

ENTERING INTERNATIONAL DIPLOMACY

Moscow's ideas of participating in International Diplomacy, born in 1920, blossomed out during 1921. The gradual consolidation of the NEP brought with it the first easing in the plight of this horribly distracted country. After the European situation, the Asiatic problem was of first importance. Soviet Russia began the diplomatic counter-attack against England's politics in Asia. In February and March 1921, the U.S.S.R. concluded pacts of neutrality and non-aggression with Persia, Afghanistan and Turkey. While Russia forsook old Czarist claims and agreements, it gained the assurance of mutual military support. Persia announced its readiness to admit Russian troops on Persian soil in case of a foreign (British) invasion. Afghanistan gladly accepted the promise of Russian money and material, and Turkey embraced the assurance of the "Nations of the near East of her freedom and independence and her self-determination in matters concerning her own form of state". Simultaneously, Soviet Russia procured recognition from Poland which was then trying to liberate herself from French domination, and finally, in November 1921, outer Mongolia was taken under Russian protection. Besides all these achievements, including annexing and Bolshevizing Georgia, the Soviet Union realized many political victories all along the Asiatic frontier, which in turn improved her position in the West as well.

The NEP Program, of course, included the commencement

of trade relations with capitalist states, as well as the invitation to foreign capital to invest in private concessions in the U.S.S.R. Europe, in turn, decidedly weakened by the World War, was in no position to do other than to finally accept the existence of Soviet Russia, and the latter's repeated assurances that economic relations would lead to mutual economic benefits.

In 1921 Russia had already concluded economic treaties with Great Britain, Germany, Norway, Austria and Italy, with Czechoslovakia following in June 1922. All these treaties, of course, brought de facto recognition of the U.S.S.R.; the German-Russian Agreement included even extra-Territoriality Rights for Russian trade representatives.

Russia, in turn, obligated herself to the strict enforcement of the so-called "Propaganda Clause", and in 1919 already announced her willingness to include in the general treaty with the Entente Powers this clause, i.e. "to abstain from interfering in their (Entente's) home affairs". In Germany, after the signing of the Russo-German Treaty of May 5, 1921, Russian representatives had to bind themselves to repress all propaganda against the German state or its institutions. A step further in that direction is illustrated by the pact with Czechoslovakia. Here the governments of the respective countries pledged "each to refrain from any propaganda against the government of the co-signer or against any of its institutions, and not to take part in any possible economic disturbances which might arise in either country."

Great Britain, finally in 1923, received from the U.S.S.R. the following declaration: Russia shall not support or finance any agents, organizations or institutions whose aim it is to create unrest in Great Britain, or any other part of her empire no matter how loosely connected, and to impress upon her officers to completely and permanently live up to this contract. (Memorandum of the Soviet Government of June 4, 1923.) It is well known that this very clause led to the severance of British-Russian relation in 1924 when England, basing her argument upon the fabricated letter of Zinoviev, tried to arrange a new contract. Directed against the Comintern, the new Pact, which was not accepted until 1929, would also include persons and organizations under direct or indirect control of U.S.S.R. and organizations which accepted money from those. The Soviet Union, of course, refuses with formal right to have any influence upon the Comintern, and this is sanctioned by all so-called experts of International Law.

Under this shadow, the Third World Congress of the

Comintern convened. Although at that time Russia had only started an international diplomatic apparatus, it nevertheless supplanted the comintern foreign office very soon. As world capitalism presently recognized the Soviet Union, Russia in turn gave up her faith in World Revolution and observed the rehabilitation of world capitalism. The perspectives of the Third Congress were greatly reduced when Zinoviev announced: "The Third International has her tactical principles adjusted to a slow development."

The relative consolidation of power of the Bourgeoisie brought about a renunciation of revolutionary activities of the Third International. By formally condemning Levy (Germany) the Comintern refused to support the March revolutionary activities in Germany and stated that the fight of the workers in the future could only be defensive, while the Congress theoretically decided against centralistic leadership in Italy, practically there were not many changes. In Germany, the C.P. amalgamated with the U.S.P. (Independent Socialist) while they refused to remain with the "Ultra Left" K.A.P. (Communist Workers Party). All these selected tactics, of course, brought the European C.P. toward the S.P. The possibilities of "United Front from above" and "the perspectives toward parliamentary Labor-Governments" were marked out, and it was under the influence of those tactics that Brandler before a German Court announced: "It is the goal of our party to establish the dictatorship of the Proletariat under the Weimer (German) Constitution".

Russia Becomes A Factor of International World Politics

"Without Russia there will be no restoration of world economy", Radek declared in 1920. This statement not only served the interest of Russian domestic economy, but also those of world capitalism, and enabled Russia to begin negotiations with Western powers. Having been successful in signing satisfactory commercial treaties with several smaller states, she began the fight for participation at the important international conferences. In 1921 she protested vehemently for not having received an invitation to the Washington conference which dealt with colonial policies (sphere of influence) in the Pacific Ocean, China, etc. Her protests were in vain; but in March 1922 she obtained admission to the conference at Geneva which dealt with the economic and financial restoration of Europe. Tchicherin, the Russian foreign secretary, declared in behalf of the Russian delegation: "Soviet Russia is of the opinion that the present time which makes possible the parallel existence of the old capitalist and the gradually developing new social order, necessitates close co-operation between the two social systems, in the interest of a general economic restoration". He continued to point out the reasons for Russia's

wish to obtain friendly relationship and commercial treaties with other powers. And because "the economic restoration of Russia--the largest country in Europe, with the greatest supply of natural resources--is the prerequisite for a restoration in all other countries" therefore Russia is willing to open its boundaries for international transit, to lease millions of hectares of soil for cultivation, and to grant extensive concessions in coal, forest and ore development. The Russian memorandum assured foreign entrepreneurs more than adequate guarantees and promised even to compensate foreign state subjects for losses suffered during the world war. By offering such concessions, Russia hoped to obtain capitalistic support for its own economic restoration. "The financial support from other countries is of utmost importance for the economic restoration of Russia" Tchicherin told Lloyd George, the leader of the British delegation, on April 20, 1922. The eight capitalistic delegations at this conference, however, demanded not only a number of political guarantees but also repayment of the czarist war debts which the Russians could not grant. Consequently, they arrived at no agreement. But in their final memorandum the Russian delegation declared again: "In order to bring about a mutual understanding, Russia is still inclined to grant far reaching concessions providing the other powers do likewise".

For Russia the conference at Geneva was not a success as far as financial support was concerned, but due to the antagonistic constellation of the European powers, it opened the road towards closer connection with Germany and soon afterwards the two governments signed the treaty of Rapallo. Germany recognized Russia de jure, and thereby won an ally in her fight against the Treaty of Versailles. Both governments renounced all claims regarding payment of war debts. "The Rapallo treaty opens the door to Russia for German capital", Preobrashenski wrote in a pamphlet. The German capital, however, was not utilized in the interest of Russian restoration but instead was used for building German aeroplanes and poison gas factories. It is even suspected that there existed a secret clause in the treaty which called for close military co-operation in case of a German-Polish war similar to the one which called for combined military operation against France should Germany choose to liberate herself from the Treaty of Versailles.

The elimination of Germany as a possible aggressor thru the Treaty of Rapallo induced Russia to seek similar treaties with her border states. She offered to reduce her standing army to 200,000 but when the border states refused to discuss disarmament, Russia, in turn, refused to participate at a conference which was to discuss non-aggression pacts. Thru this maneuver, Russia indirectly

obtained for herself a *raison d'etre* for the anticipated German-Polish war--a circumstance which seems to indicate the existence of the above mentioned secret clause. Russia thus became the partner of Germany, a state which bitterly struggled to restore its former imperialist position.

Strengthened by the Treaty of Rapallo, Russia began to exploit the capitalistic antagonisms between the great powers in order to obtain further concessions and thus fortify her own position. The Fourth world congress of the Communist international which assembled early in 1922 in Moscow was given the task of revising the "line" of the Comintern parties along these new developments, a task which--needless to say--was solved in an extraordinary fashion. More distinct than ever before was Russia the center, the alpha and omega, of international Bolshevik politics.

"The greater and stronger Russia becomes, the more powerful will become her revolutionary influence internationally", read the theses about tactics. Questions concerning the German situation were paid added attention and the resolution about the treaty of Versailles spoke of a people which "disarmed and deprived of all defensive means is at the mercy of the imperialist powers". This was said of a Germany whose rulers had just completed a bloody campaign against the revolutionary working class. The congress advised the German and French CP's to fight unitedly against the shameful treaty of Versailles. On questions regarding united front action it was considered important to fraternize on an ever broadening basis with social-democratic organizations. In conclusion, the thesis declared: "Since the CI emphasizes the slogan for united front action of all workers and since the CI permits her various sections to co-operate with groups and parties of the Second and Second-a-half Internationals, therefore the CI cannot refrain from entering similar agreements on an international scale". The Comintern was thus led close to the Second International whose immense parliamentary and moral influence--it was hoped--would accelerate the bolsheviks' endeavor to gain capitalist concessions. The result of this change in policy, the theory of a "workers coalition government", was developed. Such a coalition, the Comintern pointed out, not only could be possible but actually would be desirable as it is the logical step towards the complete abolition of the capitalist system.

All these resolutions were made to fit the German situation, and to suit the German military clique with whom the proposed secret military treaty was still an uncertainty. The CPG, however, began in impudent frivolity to prepare the stage for a national peoples front. Later,

at the party congress in Essen (1925), the CPG declared that until 1923 Germany was not an imperialist but a nationally suppressed country and the at that time expected war with France would not have been an imperialist war but instead a national war waged for the purpose of liberating a suppressed people. In such a case, it would have been the duty of the CPG to support it unhesitatingly. It seems hardly conceivable that the ECCI in 1923 considered it possible to carry its "socialism" on the bayonets of the red army to Germany, and after having succeeded in helping her to throw off the Treaty of Versailles undertake the difficult task of crushing the united German bourgeoisie. It is worthy to note that this ideology resembles to a hair the one expounded by the National communist, Wolfheim-Lauffenberg, in 1919. But even Lenin himself renounced whatever basic revolutionary ideas were left in the Comintern when he declared that socialism in the highly developed countries of Europe would not grow out of the capitalistic economic contradictions but rather thru imperialist exploitation of one state by another. (Coll. Works, Vol. XVIII, p. 136; Russ. ed.)

Having thus formulated the new slogans, the Comintern began to identify the German war for national liberation with the German workers revolution. Still greater stress was laid upon the necessity for united front action and parliamentary participation in coalition governments. This change in policy met with success in Thuringia and Saxonia (1923) where CP and SP members formed coalition governments. This sacrifice to their revolutionary principles was made, explained the communist leaders, in order to assure success for the real German revolution which was scheduled to break out in the fall of 1923. At the last minute, however, after all plans had been carefully worked out, the orders for the uprising were withdrawn "due to the treachery of the SPG and the inability of certain communist leaders". The fact however, is that the Comintern had suddenly discovered that an armed insurrection of the German proletariat would not lie in the interest of Russia's foreign policy and for that reason the German proletariat had to be sacrificed. With this step the Comintern, which for years had subordinated the world revolution to inner Russian development, completely abandoned the last straws of revolutionary class-consciousness. Russia realized that neither a war against France nor a revolution in Germany would be of any benefit to her. She accepted as the lesser evil the "status quo", and thereby laid the foundation for the now "famous" slogan of "socialism in one country".

The Pacification of Russia's Western Policy

Although a quick economic recovery was achieved in the NEP period, the final results, nevertheless, were considerably below the Bolshevik expectations. The difficulties of construction increased; the first planned experiments were experiments outside of the economic system, and the foreign concessions continued to be of very moderate size. Therefore, the energies of the Bolsheviks were concentrated on the interior situation, and there the difficulties demanded their whole attention. Their foreign policies towards Western capitalism were of a purely diplomatic-defensive function: development of economic relations, protection against all disturbances and interferences, no matter whether of war-like or revolutionary character.

Russia's relations to Germany lost their former intimacy, although further cooperation was assured on a remote scale under the leadership of German "Reichswehr" circles. A German-Russian commercial treaty was signed in 1925 which for a long time occupied the first place in the Russian business. In 1926 there even resulted a non-aggression pact which evidently represented the continuation of the German-Russian cooperation in the Polish question.

Apart from this, further relations between Russia and other capitalist powers were developed. Still in 1923 it declared its willingness to participate in a conference for the restriction of sea-armaments. In the course of 1924 it finally succeeded in obtaining the official (.volkerrechtliche) recognition from a number of countries. Great Britain, Italy, Norway, Austria, Greece, Sweden, Denmark, Mexico, Hedschas, Hungaria, France, etc. resumed normal diplomatic relations with Russia in 1924. Beginning of 1925 Japan followed suit. Only the U.S.A., which was sufficiently occupied with its own internal problems, did not follow.

The fifth world congress of the Comintern, which took place in the summer of 1924, responded adequately to the "changed situation", i.e. the changed character of the foreign policies. Thus it took notice of the "beginning of a certain democratic-peace phase" in the world policies, and it praised the Soviet Union as the only country with a policy of "real peace". As usual, the responsibility for the German defeat was denied by the leadership of the Comintern. For this they held responsible, according to the resolution on the report of the ECCI, the "deceit of the leaders of the SPG and the inability of the leadership of the CPG." The united front tactics were now regarded as only "a revolutionary

method of agitation and mobilization of the masses"; the "right deviation" of Brandler-Thalheimer was recorded, (with the simultaneous election of Brandler as honorary chairman of the congress!); and the short era Ruth Fischer-Maslow was approved of to conceal the defeat of the Comintern. Practically, the strengthened "ultra left" phraseology was combined with purely parliamentary perspectives. Although the Socialist Parties were called the third parties of the bourgeoisie, the possibility of the formation of "workers' governments" in a "number of countries" was viewed visible. Such governments would "objectively" mean progress as they announced the decay of the bourgeoisie. The task of the "real followers of the proletarian revolution" would consist in "transforming the so-called workers' governments into "the dictatorship of the proletariat". However, the parliamentary-character of the Comintern doubtlessly reached the limit with the consideration of the German defeat. It was declared: "After the severest defeat of the revolutionary movement in Germany, after a subsequent inner crisis and after the most brutal persecutions, the Communist Party of Germany succeeded in quickly reassembling its ranks, created a strong and able leadership and demonstrated, through a brilliant election victory with three and three-quarter million votes, its revolutionary force as being larger and stronger than ever before". Thus the revolutionary movement in Germany in the autumn of 1923, defeated with the aid of the Comintern, gave the latter cause to celebrate the "revolutionary force" of an "election victory", which, incidentally, lasted only to December of the same year.

Having switched over to this course, the Comintern parties now represented nothing but a thorn in the flesh of the capitalist countries, operated in a half-putschistic and half-parliamentary fashion, and representing a reserve iron which could at a later time eventually again be used on the soviet anvil. In this course the leaders of the Comintern took care that the fire was properly banked. Already in 1925 the "ultra lefts" Fischer-Maslow were disposed of, an action which led to the splitting off of the Trotskyan "Lenin Group" and which resulted in bringing the kowtowing Thalman to the foreground. In reality, Russia tried to suppress any revolutionary movement. Although Germany did not represent any field for revolutionary action after the shameful and fightless defeat of 1923, England now became the place of an increasing crisis. Unable to build an effective C.P. in England, the Bolsheviks made every possible effort to find a counter-force against the sharp anti-Russian course of the English bourgeoisie. They accepted the ultra-reformistic trade unions as this counter-force and figured on their parliamentary influence. From 1925 to 1927 the glorious Anglo-Russian Committee was active,

the united front between the leadership of the Russian State and English reformism, as a united front against the anti-Russian diplomacy of England as well as against the English proletariat. In 1926 the gigantic English miners' strike took form, the largest workers' fight in English history. The British trade unions, allied with the Russians, suppressed the general strike and prevented extension of the fight to the front of all the English working class. During nine hard months of terrific struggling, neither trade unions nor the Bolsheviks came to the aid of the starving English miners who were giving their blood for the proletarian sake. Carefully avoiding any steps of attack, the Bolsheviks continued the activity of the Anglo-Russian Committee, as their diplomatic interests were worth far more to them than the interests of the English and the international proletariat. The Bolsheviks tried to avert any danger of war against their country, but simultaneously they prevented the European revolution which would threaten their shaking social system just as much as a military detonation.

Russia Turns East

Abandoning their hope for a speedy revolution in Europe, the bolsheviks began to direct their "revolutionary activities" towards the East. At the time the Comintern was calling off the German revolution in October 1923, they were busy organizing the first international peasant congress. With this instrument--the Peasant International--they hoped to embrace all colonial and half-colonial peasant countries and unite them--as they had done before with the Communist Parties--under the leadership of Moscow. In spite of the fact that their attempt met with little success due to adverse objective conditions, they never ceased to bend every effort toward achieving that goal. Even as late as 1928, the sixth world congress of the Comintern instructed the ECCI to renew its activity towards the founding of an international peasant soviet. We may recall here that the fifth world congress (Summer 1924) had already ratified the organization of the peasant international and had instructed its sections to work in closer contact with the peasant organizations in order to consolidate everywhere "workers and peasants blocs". These resolutions were made to fit the situation in China and to introduce the new policy under which the Chinese Communist Party was compelled to cooperate with the Chinese nationalist party, the KUO-MIN-TANG.

The theses condoning the new tactics frankly stated that "the Comintern had paid too much attention to the development in Europe" and that it is now of utmost importance to further the development of those mass movements in the

East which struggle to liberate themselves from the imperialist oppression and from which--as Stalin declared--would spring the decisive initiative for the world revolution. But also here the bolsheviks played a double role. While they endeavored to mobilize the peasant masses, at the same time they signed pacts of mutual agreement and understanding with the respective governments. In the pact with Turkey, they renounced all revolutionary activity because Kemal Pasha held the key position to Minor Asia about which a silent but bitter struggle was being waged between Russia and England. That under Kemal Pasha's regency every Communist was imprisoned or even hanged did not bother the Russian bolsheviks. The treaty with Turkey in 1926 followed the treaty with Afghanistan which provided mutual armed support should a third party trespass the borders of either of the two signatories. Russia thereby hoped to prevent England from using Afghanistan as a military base against her. A similar pact was signed in 1927 with Persia. These treaties were important to Russia insofar as they protected her South-Eastern frontier against an English invasion.

Of far greater importance, however, were the treaties she signed with China in 1924. The Chinese governments in Manchukuo and Peiping recognized her de jure. Russia annulled the czarist treaties, renounced all compensation due her for the boxer rebellion, and established China's right, on an equal basis, to the Eastern Railroad. This treaty brought about closer relationship to the Kuomintang which was openly supported by the bolsheviks. An harmonious co-operation between the Chinese Republic and Russia appeared to be a certainty.

The Betrayal of the Chinese Workers Revolution

The bolsheviks were victorious in Russia because they had been able to combine the interests of the workers with those of the peasants, and in their conception, the world revolution was merely a repetition of this procedure on an international scale. Although they had to realize that this policy was instrumental in the defeat of the European proletariat, they nevertheless hoped to employ it successfully in China.

Since 1925, the revolutionary movement of the Chinese proletariat had registered an hitherto unknown upswing, and China became the only country in Asia in which it was possible for the Comintern to build up a strong and active party. In conformity with the leninist-stalinist theory of the national liberation of imperialistically oppressed nations, this party--which had led heroic struggles against an infantile capitalism--was compelled to join the Kuomintang. The bolsheviks instructed the CPCh to organize united front bodies with the Bourgeoisie

and middle class. In 1926, the Kuomintang began in Canton the military offensive against the rebellious Northern provinces. Within two years they were the sole rulers of China. This speedy success had been made possible by the many revolts of the peasants and workers against the Northern generals. Shanghai was conquered in 1927, again with the aid of the workers who had risen against the Peiping troops. After the capture of Shanghai, the victorious Kuomintang general Chiang-Kai-chek demanded disarmament of the proletariat. The CPCh, following the advice of their Russian comrades, surrendered all weapons after which Chiang-Kai-chek ordered the persecution and beheading of thousands of rebellious workers. Moscow betrayed the proletariat of Shanghai because it considered a mutual understanding with the bourgeois elements and their butcher-general of greater importance. The CPCh had to remain within the Kuomintang but shortly later it was dealt another severe blow. Instead of attacking the Northern stronghold Peiping, Chiang-kai-chek's army marched against Wuhan where a communist government had been erected. The leaders of this government--all of them were former influential delegates to the Comintern--saved their necks by joining the invading hostile forces. This development must be considered as the logical consequence of the national policy the Comintern had pursued in China. Moscow tried to white-wash herself by expelling scores of 'unworthy' leaders.

The proletarian uprising of the Canton workers against the regime of Chiang-Kai-chek in December 1927--which was organized by Heinz-Neumann--was not only a hazardous adventure, but a deliberate crime. Thousands of workers lost their lives in what was known beforehand as a losing battle, and thousands of others were massacred after the struggle. The Canton Soviet of 1927 can be compared with the Paris Commune of 1871: both struck a deathly blow to the revolutionary working class. The defeats at Shanghai and Canton--instigated and provoked by the Comintern--choked the Chinese revolutionary movement.

Only very slowly and laboring under great difficulties, the CPCh began to rebuild the party but not any more as a workers organization but instead sought to recruit new members from the peasantry. Since 1930 she has been actively engaged in many peasant uprisings and was also instrumental in the formation of the so-called Soviet-China, which comprises a few provinces in the interior. Moscow managed to remain the adviser and guide, and at this front it is really aggressive. But as Russia's activity in Eastern Asia embodies grave consequences to English interests, the latter untiringly endeavors to head off the Russian drive by irritating diplomatic maneuvers in Europe which compel Moscow to act with utmost caution and further compromises to her Western neighbors.

Should China consolidate in one form or another, it is highly probable that Russia would completely abandon her interest in the Chinese revolution--certain recent events point already in that direction--and would confine herself to the "building of socialism" within her own boundaries. She would then--as far as Asia is concerned--follow the road she has pursued in Europe since 1923.

On the Way To the "League of Nations"

When--after a four-year intermission!--the sixth world congress of the Comintern assembled in the year 1928, the liquidation of the Chinese workers' revolution had only to be recorded. It had by this time been noted even in Moscow that the Kuomintang had "gone definitively over into the camp of the counter-revolution" and inflicted "severe defeats" on peasants and workers of China. The orientation upon the peasant movement was clearly expressed and entered as the last credit item in Comintern affairs: "The colonial countries are at present the most dangerous sector for the front of world imperialism", declared the Theses on the revolutionary movements in the colonies and semi-colonies. Accordingly, very detailed directions were worked out for bolshevist policy in the larger colonial and semi-colonial areas, and orders were given for the forming there of Comintern parties. It is a matter of note that the theses with reference to colonial policy occupy 45 pages in the official protocol of the congress, while the theses on tactics of the Comintern as a whole require only 31 pages. Moscow activity was therefore unequivocally directed toward the East, and in fact toward the peasant East.

If the Comintern adopted a more aggressive tone on the questions of European policy as well, that was, on the one hand, a natural consequence of the altered political situation in Russia itself; it was also, however, the new deceptive manoeuvre for distracting attention from the policy of drawing still closer to the bourgeoisie of Western Europe.

In 1928 the NEP-policy came to its final close. On the question of forced organization and concentration of industry and agriculture, the bolshevist government went over to downright state-capitalism, to the offensive. The first five-year plan was proclaimed, collectivization introduced, the struggle taken up against NEP-speculators, small traders and kulaks. In harmony with this intensified course of action, the sixth congress proclaimed the famous theory of the "third period", which was to lead to war between the imperialist powers and to

war against the Soviet Union as well as to the utmost sharpening of the general crisis of capitalism. The year 1929 was the year of the highest post-war boom of the capitalist countries; nevertheless in this same year the CP of Germany, for example, worked the revolutionary watchwords to death by means of continual calls for strikes or general strikes, calls which met with general ridicule. They drove the unemployed into senseless actions which used up their energies before the subsequent crisis began to require the throwing in of the proletarian forces. The rapprochement with the SP was broken off, this party was declared the representative of "social fascism", the trade unions were "split" by means of the "red union opposition" (RGO) fiasco, work in the factories was given up in favor of the exclusive organization of the unemployed.

At the same time, with the turn in German foreign policy, the sixth congress laid it down that the anti-soviet block of imperialist powers was completed. It needed this false and delusive thesis because the Russians, with the close of the Chinese adventure, had renounced all really revolutionary action on the part of the international working class and accordingly, wearing the halo of the five-year plan, shoved into the foreground the decorative slogan of "socialism in one country". World imperialism vs. Soviet Union: that became the formula of the Comintern's perspectives as simplified by the Stalinist regime, while at the same time the Soviet Union, for the same reason of furthering the five-year-plan policy, threw itself definitely into the course of economic and politico-pacifistic understanding with the imperialist world powers.

The efforts to get into the imperialistic-diplomatic business of the League-of-Nations countries were begun by the Russians even a number of years before this time. Participation in the first session of the preparatory disarmament commission was only formally declined in the spring of 1926, since the session was held in Switzerland and this country had still refused to give any satisfaction for the murder of Vorovski (1925 in Geneva). At the end of 1927, at the same time that Chiang Kai-shek was shooting down Neumann's insurrection in Canton, the Russians went into the preparatory disarmament conference. They threw havoc into international diplomacy with their proposal for the "complete abolition of all fighting forces on land, on sea and in the air", but soon fell in with the "reasonable" rules of imperialist foreign policy. As early as March 1928, they drew back, in the "securities committee" of the League of Nations, from their thesis of the complete to that of a partial disarmament. Litvinov explained: "Since our proposal for a complete and general disarmament has been met by most

of the delegations with the idea of a partial disarmament, the Soviet delegation has decided to look about for a common ground with the other delegations, even though it be on the restricted field of such a partial disarmament". The stage on which the groupings, coalitions and counter-coalitions for the future imperialist world war were forged and disrupted had been entered upon. The Russians displayed a very high degree of diplomatic skill in the fog of this and the following disarmament conferences, which in themselves were merely designed to conceal the continuous and intensive arming of all the participants, inclusive of the Soviet Union.

In the summer of 1928, the arming powers concluded the Kellogg pact, which was to be a many-sided agreement regarding the prohibition of war as an instrument of foreign policy, met with enthusiastic approval throughout the world, was signed by all the more important States and led practically to this: that, firstly, the States waged wars without a formal declaration to that effect (e.g., Japan in Manchuria), and, secondly, the League of Nations, in the case of any military conflict, declared its incompetence as sponsor of the Kellogg pact. Tschitcherin referred to the Kellogg pact as a part of the war preparation against the Soviet Union, with which expression he probably meant to explain and justify the adherence of Russia.

Peace Diplomacy in the World Crisis of Capitalism

The advent of the world crisis was accompanied by a great increase of economic and political uncertainty in world policy. Accordingly, the Russians intensified their endeavors to assure economic and political understanding with the capitalist Powers and to hold off all outer disturbances from their work of construction at home. The year 1929 saw the conclusion of an eastern Kellogg pact, in which Estonia, Latvia, Poland, Rumania and Russia undertook to recognize the Kellogg Pact independently of its ratification by the 14 States by which it was originally concluded. This eastern protocol was adhered to later by Turkey and Persia.

The economic business with the capitalist States made progress. In 1930 a trade agreement was entered into with England, and the one with Italy (dating from 1924) was considerably expanded. In March 1931 the Russians took part in the international agrarian conference at Rome so as to promote the export of Soviet cereals. They likewise participated in the agrarian and export conference at Stresa in the autumn of 1932. The relations with German capitalism became so close that in the spring of 1931 there journeyed to Moscow a number of big German industrialists who conducted negotiations regarding ex-

pansion of Germany's "russian business" and came away with over a half-billion gold marks in orders alone. The soviet orders provided 300 to 400 thousand german workers with "wages and bread", as the CP press of Germany proudly announced, and a part of the bankrupt german capitalism with profits and the possibility of existence, as the same press modestly failed to state.

The economic diplomacy of the Russians was mostly conducted, however, only in the interest of their political diplomacy. And in this latter field they were immeasurably more active. In the spring of 1931 they introduced in the european committee of the League of Nations the draft of a general non-aggression pact, which in autumn they laid before the League itself in the shape of an economic non-aggression pact. These drafts contained, like all the later agreements and proposals of the sort, a definition of the "aggressor". All these definitions were distinguished by a formal exactness which met with general approval. In exchange, the Bolsheviks practically struck from the soviet lexicon all the conceptions regarding the essence of imperialistic war as they had been entered there by Lenin. They broke up imperialist policy into an "aggressive" and a "defensive" one, and thereby went back to the shabby ideology with which parties of the Second International in the year 1914 justified their support of war being waged by their national and imperialistic bourgeoisie. And that was done for quite the same reasons, for the Russians were seeking alliance with imperialistic bourgeoisies, and they had to look in advance for the ideological justification of such a coalition policy with imperialist groups, a policy the practice of which had been delayed by the Social Democracy until the outbreak of the World War.

The Bolsheviks pointed the way throughout the world for the system of regional pacts which distinguishes the distracted foreign policy of imperialism in the world crisis. In the year 1932, they concluded the non-aggression pacts with the countries on the western border of Russia: Finland, Poland, Latvia, Estonia and Rumania (with the exclusion of the bessarabian question). This diplomatic act of securing the russian west boundary was followed by the conclusion of the non-aggression pact with France, which was ratified in February 1933. This diplomatic step released Russia from Germany and paved the way for the great change of front in european policy which was accomplished with Hitler's accession to power. Soviet diplomacy had well calculated the change of imperialist horses in soviet foreign policy.

In the year 1932 there were still in existence, besides, non-aggression pacts with a number of other countries:

with Germany, with Italy, with Turkey, with China, etc. Diplomatic relations with the government of Chiang Kai-shek, which had been broken off in December 1927, were likewise resumed in December 1932. The upheavals in the course of the world crisis led a number of other countries to recognize the Soviet Union definitively: Spain and the United States in 1933, Hungary, Rumania and Czechoslovakia in 1934. The recognition on the part of the three latter came about in the wake of the franco-russian alliance policy, while the U.S.A. became reconciled to the act because this country could no longer dispense with the Soviet Union in the game for pre-eminence in Eastern Asia, the game against Japan.

The sharp turn in german foreign policy--onto the line of Hitler's old plans for colonization in the East--brought about, in conjunction with the intensification of german arming activity, a reordering of the entire foreign policy of Europe. Since the methods of fascist domestic policy were also applied in german diplomacy, Hitler Germany did indeed offend its Versailles opponents, but nevertheless carried out its aims without delay. An essential success of this policy was the winning of Poland away from allegiance to the french policy. In consequence, Russia saw herself menaced anew on her western boundary. She countered by extending (April 1934) for a period of ten years the non-aggression pacts with the three baltic states. This diplomatic step was hastened by Germany's refusal to sign, as Russia had proposed, a protocol regarding the inviolability of the baltic states.

Entry Into the League of Nations

The Bolsheviks have been and are miles removed from conducting anti-fascist foreign policy. They have been emphasizing for years their good relations with Italy, a country with which, on the grounds of certain anti-german interests held in common, they concluded in September 1933 a new non-aggression and neutrality pact. If the Russians have turned from being an opponent of the League of Nations and made themselves one of its members, if from being an enemy of the Versailles treaty they have become its sponsor, if they have converted Germany from a support to a point of attack of their european diplomacy,--that was determined merely "thru certain changes in the policy of Germany", as Stalin declared at the 17th party congress of the CPSU in 1934. He further expressly stated that this diplomatic turn was not caused by the Fascists. On the contrary: "Certainly, we are far from being charmed by the fascist regime in Germany. Still, it is not a question here of fascism, as may be clear if only because of the fact that fascism in Italy, for example, has not stood in the way of the Soviet Union's establishing the best relations with that country." The question