

ZINOVIEV



& MARTOV



HEAD TO HEAD IN HALLE

WITH INTRODUCTORY ESSAYS BY

BEN LEWIS &

LARS T LIH



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**Martov and Zinoviev:
Head to head in Halle**

**With introductory essays by
Ben Lewis and Lars T Lih**

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Dedicated to the United Opposition
and the victims of Stalinist counterrevolution

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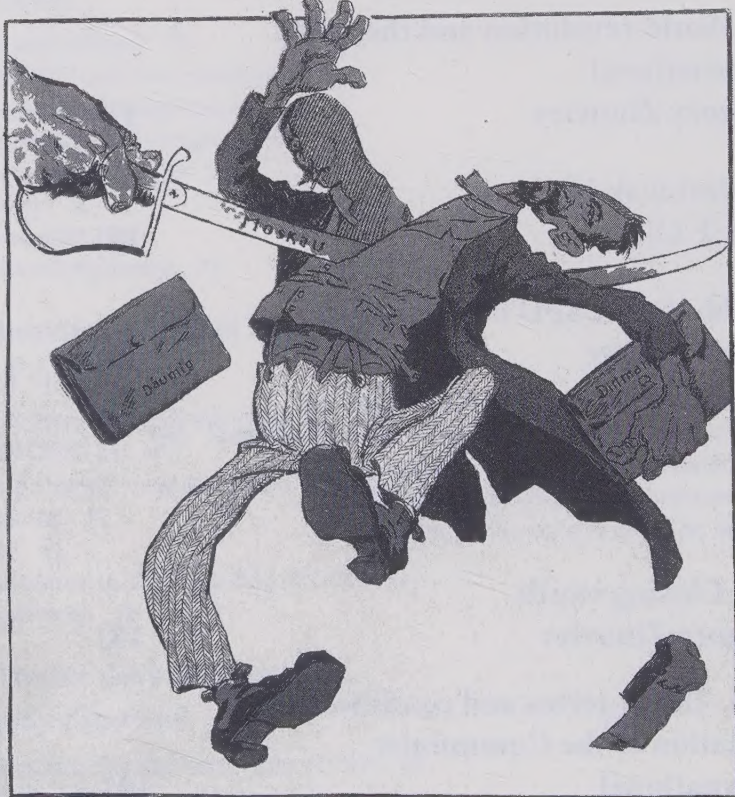
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ULK

Wochenbeilage zum Berliner Tageblatt

Der russische Schwabenstreich

Zeichnung von Paul Thiele



Zur Rechten sieht man wie zur Linken — einen halben Unabhängigen finden!

Front cover of the popular German satirical magazine, *Ulz*, from October 29 1920. Entitled 'Cunning Russian strike', it depicts a sabre, emblazoned with 'Moscow', splitting the USPD in two. In the one hand the victim carries a briefcase bearing the name of USPD left leader Däumig. The briefcase in his other hand is that of Dittmann, the USPD right leader. The caption reads: "Whether you look right or left, you see an Independent cleft"

I

The four-hour speech and the significance of Halle

Ben Lewis

Party comrades! It is not without a feeling of deep inner stirring and emotion that today I step onto this stage - the stage of the party congress of the class-conscious German proletariat, of that proletariat from which we have learnt so much and from which we will learn even more. Indeed, we have not come here merely to provide you with news of the experiences of our proletarian revolution, but also to learn something from the German proletariat and its great struggles. We will not forget that the German proletariat has gained much experience in the two years of revolution it has been through; that there is not a single town in this country where proletarian blood has not been shed for the proletarian revolution. We will not forget that proletarian fighters like August Bebel, Wilhelm Liebknecht and others have struggled in the ranks of the German proletariat. We will not forget that the German working class includes real heroes of the world revolution: Karl Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg.

These are the opening words to one of the most significant speeches of the 20th century workers' movement, delivered by Bolshevik leader Grigory Zinoviev at the Halle congress of the Independent Social Democratic Party of Germany (USPD). Many on the left will not have even heard of the speech or the split which followed it. With a few honourable exceptions, Zinoviev's speech is often overlooked by histories of the Weimar Republic and the German workers' move-

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ment more specifically.

Between October 12 and 17 1920, the sharp debates fought out at Halle were to shape the entire future of the German and indeed the whole European workers' movement. Two opposing motions were placed before the 392 mandated delegates. They dealt with two simple yet profoundly controversial questions. Firstly, should the USPD affiliate to the Communist International, born in the aftermath of the Russian Revolution? Or was this unnecessary because the parties of the old Second International, which had ceased to function during World War I, were already reforming? Secondly, should the USPD fuse with the young Communist Party of Germany (Spartacus),¹ or would this mean sacrificing its autonomy to an organisation that had just recently split away from it?

In 1920 the USPD had something close to 800,000 members and a press which included over 50 daily papers. But with revolutionary sentiment spreading like wildfire across Europe, the USPD stumbled from one crisis to the next.

In spite of its recently acquired fractious nature,² the German workers' movement was enormously powerful. As Europe's leading industrial power, Germany was centrally important to the world revolution that the Bolsheviks had banked on in 1917. Russia was a backward country with an overwhelming peasant majority. The Bolsheviks had always been clear that their continued survival crucially hinged on the German working class taking power. Without corresponding revolutionary action in Germany, the Bolsheviks knew that the young Soviet Republic would be condemned to isolation and inevitable defeat. It was surrounded by a sea of hostile imperialist powers and subject to the overarching economic dictates of the world division of labour.

The importance of the German workers' movement can be traced back to the success of the German Social Democratic Party (SPD). Between the 1880s and 1914 the SPD had served as a model for the workers' movement internationally. His criticisms of its programme and its lack of republicanism notwithstanding, Friedrich Engels could barely contain his delight at its seemingly inexorable rise. Just before his death in 1895, he wrote:

Its growth proceeds as spontaneously, as steadily, as irresistibly, and at the same time as tranquilly as a natural process. All government intervention has proved powerless against it. We can count even today on two and a quarter million voters. If it continues in this fashion, by the end of the century we shall have the greater part of the middle strata of society, petty bourgeoisie and small peasants, and we shall grow into the decisive power in the land, before which all other powers will have to bow, whether they like it or not. To keep this growth going without interruption until it gets

1. Formed in January 1919, the Communist Party of Germany (Spartacus) only dropped the suffix in December 1920. Henceforth I will refer to it as the KPD(S).

2. At the Halle congress, Arthur Crispian mocked the USPD left by pointing out that there were already four different 'communist parties' in Hamburg alone. Paul Levi, then KPD(S) chair, corrected him with a heckle: there were actually five! *Protokolle der Parteitage der USPD*, Band 3, Berlin 1976, p77.

beyond the control of the prevailing governmental system of itself, not to fritter away this daily increasing shock force in vanguard skirmishes, but to keep it intact until the decisive day, that is our main task.³

Unlike the many 'parties' that parade themselves on today's far left, the SPD had genuine mass influence and deep roots. As the historian Vernon Lidtke⁴ has shown, German social democracy was not so much a political party as it was another way of life devoted to the political, cultural and social development and empowerment of the working class. It ran women's groups, cycling clubs, party universities and schools, published hundreds of newspapers, weekly theoretical journals, special interest magazines such as *The worker cyclist* or *The free female gymnast* and much, much more. "It was much more than a political machine" concurs Ruth Fischer: "it gave the German worker dignity and status in a world of his [sic] own." Indeed, by 1912 the SPD had become the biggest party in the Reichstag with 110 seats and over 28% of the popular vote. Depending on their position in society, many either confidently or anxiously awaited the day when it would win a parliamentary majority and take over the running of society.

But the SPD's expansion had also planted the seeds of opportunism and revisionism that would later undermine it from within. As the party grew, so did the gulf between its revolutionary theory and the dull routine of putting out newspapers, organising in trade unions and contesting elections.⁵ The goal of socialism and human emancipation was increasingly relegated to Sunday speeches, party congresses, annual festivals and educational events. An increasingly detached and largely unaccountable bureaucracy of over 15,000 specialist full-timers developed, in which many party trade union leaders and functionaries saw no further than the struggle for higher wages and better conditions. Reichstag deputies immersed themselves in minor reforms and parliamentary deals. In other words the practice of the labour bureaucracy was becoming the norm, finding theoretical expression in the writings of Eduard Bernstein - a former star pupil of Marx and Engels, who was now questioning the very basis of Marxism itself.

3. F Engels, *Introduction to The class struggles in France* (<http://marxists.org/archive/marx/works/1895/03/06.htm>).

4. V Lidtke *The alternative culture* Oxford 1985.

5. Here I believe that Pierre Broué, the late French Marxist historian who has probably written the most extensive account of the German revolution, is wrong to assert that "Kautsky did not renounce the maximum program, the socialist revolution, which the expansion of capitalism had made a distant prospect, but laid down that the Party could and must fight for the demands of a minimum program, the partial aims, and political, economic and social reforms, and must work to consolidate the political and economic power of the workers' movement, whilst raising the consciousness of the working class. In this way, the dichotomy was created ... This separation was to dominate the theory and practice of social democracy for decades." Whilst it is doubtless the case that there were flaws in Kautsky's conception of working class rule, the programmatic method he was defending in the Erfurt programme of 1891 was that of Marx and Engels - ie, the culmination of the minimum programme's demands were understood to be the dictatorship of the proletariat or "the socialist revolution", not what Broué deems mere "partial aims, and political, economic and social reforms". See P Broué *The German revolution 1917-1923* Chicago, 2006, p17.

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Rosa Luxemburg polemically savaged Bernstein. But it was another star pupil of Marx and Engels, Karl Kautsky, who spoke for the party's centre - the majority, orthodox tendency. However, Kautsky's vision of the rule of the working class majority was problematic. For him, the existence of a state bureaucracy and the 'rule of law' were necessary in any modern state - bourgeois or proletarian.⁶ Primarily, however, he was resolutely committed to maintaining the unity of the SPD.⁷

Engels had not only pointed out some of these problems by noting the omission of the democratic republic - "the form of the dictatorship of the proletariat"⁸ - from its 1891 Erfurt programme.⁹ With quite remarkable prescience he also envisaged two possible scenarios that could put a brake on, or even throw back the cause of German social democracy: a possible war with Russia, with the potential loss of "millions of lives", or "a clash on a grand scale with the military, a blood-letting like that of 1871 in Paris".¹⁰ And, of course, World War I sent millions of working class people across Europe into the mincing-machine, also ensuring that these "years of fraternal dispute" in SPD pubs, branch meetings and congresses "found their bitter end in fratricidal warfare".¹¹

War and collapse

When on August 4 1914 the SPD Reichstag fraction treacherously voted for war

6. See M Macnair 'Representation, not referendums' *Weekly Worker* July 1 2010 for a discussion of Kautsky's views on the state bureaucracy and working class rule.

7. For an excellent discussion of the tension between the unions and the SPD, see D Gaido 'Marxism and the union bureaucracy', *Historical Materialism* No16, Amsterdam, pp115-136.

8. F Engels *Critique of the Erfurt programme* (<http://www.marxists.org/archive/marx/works/1891/06/29.htm>). There are several points in Zinoviev's diary entry and speech where he refers to understanding the dictatorship of the proletariat in an 'Erfurtian sense'. This was a common Bolshevik phrase at the time, echoing some of Engels's sentiments back in 1891. At the Second Congress of Comintern, for example, Lenin attacked Crispian's "Kautskyite conception of the dictatorship of the proletariat". This is Lenin in full: "Replying to an interjection, Crispian said: 'Dictatorship is nothing new; it was already mentioned in the Erfurt programme.' The Erfurt programme says nothing about the dictatorship of the proletariat, and history has proved that this is no accident. When we were working out the party's first programme in 1902-3 we always had the example of the Erfurt programme before us. Plekhanov, the same Plekhanov who calmly said at the time: 'Either Bernstein will bury social democracy or social democracy will bury Bernstein', laid special emphasis on the fact that the Erfurt programme's failure to mention the dictatorship of the proletariat was theoretically wrong and in practice a cowardly concession to the opportunists. And the dictatorship of the proletariat has been in our programme since 1903" (R A Archer *The second congress of the Communist International*, Vol 1, London 1977, p272). This is not to say that the Bolshevik understanding of 'dictatorship' was consistently in accord with that of Marx and Engels - see H Draper *The dictatorship of the proletariat from Marx to Lenin* New York 1987.

9. Also of significance in this regard is the dispute between Kautsky and Luxemburg over the use of the slogan of the democratic republic in 1912. In line with the majority of the party, Kautsky opposed SPD agitation for the republic, whereas Luxemburg insisted that it must form a central part of the SPD's activity.

10. F Engels *Introduction to the Class Struggles in France* (<http://marxists.org/archive/marx/works/1895/03/06.htm>).

11. C Shorske *German social democracy 1905-1917: the development of the great schism* Harvard 1983, p322.

credits, following a deal struck with the trade union bureaucracy to avoid strike action in the event of a war, many in the international movement were catatonically shocked. Hearing the news, for example, Lenin was convinced that it had been a fabrication on the part of the bourgeoisie in order to generate pro-war sentiments. But other parties in the Second International followed the German lead: with few exceptions, each party sided with their own bourgeois government. The usually indefatigable Rosa Luxemburg contemplated taking her life when she learnt that the Second International - once a symbol of international class unity - had betrayed its own name.

Even the great internationalist Karl Liebknecht had gone along with party discipline in voting for the war credits.¹² But like the thirteen other deputies who had expressed their opposition in a private fraction meeting the previous day, he had put the unity of the party first in the hope that it could be rapidly won back round.

The German war government's politics of *Burgfrieden* (civil peace) had enormous ramifications for the party itself. Exploiting the wave of patriotic demonstrations in favour of war against 'the enemy without', the German state apparatus had the perfect excuse to clamp down on 'the enemy within': censorship, conscription, and oppression against a workers' movement that German absolutism feared just as much as the British navy. Kaiser Wilhelm II summed up the results: "I no longer know any parties, I know only Germans!"¹³

Indeed, while the German ruling classes had long envisaged creating a land empire from France to Russia to complement their colonial 'place in the sun', their turn to imperialism was primarily informed by domestic concerns - not least beating back the 'red menace' of the SPD. As historian Paul Kennedy notes, the SPD's election results and social influence had "frightened all forces of the establishment"¹⁴ for quite some time. There were calls from big industrial capital and the great landowners, convinced that things like elections and democracy had gone too far, to curb the Reichstag's already limited powers and eliminate the threat of the SPD once and for all via a "*coup d'état* from above".¹⁵ The war, and with it the passing of political power into the hands of the military command, can therefore be partly understood as the ruling class challenge to the workers' movement. The tragedy is that the SPD was unable to rise to it. For all its size and organisational strength, it could not cope *politically*.

The SPD right was more than willing to put its shoulder to the war effort. It ruthlessly enforced a crackdown on the party's critical elements. Those who viewed August 4 as an aberration that could quickly be reversed were soon proved wrong - party democracy was further constrained and things got much

12. Speaking to party comrades afterwards, Liebknecht said: "Your criticisms are absolutely justified ... I ought to have shouted 'No!' in the plenary session of the Reichstag. I made a serious mistake." Quoted in Broué *The German revolution 1917-1923* Chicago 2006, p50.

13. S Haffner *Der Verrat* Berlin 1995, p12.

14. P Kennedy *The rise of the Anglo-German antagonism - 1860-1914* London 1980, p453.

15. *Ibid*.

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worse. Soon SPD leader Philipp Scheidemann openly embraced the plans of German chancellor Theobald von Bethmann Hollweg for territorial annexation in a Reichstag speech, even meeting up with him beforehand to clarify any differences they still had. A cosy relationship.

However, the patriotic wave that allowed the SPD union leaders and Reichstag tops to promise class peace gradually gave way to anti-war sentiments. Shortages, repression and the horrific reality of the carnage across Europe shifted perceptions. The longer the war continued, the more instances there were of workers taking action against its deleterious effects. This inevitably found expression in the SPD itself. On December 1915, 20 SPD deputies refused to vote for further war credits. Staying within the remit of 'self-defence' by focussing their attacks more on the bellicose talk of annexations than the war itself, their opposition was a far cry from that of the internationalist wing of Liebknecht and Luxemburg, who had founded the *Gruppe Internationale* in 1915. Known as the *Spartakusgruppe* from 1916, and the *Spartakusbund* from November 1918 on, its influence may have been small,¹⁶ but its message was infectious. It strove to utilise the economic and political crisis created by the war to hasten the downfall of capitalist class rule.¹⁷

Naturally, the pacifistic speeches of some of the Reichstag deputies earned the scorn of many a Spartacist polemic. Yet whether they knew it or not, the logic of events was driving towards cooperation and unity in a new organisation.

Against the backdrop of enormous disillusionment with the war, the SPD faced growing opposition from the left. The SPD right and its allies in the war cabinet and the German Imperial Army staff were unanimous - dissent could not be tolerated. The SPD daily *Vorwärts*, already twice censored for making vaguely critical comments about bread distribution, printed a letter from colonel general Mortimer von Kessel which spelled out that it would be banned if any of its articles broached the sensitive matter of class struggle.¹⁸ As a result, the activity of all critically-minded party journalists and editors of local party newspapers was severely restricted. For its part, the SPD leadership proceeded with caution, attempting to drive a wedge between the radicals and the more moderate, pacifistic opponents of the war by washing its hands of the former.

16. The *Spartakusbund* consisted of no more than a few hundred members, and the first edition of its monthly journal '*Die Internationale*' had a circulation of around 9,000.

17. This was fully in line with the policy adopted by the Stuttgart conference of the Second International in 1907. Following an amendment from Luxemburg and Lenin, this policy read: "If a war threatens to break out, it is the duty of the working class and of its parliamentary representatives in the countries involved, supported by the consolidating activity of the International [Socialist] Bureau, to exert every effort to prevent the outbreak of war by means they consider most effective, which naturally vary according to the accentuation of the class struggle and of the general political situation. Should war break out nonetheless, it is their duty to intervene in favour of its speedy termination and to do all in their power to utilise the economic and political crisis caused by the war to rouse the peoples and thereby to hasten the abolition of capitalist class rule."

18. EB Görtz (ed) *Eduard Bernsteins Briefwechsel mit Karl Kautsky (1912-1932)* Frankfurt am Main 2010, p24.

Thus in May 1916 Karl Liebknecht was sentenced and conscripted for his tireless work in the *Spartakusbund*. Meanwhile Karl Kautsky, an inveterate peacemonger, was able to continue editing the SPD theoretical journal, *Die Neue Zeit*. Just a year later, however, he would be removed.

Yet these attempts to sever the different elements of the opposition only partially succeeded. The incarcerated Liebknecht became something of a martyr. The anti-war strikes in Berlin, Leipzig and other working class centres in 1916 and 1917 rallied around his name. With influential left lawyers like Hugo Haase deluged with cases in defence of anti-war activists and conscription objectors, the different shades of the anti-war socialists entered into much more of a dialogue with each other. Most soon realised that the 'war socialists' were the common enemy.

When 20 rebellious deputies from the SPD parliamentary fraction refused to vote for further war credits in December 1915, they began to gain the ear of wider layers of the party. By March 1916, when Haase spoke out against the renewal of the state of siege and was supported by the parliamentary minority, the 33 deputies were expelled from the fraction. By January of the next year, they were out of the party as well - their work in forming the *Sozialdemokratische Arbeitsgemeinschaft* (Socialist Working Group) in the Reichstag proved too much for the SPD right leaders Gustav Noske, Friedrich Ebert and Philipp Scheidemann. Three months later, in April 1917, the USPD was born.

This realignment of the workers' movement was set against the backdrop of a deep-seated desire for radical change. The kaiser's regime was cracking under the weight of military failure and mass discontent.

The USPD and two revolutions

The USPD split is to this day the largest in the long history of the SPD. Some 120,000 members defected to the new organisation. It was a veritable melange, including Luxemburg, Bernstein, Kautsky and Liebknecht. Its main slogan was still "peace without reparations and annexations", which it thought could be achieved through mass pressure. The international bourgeoisie could be made to see reason. In response to their bureaucratic mistreatment in the SPD, the USPD favoured a decentralised approach. This tended to gloss over important differences within the organisation rather than resolve them - a defining feature of the USPD throughout its short existence. Yet the USPD was about to be shaken by a series of world-historic events which would abruptly bring these internal contradictions to the fore and call its very existence into question.

For their part, the Spartacists were clear that they were only in the USPD as a way of influencing those elements breaking with *Burgfrieden* and war socialism. Others, like Emanuel Wurm, Kautsky and Bernstein, were at first strongly opposed to the formation of the USPD, precisely because they feared the growing influence of the radical left wing. Their rather limited aims were to achieve peace and to uphold the values of the old SPD. After much discussion in private, Bernstein and Kautsky eventually agreed that the struggle for peace

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had to come first, even if this necessitated temporarily working alongside the Spartacists.¹⁹

The USPD's foundation was in many ways bound up with the Russian Revolution. The fall of the tsar in spring 1917 had electrified public opinion in Germany and lifted the spirits of the German left. During the negotiations to found the USPD, Haase spoke of the "light coming from the east".²⁰ Kautsky wrote enthusiastically about the possibility of socialist revolution, maintaining that it could be on the agenda if the peasantry - "the X, the unknown factor in the Russian Revolution"²¹ - could be won over.

But as the Russian Revolution gathered yet more momentum, tensions increased between the differing trends in the USPD. Soon the October Revolution would demand an unambiguous stance, as would the disintegration of the kaiser regime.

By late September 1918 Germany's defeat was obvious to the military top brass, the emperor's court and leading industrialists alike. General von Ludendorff²² pressed for urgent action. He was clear: a military dictatorship was not on the cards - *Spartakusbund* and USPD rank and file agitation had made the armed forces unreliable. They had to broaden the government to include the SPD in what admiral von Hintze dubbed a "revolution from above" in order to head off a "Russian October".²³

Initially hesitant, the SPD leadership eventually decided to join the new coalition of Progressives, National Liberals and the Centre on October 4 1918. They were bought off with the promise of an equal franchise in Prussia and the restoration of the Belgian state, which would receive reparations. But this could not hold back the movement from below. On October 16 there were mass demonstrations under the slogan: "Down with the government, long live Liebknecht!" Then, on November 3, a sailors' mutiny in Kiel made toppling the government a real possibility.

For the time being, the SPD kept its options open. On November 4 its executive committee announced that the kaiser's abdication was under discussion. Its supporters in the working class were urged "not to frustrate these negotiations through reckless intervention". Calls to action by an "irresponsible minority"²⁴ had to be rejected.

19. C Shorske *German social democracy 1905-1917: the development of the great schism* Harvard 1983, p314.

20. *Protokolle der USPD*, Band 3, Berlin 1976, p98.

21. K Kautsky 'Prospects of the Russian Revolution', *Weekly Worker* January 14 2010. For the possible effects of this article on Vladimir Ilych Lenin's 'April theses' see L T Lih 'Kautsky, Lenin and the April theses', *Weekly Worker* January 14 2000.

22. In August 1916 Paul von Hindenburg replaced Erich von Falkenhayn as chief of the general staff with Ludendorff as his coadjutor, continuing their partnership which had begun some time earlier. By mid-1917 Hindenburg and Ludendorff were running a highly centralised and militarised regime which had effectively taken over the civil government.

23. E Waldman, *The Spartacist uprising of 1919* Marquette 1958, p70.

24. J Riddell (ed) *The German revolution and the debate on soviet power* New York 1986, p38.

But the line could not be held. Bavaria was the first state to become a republic, declared by USPD member Kurt Eisner following a general strike on November 7. King Ludwig III abdicated and numerous other petty princes and fiefs were swept from power. By November 8, Dresden, Leipzig, Chemnitz, Magdeburg, Brunswick, Frankfurt, Cologne, Düsseldorf, Hanover, Nuremberg and Stuttgart had all fallen into the hands of the workers' and soldiers' councils.

On November 9 the regime was finished. The revolution had reached Berlin. A meeting of the USPD leadership had decided on a general strike and, although the *Jägerbatallion* [light infantry] was sent in by prince von Baden to suppress it, the soldiers refused to move against the crowd.

Von Baden hoped that the regime could be salvaged if the kaiser abdicated. He himself resigned as chancellor in favour of Friedrich Ebert, general secretary of the SPD. Ebert told him: "If the kaiser does not abdicate, then social revolution is unavoidable. But I do not want it; no, I hate it like sin."

Meanwhile, leading SPD member Philipp Scheidemann had found out that Liebknecht was about to proclaim the socialist republic. He decided to act. Against Ebert's wishes, Scheidemann declared the republic and that von Baden had given his office over to "our friend Ebert", who would "form a government to which all socialist parties will belong".

Almost at the same time, Liebknecht was indeed proclaiming the socialist republic.²⁵ With the memory of Ebert's and Scheidemann's betrayals of August 1914 still in mind, he feared another betrayal. Liebknecht was clear: Ebert had to be ousted from power. At 8pm around a hundred of his supporters stormed and occupied parliament. Their plan was quite simple: tomorrow elections had to take place in every factory and every regiment in order to form a revolutionary government.

While the workers' and soldiers' councils represented a burgeoning alternative power, the two workers' parties remained pivotal. Indeed, relations between them were to prove decisive at all levels.

The SPD's behaviour can be explained by the fact that it essentially considered the revolution completed by November 1918. Germany had become a democratic republic²⁶ and peace had been restored. A 'socialisation' commission had

25. This reflected a more general tendency to voluntarism in Karl Liebknecht - the socialist republic was quite clearly not an immediate prospect. Another example of Liebknecht's hastiness came on January 5 1919, when he and Wilhelm Pieck met with the USPD in Berlin and decided to set up a 'revolutionary committee' to take power in the capital. The resultant uprising is often known as the 'Spartacist uprising'. Yet Pieck and Liebknecht took this decision against the wishes of the KPD(S) leadership, which had met on January 4 and rejected calls to seize power in the capital.

26. In Marxist terms, of course, Germany in 1918 was a long way from a 'democratic republic' in the sense of Engels's understanding of popular rule embodied in the Paris Commune of 1871. Yet Karl Kautsky was of the firm conviction that the German working class had *come to power* in November 1918. Going back to the preconditions of proletarian power he outlined in his 1905 work 'Republic and social democracy in France', his absolute collapse as a revolutionary theoretician and politician is clear. If the Kautsky who had written 'Republic' in 1905 was the same person writing in 1919, as opposed to the 'renegade' Kautsky who had disavowed what he once wrote, then he would have been in no doubt that the working class had *not* conquered power. To take just two of the

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been established, the right to vote for all men and women over 20 guaranteed, pre-war labour regulations reintroduced and an eight-hour day enforced.

With initial success, it sold itself to the population at large as a kind of caretaker government upholding 'order' before elections to a national assembly. This was conceived as the sole legitimate form of government, resting on the pillars of the old bureaucracy and the army supreme command.

Addressing the councils or trade union branches, SPD members would talk about how newly-won universal suffrage represented "the most important political achievement of the revolution, and at the same time the means of transforming the capitalist social order into a socialist one, by planned accordance with the will of the people".²⁷ 'Socialism' was framed firmly within the capitalist constitutional order. Yet given the revolutionary turmoil, the concessions won by the SPD were considered the most that could be obtained by many in the trade union movement and the workers' movement more generally. Following the agreement signed between SPD union leader Carl Legien and the big industrialists, Hugo Stinnes and Carl Friedrich von Siemens, the trade union bureaucracy became positively hostile to notions of deepening and spreading the revolution. This influential layer formed another pillar of SPD support.

This in part explains another key feature of the SPD's behaviour: its constant tendency to cite the danger of 'putschism', 'Bolshevik chaos' and 'civil war' to justify its dealings with the supreme command and its restriction of working-class self activity. Behind the rhetoric, SPD intentions were clear - not to arm the people, not to expropriate industry, but to use its political influence within the new order to secure improved living standards, voting rights, trade union negotiation rights, and so on.

The SPD was unsure whether the workers' councils would cooperate with Scheidemann's government or would themselves become an alternative centre of power. Thus it had to direct the councils into safe channels. Yet doing so required left cover from USPD supporters. The USPD was therefore pushed into joining a provisional government. A major test for it.

The USPD rank and file were in many ways the 'men of the hour' in November 1917. They had established strong roots, particularly with the militant shop stewards' movement known as the *Revolutionäre Obleute*. But, given its divisions and its short existence, the USPD had no clear vision of what it wanted, no clear programme for German society. Distrust between the leadership of the USPD and the SPD ran deep, but the former comrades knew each others' politics inside out. And the SPD was confident that it could win the softer layers of the USPD - the 'centrists' - that way a descent into 'Bolshevik chaos' could be prevented. Ebert even implied, hypocritically, that he wanted Liebknecht on

criteria he outlines for the 'commune ideal' in his 1905 article, the powerful state bureaucracy of the old order remained intact and the army supreme command remained master of the situation - not the armed people. See B Lewis 'Same hymn sheet', *Weekly Worker* May 19 2011.

27. Quoted in DW Morgan *The socialist left and the German revolution: a history of the German Independent Social Democratic Party, 1917-1922*, p129.

board - just hours earlier he had been resolutely committed to a parliamentary monarchy and SPD coalition with the Liberals and the Progressives.

Richard Müller, Ernst Däumig and Georg Ledebour were extremely suspicious of those so quick to leap from advocating a coalition with the bourgeoisie to advocating a workers' government. They did not want to be used as a fig-leaf for SPD moves to call a snap general election, thereby nullifying the councils. Däumig, who later refused to take up a post in the war ministry, was clear: "the German revolution has only taken the first step - it must take many more."²⁸

Liebkecht insisted that government participation should be made contingent on all power being vested in the councils and on the immediate signing of an armistice. This was rejected by the SPD, which claimed that a "class dictatorship" of the workers would be 'undemocratic'. Only the people could decide on their government following properly organised elections - making it clear that the SPD wanted bourgeois parties on board.

A second round of negotiations - this time without Liebkecht in the USPD delegation - proved far more fruitful. The USPD accepted the invitation to enter government on the condition that bourgeois politicians would be there merely as "technical assistants". The other condition was that the national assembly should not meet until "the gains of the revolution had been consolidated". This vague concession had counterrevolutionary implications, as the old state apparatus essentially remained intact. All this produced further strains in the USPD.

Liebkecht was emphatic. He would not join the proposed government with Ebert, a man who had "smuggled himself into the revolution". So the new government was set up without Liebkecht, and consisted of three representatives, or people's commissars, from each party: Ebert, Scheidemann and Otto Landsberg for the SPD; and Hugo Haase, Wilhelm Dittmann and Emil Barth for the USPD. However, the situation was in flux. The SPD was playing the role of both the heir to the old regime and the head of the Berlin *Rat der Volksbeauftragten* (Council of People's Commissars).

Right from the outset the SPD was determined to marginalise the executive council of workers' and soldiers' councils (*Vollzugsrat*), which had been elected at a 3,000-strong meeting of workers and soldiers in Circus Busch on November 10 1918.

Driven on by its radical minority, the *Vollzugsrat* saw itself as a kind of Petrograd Soviet. It declared that Germany was now a "socialist republic", where power lay in the "workers' and soldiers' councils". Such clowning was, of course, easily ignored by the SPD-controlled press. The *Vollzugsrat* was reduced to radical rhetoric, having as it did no effect on the decisions of the *Rat der Volksbeauftragten*. In turn, the *Rat der Volksbeauftragten* had little control over the real day-to-day business of running the country.

None of the six people's commissars was a departmental minister. Trusted

28. *Ibid* p136.

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socialists may have been assigned to keep an eye on the bureaucrats. But the results were farcical. At a time when the new government was colluding with the Entente imperialist states to keep German troops in Latvia, Lithuania and Estonia so as to contain the Russian Revolution, Kautsky - sent as a USPD representative to watch over foreign policy - was sent away to investigate historical documents on the origins of World War I! Business as usual, then, for foreign secretary Wilhelm Solf and his officials.

It was the same in other areas of government business too. The 'socialisation' commission produced no results at all. The SPD members insisted that it was impossible to "socialise need", and that socialisation could only occur on the basis of national reconstruction and stability.

Controlling the army also proved impossible. The people's commissars refused to take measures against overbearing officers, which, after all, was one of the original impulses behind the revolution. Beyond a few token sackings and declarations on the right to display the red flag, the people's commissars did nothing. The SPD's approach of tinkering with the institutions of the old order ensured that they tolerated groups like the *Freikorps* on the Polish border. Soon the supreme command would employ them to crush some of the German capital's most militant working class strongholds.

Of enormous symbolic importance was the new 'socialist' government's attitude towards the Soviet Republic. The Russian delegation to the congress of workers' and soldiers' councils in Berlin on December 16 - which included former Soviet ambassador Adolph Joffe, as well as Nikolai Bukharin and Karl Radek - was turned away.²⁹

The mass of the USPD membership came to oppose their party's participation in the provisional government. By equal measure, the attempts to convene elections to a national assembly as quickly as possible were rejected. The three USPD people's commissars found themselves increasingly isolated from their membership.

There were growing calls for a USPD party congress - all were ignored. Yet the crisis in the party could not be averted. The final straw came on December 24 when the SPD commissars ordered general Lequis - a man well-known for his role in the suppression of the Herero uprising of 1904³⁰ - to launch an attack on the People's Naval Division in Berlin without the knowledge, let alone the consent, of their fellow USPD commissars. Dittmann, Haase and Barth felt compelled to resign.

Despite this, the leadership still refused to heed calls for a party congress,

29. The minutes of the session of the Council of People's Commissars of November 19 state: "Continuation of the discussions on Germany's relations with the Soviet republic. Haase advises dilatory progress ... Kautsky joins with Haase; the decision would have to be postponed. The Soviet government would not last much longer, but would be finished in a few weeks ..."

30. Following an uprising against German colonial rule in South West Africa (modern-day Namibia), the German army drove the Herero people into the desert of Omaheke. Up to 100,000 of the native population then died of thirst and starvation. This has been regarded as the first act of genocide of the 20th century.

arguing that the coming January elections took precedence. The *Spartakusbund* of Luxemburg and Liebknecht then decided split from the USPD and establish the *Kommunistische Partei Deutschlands* (Spartakus). In the words of a later KPD(S) leader Paul Levi, the split had “scarcely any influence” on the disaffected ranks of the USPD. Clearly, a premature move.

International realignments

The first few months of the revolution saw the SPD expand its mass base. Polling just under 38% in the January elections, it opted to join a bourgeois coalition government with the Centre Party and the German Democrats. This created real problems, with the SPD-led coalition dismally failing to deliver on many of its promises. For example, the eight-hour day had been a great achievement but it had been introduced without a corresponding wage increase - the average weekly wage of a worker fell to levels not seen since 1913.

Now in opposition, the USPD benefited from the resulting discontent. Between November 1918 and March 1919 200,000 new members swelled the USPD's ranks. The KPD(S) remained in the shadows. But the USPD had failed to resolve its own crisis of identity. Governmental unity with the SPD had proved a disaster. So what next?

Eduard Bernstein's best efforts to reunite the two wings of social democracy by taking up dual membership of both parties and establishing the 'Central department for socialist unification' found little support beyond the most right-wing circles of the USPD. His hopes of proving that the “politics of negotiation and decomposition ... was worse than all of the SPD's errors together”³¹ soon foundered. As was expected, this trajectory led him back into the SPD proper by May 1919.

But the USPD's prospects of unity 'to the left' were also beset with problems. The KPD(S) was viewed with suspicion too. Following the turmoil of the so-called 'Spartacist' uprising of January 1919³² its membership was scattered and subject to repression. Within months three of its best leaders - Luxemburg, Liebknecht and Leo Jogiches - were murdered by those with whom they had cooperated in the same organisation just a few years prior. The only reason that Paul Levi, by far the most talented of the remaining KPD(S) leadership, was able to escape being killed and take up the reins was because he was in prison when the killing spree began. It is thus unsurprising that many rank and file KPD(S) members drew understandable, yet erroneous conclusions: reject working alongside the SPD supporters of the butcher Noske in the unions and the factory councils, boycott the national assembly elections, and so on. But this did not win them much of a hearing with the USPD rank and file. Nor would it win them much of a hearing with the class more generally.

And by the USPD's second congress in May 1919, a definite shift to the

31. H Krause *USPD Frankfurt am Main* 1975, p132.

32. As discussed in footnote 25, the uprising was not the initiative of the Spartacist leadership.

left occurred around the question of international organisation. A motion was passed, calling for the “reconstruction of the workers’ international on the basis of a revolutionary socialist policy in the spirit of the international conferences in Zimmerwald and Kienthal”³³. However, the guarded wording of the motion was insufficient to clearly break with the plans of Kautsky and others to reconstruct the Second International at the Berne conference in February 1919.³⁴ Now that the war was over, it was time to forgive and forget about the social chauvinism, participation in war cabinets and the urging of workers to slaughter each other.

Lenin and the Bolsheviks, who, in opposition to the USPD leadership, had constantly fought for the foundation of a new, purified international at the anti-war conferences like Zimmerwald and Kienthal, turned words into action in March 1919. Seeing that the Communist International was formed by very small forces, many in the USPD considered this move premature. Revealingly, the Communist International was not mentioned in the USPD’s resolutions at the May 1919 congress. Yet, having seen Kautsky’s and Haase’s conception of ‘socialist’ foreign policy in the November government, and having heard of plans to revive the Second International, USPD members increasingly changed their minds. Reflecting the new political trajectory of the USPD, in July 1919 the pro-Comintern radicals Curt Geyer and Walter Stöcker were elected to the party’s leadership.

In response to this and other such developments, Hilferding wrote a series of articles defending his commitment to a revived Second International. For him this involved *reshaping* the Second International on a (vaguely defined) socialist basis. But these words did not amount to very much. The resolutions of the Second International’s Lucerne congress of August 1919, for example, did not demand a clear break with bourgeois coalitionism, and as such put no pressure on the SPD. Following this disappointment, many local USPD publications were of the view that backing a revived Second International was no longer an option. The demand for a revolutionary international grew daily. Yet what this exactly meant, and how it was to be achieved, was still unclear.

Come the USPD’s Leipzig congress of September 1919, these international issues were to dominate the agenda. Unity prevailed on domestic questions, and a new Leipzig ‘Action programme’ was decided upon. Although making nods in the direction of the ‘dictatorship of the proletariat’, the new programme was framed in a typically centrist way so as to smooth over differences and placate both of the USPD’s wings. This led Lenin to castigate the USPD’s growing left wing for combining, in an “unprincipled and cowardly fashion - the old prejudices of the petty-bourgeoisie about parliamentary democracy with communist recognition of the proletarian revolution, the dictatorship of the proletariat, and

33. P Broué *The German revolution 1917-1923* Chicago 2006, p337.

34. As Eva-Bettina Görtz notes, by June 1920 Kautsky was seriously considering rejoining the SPD in the hope of once again editing the theoretical journal *Die Neue Zeit*. EB Görtz (ed) *Eduard Bernsteins Briefwechsel mit Karl Kautsky (1912-1932)* Frankfurt am Main 2010, pxiv.

soviet power.”³⁵ For his part, KPD(S) leader Levi likened the new programme to a “lump of clay that one can make into a face or a gargoyle at will”.³⁶

Unity evaporated when discussion turned to the international situation. Three positions were represented. For the left, Geyer and Stöcker in particular were clear: the USPD should immediately and unconditionally affiliate to the Communist International. Now that the USPD officially recognised the council system and the dictatorship of the proletariat, the USPD was moving towards Comintern, and affiliation was the next logical step. They criticised the narrow perspectives of the Second International, which appeared to see no further than the League of Nations.

Hilferding proposed a resolution which criticised Comintern and called for the formation of a new international alongside what he deemed the revolutionary parties of the Second International. For him, Bolshevism needed “action” and thus unconditional affiliation would render the USPD “the whipping boy” of the Bolsheviks. The autonomy and independence of the USPD would be lost. At a time when the armies of counterrevolution were waging their campaign against Soviet Russia, when the masses were building solidarity in ‘Hands off Russia’ committees, Hilferding could only haughtily lecture that Russia was a “sinking ship” and tying the USPD to it would bring its imminent demise.

A middling position was represented by Georg Ledebour, who feared further splits in the movement. He wanted to work with the communists in the hope of overcoming the schism in the workers’ movement by creating an international of all ‘social revolutionary’ parties to resolve this matter *alongside* Comintern.

The debate was fierce. Karl Kautsky cut a sorry figure in his attempts to prop up Hilferding. His pious complaints about 6,000 government executions in Russia during the civil war were countered head-on by Geyer, Stöcker and their comrades, reminding Kautsky of the siege unleashed on Soviet Russia.

Ledebour’s middling position won the day. Following a day of negotiations behind the scenes, the congress finally reconvened. Both Hilferding and Ledebour had withdrawn their resolutions to propose a new, joint one which incorporated substantial aspects of Ledebour’s speech. It called for a break with the Second International, naming Comintern as the only international the USPD wished to join. However, it called for “negotiations” between the parties of the Second International and Comintern, not immediate affiliation. This delaying procedure was clearly aimed at undermining Stöcker, who adamantly refused to withdraw his resolution for immediate affiliation. The tactic worked. Immediate affiliation was defeated by 170 votes to 111, and the ‘compromise’ motion passed by 227 votes to 54.

Yet the pro-Comintern left’s representation in the USPD structures also continued to increase. With two opposed lists contesting the elections to the leading party bodies, the left list won 11 of 26 positions, along with four others who were

35. P Broué *The German revolution 1917-1923* Chicago, 2006, pp345-6.

36. R A Archer (trans) *The Second Congress of the Communist International* Vol 1, London 1977, pp282-3.

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proposed by both lists. Writing in *Kommunistische Internationale*, Karl Radek celebrated the Leipzig congress as a “landmark” in the development of the German revolution.³⁷ He also took some KPD(S) members to task for not recognising these changes within the USPD and the growth of a “communist” left. He argued that engaging with these layers was vital to the success of the German communists, who had to recognise that the USPD was no longer “the organisation it was in 1918” and that engagement demanded “different tactics”.

In the immediate aftermath of the congress, some members of the USPD right initiated rumours of secret meetings between the USPD and the KPD(S), and decried the ‘influence of putschist agents’. Now, Comintern had to intervene from Moscow against the leftists in the KPD(S) and Levi had to assert his authority. Ultra-leftist and syndicalist illusions had become an obstacle to unification in a much bigger revolutionary organisation.³⁸ Levi took the lead by expelling most of the leftists at the Heidelberg congress of October 1919; although it should be added that Comintern leaders Lenin and Karl Radek did not approve of Levi’s methods.³⁹ The ‘lefts’ proceeded to form the Communist Workers’ Party of Germany (KAPD). But the USPD left and the KPD(S) still seemed a long way apart.

Comintern’s 2nd congress

The Weimar Republic’s continuing destabilisation and exposure to a backlash from the far right made the different attitudes towards Comintern within the USPD ever more incompatible.

The USPD continued to grow at the SPD’s expense. The latter’s record in government, combined with its willingness to use the army and forces like the *Freikorps* to suppress the council movement - both before and after the attempted March 1920 *coup d’état* led by Wolfgang Kapp and General Walther von Lüttwitz - resulted in a rapid decline in its support base. The organised working class, whose general strike had defeated the attempted putsch, flooded into the USPD. Between the January 1919 and June 1920 elections the SPD’s share of the vote fell from 37.9% to 21.6%, while the USPD’s increased from 7.6% to 18.8%. Once again, the SPD asked the USPD whether it would form a joint ‘workers’ government’. However, the USPD insisted that the only government it would join would be a socialist one with majority support.⁴⁰ The Centre Party, the national-liberal

37. K Radek ‘Der Parteitag der USPD’ in *Kommunistische Internationale* No4, Amsterdam 1919, p129.

38. Levi’s focus was quite clearly correct. In 1920 the membership of the KPD was around 50,000, whereas the USPD organised around 800,000 members.

39. Although Charlotte Beradt describes Levi’s move as not that far removed from some of the tactics later employed by Comintern to split the west European parties, she states that it was “indispensable” to bring about rapprochement with the USPD left (C Beradt *Paul Levi: ein demokratischer Sozialist in der Weimarer Republik* Frankfurt 1969, p33). However, Lenin was clear in his opposition: “If the split was inevitable, efforts should be made not to deepen it, but to approach the Executive Committee of the Third International for mediation and to make the ‘lefts’ formulate their differences in a pamphlet” (quoted in P Broué *The German revolution 1917-1923* Chicago 2006, p321).

40. This remains a controversial decision. John Riddell cites Lenin, who argued that such a govern-

German People's Party and the liberal German Democratic Party proceeded to form an unambiguously bourgeois government.

Comintern sought to turn up the heat. Having rejected notions of 'international negotiations' - the matter at hand concerned whether the USPD wanted to join it or not - the ECCI wrote several letters and articles to establish just what was going to actually be done. The USPD right's prevarication soon became apparent. One 'open letter' from the ECCI went unpublished on rather spurious grounds: running such articles in the run-up to the elections could only assist the KPD. On another occasion a "lack of paper"(!) was blamed for the failure to print ECCI correspondence.⁴¹

The USPD right's feeble excuses were running into the sand. Meanwhile, the impulse towards genuine communist party unity initiated by the Russian Revolution was starting to pay dividends. More and more sizeable parties were pledging support for the new international, from Norway to Italy. The USPD leadership felt it had no other choice: it had to go to Moscow for Comintern's 2nd congress in July 1920.

Twenty-one communist parties across the world were officially present. To much fanfare, ECCI chair Grigory Zinoviev opened proceedings by proclaiming the death of the Second International and celebrating Comintern's transformation from the "propaganda society" of its founding congress of 1919, into a "fighting organisation of the international proletariat".⁴² For Zinoviev, attaining this goal required "clarity, clarity and once more clarity". Expressing the wish that "Soviet France" could commemorate the 50th anniversary of the Paris Commune in 1871, Zinoviev wondered what a Communist Party and a Communist International could have achieved in the heady days of 1871. But conditions were not ripe then. Now they were, and the 2nd congress was to clarify remaining political differences to create "one single Communist Party with departments in different countries".⁴³ All delegates were handed a copy of Lenin's *Left-wing communism* and Trotsky's *Terrorism and communism*. In their differing ways, the pamphlets tackled both the USPD and the KAPD. (The latter organisation's two delegates did not stay in Russia long.) The congress was divided into a number of sessions: 'The role of the Communist Party during and after the revolution', 'The national and colonial question', 'The conditions of admission to the Communist

ment was broadly analogous with the Bolshevik proposal to form a government of the Mensheviks, Bolsheviks and Socialist Revolutionaries in 1917. See J Riddell 'The origins of the united front policy' in *International Socialism* No130 (http://www.isj.org.uk/index.php4?id=724&issue=130#130riddell_6). Interestingly, the controversy over the 'workers' government' question cut across the left-right divisions in the USPD, with Hilferding and Könen favouring negotiations with the SPD and Crispian and Däumig rejecting them.

41. Quoted in 'An alle Mitglieder der USPD' in *Die Kommunistische Internationale* No12, Summer 1920, p325. The letter appealed to the USPD rank and file to send its own delegates to Comintern's Second Congress.

42. R A Archer (trans) *The Second Congress of the Communist International* Vol 1, London, 1977, p187.

43. *Ibid* p87.

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International', etc.

The sixth session saw the much-anticipated discussion on the conditions of admission to Comintern. For some delegates like Dutch leftist David Wijnkoop, the very presence of large centrist organisations like the USPD and the French Socialist Party was tantamount to the liquidation of revolutionary principles. Henri Guillbeaux was also opposed, because both organisations had not made formal applications to affiliate, but were there to establish the conditions of affiliation.

Yet Zinoviev was adamant that such organisations were not simply to be absorbed into Comintern as they were - that was the role of the conditions. Not seeking to engage with the USPD as a way of winning over 800,000 workers, "badly led as they are", amounted to nothing more than a sectarian pose. "Under no circumstances ... would this congress permit intellectual dishonesty, nor will it make the slightest concessions on principle".⁴⁴ Organising in the same party with forces who wavered on the cardinal questions addressed in the conditions would risk another collapse from within like in Germany or Hungary. Given the extremity of the situation, there was no time for patient political struggle within the new international. Soviet Russia was suffering under blockade and delegates at the congress followed the course of the Soviet-Polish war on a giant map hung on the wall. Meanwhile, Miklós Horthy's troops ran wild in Hungary, massacring working class activists of all political stripes. The Finnish counterrevolution had, with the complicity of the German SPD, led to the butchering of around one-fifth of the entire working class. The British government was funding anybody and anything set on occupying and crushing Moscow and Petrograd.

Not that the ECCI was under any illusions that in and of themselves its proposed conditions represented some sort of 'communist baptism'. Zinoviev reminded the delegates that "it is possible to accept 18,000 conditions and still remain a Kautskyite". The ECCI had to follow up and monitor the practice of all the parties seeking to affiliate.

Drafted by Grigory Zinoviev, the 21 conditions were stringent. Leaders like Kautsky and Hilferding were named as traitors, from whom the workers' movement should decisively break. The necessity of maintaining an illegal party apparatus alongside a legal one, which caused Dittmann some consternation, was uncompromisingly insisted upon. Ledebour made much of the question of the "autonomy" of the USPD as an organisation, which for Clara Zetkin simply amounted to a "German" technocratic/organisational fanaticism conditioned by the organisational prejudices of the Second International.⁴⁵

Published for the first time on August 24, the 21 conditions eventually agreed upon initiated much debate, particularly among the German, French and Italian parties. They were seen in different lights by the party functionaries

44. *Ibid* p10.

45. C. Zetkin *Der Weg nach Moskau* Hamburg 1920, p5.

on the one hand, and the membership on the other. Historian Robert Wheeler has, it should be pointed out, usefully distinguished between a “first and second wave”⁴⁶ of responses in the USPD.

The first came from the party press, which almost entirely came out negatively. The same can be said of the USPD *Reichskonferenz* of September 1920, attended by the USPD central committee, *Beirat* (advisory committee), representatives of local party organisations, newspaper editors, Reichstag fraction members and representatives from the local state parliaments. Many old wounds were opened up in the course of a debate. Talk of ‘us’ and ‘you’ surfaced on both sides, with the debate polarising between those ‘for’ and ‘against’ Comintern and the Russian Revolution. This conference of party officials voted against the conditions.

With the Halle congress only six weeks away, the USPD right was confident that its majority amongst the functionaries would be reflected in the party as a whole. The USPD left knew the membership better.

Mass USPD assemblies sprang up all over the country. The “second wave” had begun. The key representatives of both tendencies addressed hundreds of meetings, with members thirsting for the arguments. Pamphlets,⁴⁷ bulletins and flyers were hastily produced. Party newspapers focused on the dispute. Local party organisations called congresses to decide their position on the 21 conditions. Resolutions were debated and adopted.

Disputes over organisational questions overlay the ideological battle, with the date for the coming congress proving particularly controversial. To the outrage of the USPD left, which did not have control of the party press and thus needed more time for the arguments to develop, the right succeeded in bringing the congress forward from October 24 to October 12. When it became clear that there was no space in Hilferding’s *Freiheit*, Däumig, Könen, Stöcker and Hoffmann wrote an ‘Appeal of the USPD left’ in the KPD(S) publication *Die Rote Fahne*, which criticised the early convocation of the congress.

The party leadership’s decision to hold a referendum to settle the composition of delegates at the forthcoming party congress marginalised the ‘centre’ current around those like Arthur Crispian and Toni Sender who sought to preserve the organisational independence of the USPD and use it as the basis for launching a new, separate international (a “bastard” international, in Radek’s words). This tendency was forced to bloc with the USPD right against what it perceived to be the ‘Moscow diktat’ (a derivation from the term ‘Versailles diktat’ often used then) of Comintern and its 21 conditions.

The gulf between the party functionaries and the membership was most evident in Berlin. While all eight editors of *Freiheit*, naturally including Hilferding,

46. R F Wheeler *USPD und Internationale: Sozialistischer Internationalismus in der Zeit der Revolution* Frankfurt am Main 1975, p233.

47. Amongst others, Curt Geyer, Toni Sender, Karl Radek and Clara Zetkin wrote contributions. Not to be outdone, the SPD also chipped in, publishing a pamphlet with the rather long yet barbed title: *Who is for splitting the workers’ movement? The USPD. Who is for uniting the workers’ movement? The SPD.*

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opposed affiliation, 16 out of 18 USPD organisations voted in favour of the 21 conditions. This pattern was repeated nationally: in the referendum which selected the delegates to the Halle congress, 57.8% voted in favour of Comintern affiliation, 42.2% against.

This result revealed how isolated leaders like Dittmann had become. On returning from Comintern's 2nd congress, he had penned a pamphlet entitled *The truth about Soviet Russia*. Intended to make the case against Comintern affiliation, this pamphlet had precisely the opposite effect. The patronising tone, his condescending attitude towards the young workers' state in general, and the "uncultured and ignorant" Russian peasantry in particular, merely revealed his contempt for the Russian Revolution itself.

This angered many USPD members, including those who were very sceptical about the 21 conditions.⁴⁸ Class instinct alone led many to look to Comintern and, in the words of Curt Geyer, to prevent the development of a "holy alliance" of counterrevolutionary powers against the revolution.

Martov and Zinoviev

This backdrop explains the significance of the Halle congress in the history of the workers' movement. The run-up to the congress had seen a fervour of intense debate in the party press, meetings, union caucuses and the broader working class. Both sides engaged in such feverish agitation and propaganda that the USPD effectively ceased to exist in the months before the congress. Everything was subordinated to the factional struggle and getting delegates elected with mandates to support either faction.

The days preceding the congress brought precursors of what was to come. On October 9 leftwing USPD Reichstag deputies split from the party's parliamentary fraction. At a regional congress in Stuttgart, those opposed to Comintern affiliation simply walked out following a dispute over the agenda. One day before delegates assembled in Halle, the right wing of the Lower Rhine USPD expelled Comintern supporters.

In such circumstances, it is hardly a surprise that there was such a charged atmosphere in Halle, where "two parties" were present, divided by a walkway in the middle of the hall "as if a knife has cut them sharply in two".⁴⁹ The spectators' gallery at the back was packed for the duration. There were two chairmen, Otto Brass (left) and Dittmann (right).

On both sides of the hall were seated tried-and-tested leaders who had run illegal newspapers, languished in the kaiser's jails for defeatist agitation amongst soldiers, and spent the last few years avoiding reactionary thugs and goons.

While the left had won a clear majority of delegates in the party referendum, the next five days of proceedings were not so much about those present at the

48. Wheeler cites an example where one of the party organisations in Berlin voted for the conditions "in spite of them"!

49. G Zinoviev, *Twelve days in Germany*, printed in this volume.

congress as about those outside. This was not going to be a soporific talking shop, but a real battle for the hearts and minds of the movement. Militants from across the whole world looked on. It was here, in the furore of partisan cheering and electrifying speeches, cut-and-thrust polemics and killer points, that the fate of the German, and perhaps the international workers' movement was fought out.

Könen, Stöcker, Hilferding, Däumig, Dittmann and Hoffmann all graced the platform. In addition, both USPD factions had canvassed for support internationally, arranging for numerous speakers to address the congress: Marx's grandson Jean Longuet, editor of the French Socialist Party's newspaper, *Le Populaire*; Solomon Lozovsky, chair of the All-Russian congress of trade unions; Shablin (Ivan Nedelkov) of the Bulgarian communists' central committee and many others. But two speakers, both from the Russian movement, were particularly anticipated.

The first was Julius Martov, the intellectually rigorous, if politically indecisive, leader of the Menshevik Internationalists.⁵⁰ A co-founder of the Russian Social Democratic Labour Party, he cut his teeth alongside Lenin in the St Petersburg League of Struggle for the Emancipation of the Working Class and then on the editorial board of the underground newspaper *Iskra* (*Spark*). Breaking with Lenin and his supporters at the 1903 congress, Martov became one of the main leaders of Menshevism, renowned for his love-hate relationship with the Bolsheviks. Martov's sophistication of argument and cutting polemics make him stand out from other Menshevik leaders like Fyodor Dan, Pavel Axelrod or Georgi Plekhanov.

Yet these were not the only attributes which distinguished him from other Mensheviks. He was often engaged in protracted battles *within* his organisation, leading his biographer Israel Getzler to consider him an "eternal oppositionist".⁵¹ While critical of those in the movement who had besmirched the banner of internationalism in supporting the imperialist war, he refused to go along with the Bolshevik call for a new International. Martov was fuming when, in April 1917, leading Mensheviks like Dan and Irakly Tsereteli took up ministerial posts in the new provisional government and committed themselves to the continuation of the imperialist war. Yet once again he was not prepared to split his Menshevik Internationalists from the main Menshevik body. Despite some ideological convergence with the Bolsheviks in 1917, he recoiled from what he called their 'putschist methods'.

50. Whether out of revolutionary bravado or not, Zinoviev did not seem too bothered by the prospect of debating Martov. Asked on the train to Halle what he thought of the latter's attendance, he responded: "Just leave Martov to me. You'll see" (quoted in: C Geyer *Die revolutionäre Illusion: zur Geschichte des linken Flügels der USPD* Stuttgart 1976, p219). According to Bukharin, a majority of politburo members were concerned that allowing Martov a visa to travel to Germany might throw a spanner into the works of Comintern. It was mainly due to Lenin's insistence that they allowed him to leave for Germany (I Getzler *Martov: a political biography of a Russian social democrat* Cambridge 2003, p208).

51. I Getzler *Martov: a political biography of a Russian social democrat* Cambridge 2003, p164.

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As part of his 'socialist intervention' policy for Soviet Russia - his attempt to create space for the non-Bolshevik left - Martov had been at pains to establish contacts with what he deemed the socialist 'centre' in Europe. Writing from Soviet Russia, he encouraged those like Karl Kautsky, Victor Adler and Jean Longuet to write letters to Lenin and other Bolshevik leaders condemning the treatment of oppositionist forces. Martov further encouraged them to send party delegations and 'fact-finding' commissions to Russia.

Two such leaders had recently returned from Russia: Crispian and Dittmann. And it was they who invited Martov to speak at the Halle congress. They did so because Martov sought to preserve the organisational and programmatic independence of the European parties from Comintern. Martov felt close to the USPD and its positioning between official social democracy and the Bolsheviks, seeing the USPD as the "backbone of that socialist 'centre' which alone would be capable of forming the core of a future International".⁵²

Thus his agenda was clear: a split would be the equivalent of condemning the USPD to the wilderness of groups and sects as opposed to real parties. The Bolsheviks were perilously basing themselves on the spontaneous, visceral anger of a population suffering from the privations of the war and the economic crisis⁵³ and this perspective threatened the entire workers' movement. His position in Halle could be summarised as: 'Neither Moscow (Bolshevism) nor Berlin (SPD) but international socialism.'

The second eagerly-awaited speaker had come to fight the corner of the USPD left - Grigory Zinoviev. And on the third day of proceedings, Zinoviev, chair of the Executive Committee of the Communist International, stepped onto the Halle podium amidst cries of 'Bravo' and 'Long live the Third International'.

At this point we need to digress briefly and make a few remarks about Zinoviev. History, to put it mildly, has not been very kind to him. From historical character sketches to Hollywood movies he is mostly remembered for his opposition to the Bolshevik seizure of power in October 1917, his ruthless 'Bolshevisation' of Comintern and his capitulation to his eventual killer, Joseph Stalin. As with other key Bolshevik figures who fell victim to the Stalinist counterrevolution (amongst others, Karl Radek, Nikolai Bukharin⁵⁴ and Lev

52. *Ibid* p206.

53. This was a common feature of Martov's critique of the Bolsheviks throughout his life. After the failure of the December 1905 uprising Martov wrote to Axelrod: 'at a time of political lull, the Bolsheviks are bound to win, for the 'spontaneity' of revolution works for them; the limited consciousness of 'conscious' workers and the cursed, lifeless psychology of 'kruzhkovshchina' [little activist circle mentality] and 'putschism' which thrives in the underground works for them' (quoted in I Getzler *Martov: a political biography of a Russian social democrat* Cambridge 2003, p113). This quote provides further vindication of Lars T Lih's research: the *Mensheviks* were characterised by their 'worry about the workers'.

54. Both Radek and Bukharin played a part in shaping developments in Germany. Unfortunately, the latter seems to have had visa problems and thus could not travel to Germany. In the important run-up to the Halle congress, the former wrote a pamphlet against Hilferding, Crispian and Dittmann, accusing them of saying the same things as Scheidemann and acting as the "last guard of the

Kamenev) it would appear that Zinoviev was not only *physically* liquidated by Stalinism, but *historically* too.

Both the far left and the academy have tended to base their interpretation of the Russian Revolution and its degeneration almost exclusively on the decisions and actions of Lenin, Trotsky and Stalin.⁵⁵ Not only does this downplay the role of the masses, it also fails to grasp the significance of the Bolshevik Party and its role in developing articulate, dedicated leaders. As such it often reduces other leading Bolsheviks, and indeed the masses themselves, to mere minions of the 'great leader', Lenin. Understandable for cold war warriors or those in thrall to the 'cult of the personality', but utterly insufficient in terms of historical analysis.

As an organisation determined to turn the world on its head, the Bolsheviks sought to 'bring the revolutionary message' to the people. Zinoviev particularly excelled in this. Indeed, as unfair as some of the historical accounts are to him, many contemporary records pay testament to his strengths as an agitator and an organiser. Anatoly Lunacharsky was in no doubt: Zinoviev's speeches "are not as rich or as full of new ideas as the real leader of the revolution, Lenin, and he cannot compete in graphic power with Trotsky", but apart from those two, "Zinoviev has no equals".⁵⁶ Trotsky had many criticisms of Zinoviev, but he too stressed Zinoviev's "range of intellect and will", his deep and unreserved "devotion to the cause of socialism".⁵⁷ As the leader of the new Third International, Zinoviev achieved something like celebrity status, from Berlin to Baku.

Zinoviev first met Lenin as a student in Switzerland in 1903. Siding with the Bolsheviks in the RSDLP split, he soon proved his revolutionary commitment. In 1905 he worked on the party journal *Proletary* and agitated amongst the Petrograd metal workers. Voted onto the central committee in 1907, he was arrested within a year. Released on health grounds, he was soon in Switzerland again. That he represented the Bolsheviks at the Zimmerwald anti-war conference of 1915 pays testament to one of his greatest qualities: his ability to speak to hostile audiences and staunchly defend Bolshevik views against opponents and detractors.

Most of his writings remain closed off from an English-speaking audience, but it can certainly be agreed that he lacks the depth, nuance and sophistication of a Trotsky or a Lenin. It is his strengths as an agitator and orator, his abil-

Whites" (K Radek *Die Masken sind gefallen* Berlin 1920, p10). Unfortunately, the pamphlet did not arrive in time for the congress. Radek, who had done a lot of work in the West European Bureau of Comintern, was not present at Halle. He had been removed from the secretariat in August 1920 for opposing the presence of the KAPD at Comintern's 2nd congress. However, he did represent Comintern at the fusion congress of the new, united KPD in December 1921. I thank comrade Ian Birchall for pointing this out.

55. The title of Bertram Wolfe's study, *Three who made a revolution* is a case in point.

56. A Lunacharsky *Revolutionary silhouettes: Grigorii Ovseyevich Zinoviev* (<http://www.marxists.org/archive/lunachar/works/silhouet/zinoviev.htm>).

57. L. Trotsky *Kamenev and Zinoviev* (<http://www.marxists.org/archive/trotsky/1937/xx/kamzinov.htm>).

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ity to respond to real people's concerns and to tell compelling narratives, that distinguish him. So even though Lenin had called for Zinoviev's expulsion following the latter's public opposition to the seizure of power in 1917, Zinoviev soon took up extremely important positions in the new workers' state: eg, chief party spokesman in the Trade Union Central Council, president of the Petrograd Soviet and chair of the Executive Committee of the Communist International.

His intervention as ECCI chair at the Halle congress is perhaps his greatest, often overlooked, accomplishment.⁵⁸ Readers can judge for themselves, but surely even his most determined detractor must admit that his speech sparkles with passion, wit and intelligence.

One of Zinoviev's great advantages in Halle was his command of German. As the reader will see, in the opening lines of his speech he asks the congress to exercise as much restraint as possible in heckling because of his linguistic limitations, but in reality he was more than capable of dealing with the whole event. Geyer, who officially welcomed Zinoviev in Berlin and accompanied him on the train to Halle (with a pistol in his breast pocket as protection) describes Zinoviev's German as "not completely without error or accent, but incredibly fluent, speaking at a speed considerably greater than my own, and with a diction that appeared to know nothing of commas or full stops." Geyer was also struck by Zinoviev's "high, somewhat feminine" voice.⁵⁹

Zinoviev's address has very few equals in the history of the workers' movement. Speaking for over four hours in his second language, he shook German society to its foundations.

He mesmerised the delegates on both sides of the hall: impressing even the staunchest supporters of the USPD right, casting seeds of doubt into those who were wavering, and even winning over some of them to the left.⁶⁰ His speech both shocked and impressed the German bourgeois press, which described him as "the first orator of our century". It certainly lacks some of the finely tuned style and carefully-selected words and phrases often associated with great speech-making. Yet what marks it out is that much of it was off-the-cuff. Time and again Zinoviev responds to questions and interjections, including from some of European social democracy's leading figures.

This is precisely what makes the Halle congress so extraordinary. The stenographic record is in parts extremely difficult to follow due to the myriad inter-

58. As far as I can gather, the Halle congress of October 1920 is the only time during Lenin's lifetime that a top Bolshevik leader left the borders of Soviet Russia to engage in a public defence of the Bolshevik approach.

59. C Geyer *Die revolutionäre Illusion* Stuttgart 1976, p218. According to Lars Lih, later hostility towards Zinoviev within the Russian party often expressed itself in emphasising Zinoviev's 'feminine' qualities.

60. Geyer estimates that there were a number of 'waverers' - about 15 in total - who were won over by Zinoviev's speech. Considering all delegates were mandated, this is impressive. Prager, an opponent of Zinoviev, claims that this figure was closer to "two or three" (*E Prager Geschichte der USPD: Entstehung und Entwicklung der Unabhängigen Sozialdemokratischen Partei Deutschlands* Berlin 1921, p224).

ventions from the floor. It is obvious, however, that the delegates were not only completely knowledgeable about the world political situation, but that they were fully acquainted with every nuance and shade of opinion in the movement. Every alleged opportunist act of the past was dragged up, every catch-all platitude seized on from the floor. Feelings occasionally ran so high that the speakers could not make themselves heard. The intensity of debate is striking. Heckling aside, the congress record makes for incredibly inspiring reading - a painful reminder of how far today's left has moved away from the healthiest parts of its history in terms of organising congresses which allow time and space for discussion and polemic.⁶¹ Nowadays we get three of four minute contributions.

In the end, the sheer force of Zinoviev's rhetoric and the organisational work of the USPD left, combined with the magnetic attraction of the Russian Revolution, paid off. After two more days of debates, haggles over disputed mandates and a temporary adjournment in order to ascertain whether Lozovsky had "insulted" the German trade union movement(!), 234 delegates voted for affiliation to Comintern and fusion with the KPD(S), soundly defeating the 158 votes against. Once the result was announced, the right wing walked out.

Despite the split, this was an enormous victory. But there was no time for self-indulgent celebration. Having lost his voice due to his oratorical endeavours, Zinoviev was unable to read out his closing remarks, which stressed that revolutionary work needed to be done in order to rally the majority of the German working class to the new united party's banner.

Stopping off in Berlin on his way back to Russia, he was placed under house arrest. In the diary entry reprinted in this volume he compares the atmosphere in Germany to the July days of Russia 1917, when leading Bolsheviks were rounded up by the provisional government and Lenin went into hiding. Zinoviev mentions numerous posters on the walls of Berlin openly calling for his blood. That Zinoviev's detention gave rise to the so-called 'Bolshevik debates' in the German Reichstag merely underlines the drama surrounding his speech and his presence on German soil.

The long, hard work of Zinoviev and Comintern yielded a good harvest.⁶² In December, around 400,000 USPD members joined the KPD(S) to form the United Communist Party of Germany (VKPD). This ushered in a new chapter in the history of the world workers' movement. Hundreds of thousands of class-conscious workers were united behind the banner of an openly communist organisation with an openly communist programme. The German workers' movement had returned to the revolutionary traditions of its past on a

61. Lenin in particular was an enthusiast of congress records and was always itching for them to be completed to provide ammunition for his polemics. By contrast, in spite of improved technology, hardly any records of left conferences are taken at all nowadays.

62. In making this judgement I am at odds with historians like Wheeler and Krause, who downplay the role of Bolshevism and reduce Zinoviev to a mere demagogue speaking at a congress whose result was already fixed.

higher level. Zinoviev's role in this process should not be overlooked or simply forgotten.

History

The rest, as they say, is history. I will not endeavour to discuss what happened next. Lars and I have merely endeavoured to provide the background to this tremendous clash at Halle between Bolshevism and left Menshevism, and to let the arguments 'speak for themselves'. It is hoped that they will stimulate discussion in reviews, in left meetings, on internet forums and elsewhere.

There is surely more than enough material for readers to get their teeth into. The two speeches cover an enormous range of issues: the nature of the war and revolution; consciousness versus spontaneity; the dictatorship of the proletariat; the continuities and discontinuities between the Second and Third internationals; 'yellow' trade unionism; the agrarian question in Russia and Europe; the state of the Bolshevik Party just months before the New Economic Policy, and much more besides.⁶³

But surely, by definition, every debate must have a winner and a loser? What to say about this? For his speech alone, this writer is of the opinion that Zinoviev was a clear winner. Yet what of Martov's warnings about the centralisation of Comintern, or the subordination of smaller groupings and parties to a ruling party presiding over state resources? It may appear that these warnings were rather perceptive and historically vindicated. Yet there are perhaps two reasons why Martov - despite some of his predictions coming to fruition - was profoundly mistaken.

Firstly, he severely misjudged the immediate situation. He allied with the USPD right in opposing USPD affiliation to Comintern out of the conviction that there was a 'third way' between the Second International and Comintern. Like Crispin, Dittmann and others, he placed his hopes in the ephemeral, failed project of the International Working Union of Socialist Parties, which drew in rather questionable forces like, for example, the labour Zionists David Ben-Gurion and Shlomo Kaplansky. Nevertheless, writing to Pavel Axelrod after the Halle congress, Martov was jubilant: "Our time has come".⁶⁴ Whether this was over-optimism or sheer self-delusion, Martov was clearly wrong. Just two years later the USPD slunk back to join the very same Scheidemanns and Noskes he had castigated in his speech. Throughout the 1920s the SPD sold the working class short time and time again.

Secondly, the failure of the German working class to come to power played a direct and key role in the degeneration of the Russian Revolution and Comintern itself. Both the supporters and detractors of the Russian Revolution were fully aware that the new Soviet state was, to use Martov's phrase, "sick".

63. See Lars Lih's essay, 'Martov in Halle', in this volume for the significance of these speeches in understanding how the young Soviet republic was perceived by its friends and foes alike at such a crucial historical juncture.

64. I Getzler *Martov: a political biography of a Russian social democrat* Cambridge 2003, p207.

Yet, unlike Martov, Zinoviev had a plan to treat this illness - establish a mass revolutionary party in Germany to act as a counterweight to social democracy, spread the revolution and lift the siege on Russia. As such Martov's predictions are tantamount to somebody about to witness an accident - telling everyone that it will happen but without doing anything to prevent it. The abortive German revolution ultimately culminated in Nazism - a phenomenon that neither Martov or Zinoviev could foresee.⁶⁵ The crushing, irrational and inhuman punishment for failing to take power.

Yet what of Zinoviev's cure? He may have helped to establish a mass Communist Party, but this soon proved itself incapable of leading the working class to power. Just five months after its formation, it was in severe disarray following the disastrous events known as the 'March Action' of 1921.⁶⁶

The KPD called a general strike and, following a small local uprising led by the anarchist-influenced Max Hölz, appealed to the whole of the German working class to arm itself in support of this uprising. But this call misjudged the mood of the class and the uprising remained confined to a minority movement in one part of Germany. When the masses failed to heed the call, the party resorted to other means. Workers refused to strike in the Krupp works, for example, so unemployed sympathisers of the KPD were sent in to physically drive them out. Several hundred workers were killed in the ensuing repression and the KPD lost about half of its membership. Whatever good intentions and hopes may have informed the particular action, it was without doubt one of the main factors behind the marginalisation of the KPD and the failure of the German working class movement more generally. Some of Zinoviev's rhetoric about 'going on the offensive' at Halle can certainly be seen as foreshadowing such actions.

Zinoviev was certainly right when he suggested a parallel between Europe in 1847 and Germany in 1920. Crisis and despair had shaken German society's very foundations. But unlike in Russia the crisis was not resolved positively through the existence of a rooted, well-known and trusted party rallying millions to its banner. Nor did the crisis, as Zinoviev argues in his speech, lead to an "epidemic" of rightwing and centrist leaders being thrown from office. Millions of German workers - the majority, in fact - still held illusions in the SPD in spite of its unabashed, murderous betrayals between 1918 and 1920.

65. This is revealed by a passage in Zinoviev's diary, printed in this volume: "Germany is now passing through an interregnum, and there are only two ways out of it; either the complete victory of the landowners, and consequently the restoration of the monarchy (for the landowners are only dreaming of Wilhelm the emperor) or the second alternative, which is this: the semi-revolution of 1918, spoiled and distorted by the Mensheviks, who have sold themselves to the bourgeoisie, will be made by the workers the turning point for a real proletarian revolution. What is now taking place is the molecular grouping of forces beneath the surface - the ripening of a crisis. At a given moment this crisis is bound to come from either of these two directions".

66. Described by Paul Levi as "the greatest Bakuninist putsch in history", the action was an application of Comintern's new 'theory of the offensive' developed by, amongst others, Béla Kun, Bukharin and Zinoviev himself.

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Many of the rightwing leaders Zinoviev mentions across Europe were voted back into positions of power in Sweden, Britain, Germany, France and so on in what amounted to a limited but real resurgence of their forces.⁶⁷

Learning from revolutions and revolutionaries necessitates understanding the context of the events unfolding around them, the opponents they came across in arguing for their ideas, and the limits that history imposes on even the most class-conscious and far-sighted of revolutionary minds.

And this is the task to which this little book, in its own small way, is dedicated. There is certainly a lot more work to do: hundreds of pages of the keynote speeches and polemical interventions at Halle remain untranslated. It is hoped that they can one day be made available in their entirety. With a sluggish academy sedated by the follies of post-modernism and today's left increasingly detached from the best aspects of its own history, both the means and the will to undertake such work currently seem lacking.

This, however, could quickly change. After all, these debates are not just significant from a historical point of view. They are crucial for contemporary left perspectives too. Only through seeking to understand and learn from our past can we hope to create the future.

Translation

A striking feature of the Halle congress is the extensiveness of the stenographic record. It is remarkable that Zinoviev's speech is recorded in such detail. For example, it is even explained to the reader how the French name 'Renaudel' is pronounced! Nevertheless, there are some sentences in the speech that were either incomplete or simply did not make any sense - proof that the comrades recording these historic events were human, after all. On a very small number of occasions I have finished off incomplete sentences or cut them altogether. I have also broken up some of the text into smaller paragraphs. The translation of Zinoviev's speech and closing words both come from the original German pamphlet printed and distributed by the united KPD immediately after the Halle congress.⁶⁸

Lars Lih's essay, 'Zinoviev: populist Leninist', first appeared in volume two (2008) of the journal *The NEP era: Soviet Russia, 1921-1928*, pp1-23. We felt it was a good idea to reprint the text, as it summarises some of Zinoviev's strengths and weaknesses.

Lars Lih's translation of Martov's speech is from a recent publication of Mar-

67. It should also be noted that the entire framework of Zinoviev's arguments was, quite understandably, that capitalism's death knell had sounded. In his opening speech at the 2nd Congress he is explicit: "The collapse of the Second International reflects the collapse of the bourgeois order itself ... We have beaten the Second International because nowhere in the world can the bourgeoisie execute the testament of the imperialist war, nor will it be able to do so ... We have beaten the Second International because the League of Nations and the whole Entente and the entire bourgeoisie are powerless to do anything at all for the restoration of Europe's economic life". (R A Archer *The Second Congress of the Communist International*, Volume 1, London, 1977, pp6-7).

68. G Zinoviev, *Die Weltrevolution und die III. Internationale* Berlin 1920.

tov's writings (*Izbrannoe* Moscow, 2000). This text seems to come from the Russian text published in Berlin during 1923. Probably due to the fact that the speech was read out verbatim on his behalf, some of his sentences are more than 10 lines long. In order to give it more of the feeling of a speech, some of these sentences have been broken up, with necessary consequences for the 'feel' of the text.

There is a slight discrepancy between some of the terms used in Lars Lih's translation and my own (for example, I translate *Arbeiterbewegung* as 'workers' movement', Lars prefers 'worker movement'. Upholding the artistic licence of the translator, we have left this and other such minor differences intact.

'Twelve days in Germany' is based on the (very good) original translation published by the CPGB in 1921. I have corrected some obvious errors, for example in the spelling of names, and also inserted subheads into the text to give it a clearer structure. And, continuing on the 'workers'/worker movement' theme, I have changed the 1921 translation from 'labour movement' to 'workers' movement'.

Unavoidably for a book of this nature, we have been forced to include a lot of supplementary material to assist the reader with the speakers' references to historical events and political figures. A glossary has been included, which will hopefully provide an aid for readers unfamiliar with some of the many forgotten names and organisations of the time. This draws heavily on the extensive Marxist Internet Archive encyclopaedia (<http://www.marxists.org/glossary/index.htm>).

Acknowledgements

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I would also like to thank my good friend Lars Lih. Upon hearing of my plans to publish a translation of Zinoviev's speech over a beer at Communist University, he kindly offered to translate Martov's speech from the Russian in exchange for me translating an April 1917 Kautsky article he was interested in working on ('Prospects of the Russian Revolution'). He has greatly expanded the book's scope and interest. Lars and I may not agree about every aspect of the German and Russian revolutions and their fate, but we share a strong sense of their importance. Pulling this book together has helped us to focus our thoughts and opinions on these enormous subjects, opening up further questions and problems along the way.

For the excellent, constructivist-inspired front cover I am greatly indebted to fashion designer and artist Jay McCauley Bowstead, who took time out from his

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hectic schedule. His blog can be accessed at <http://prozodezhda.blogspot.com/>. For allowing me to use some of the stunning images in his collection, I must also thank David King. I have been unable to trace the copyright of some of the other images. The publishers apologise for any inconvenience caused. The publishers welcome information regarding the whereabouts of the copyright holders to enable any appropriate fee to be paid.

Last but certainly not least, I am extremely grateful to Frances. She has shown tremendous patience both with me and my idiosyncratic writing style, with which she has spent a fair few hours of her life grappling.



Grigory Zinoviev: bringing the revolutionary message to the people

II

Zinoviev: populist Leninist

Lars T Lih

What we need to do is get to the point where the widest circles of the masses of the *narod* (people) understand that a communist is not someone who wears a leather jacket and sneers at everybody [applause] . . . Any person in the *narod* - the most backward little old lady, a toiling peasant - who regards us as in league with the devil [even though] they haven't read the party programme and are not going to read it, they're not interested in the Third International and we can't expect them to be - in their hearts they are more of a communist than the communist in a leather jacket who looks down his nose at them.

Zinoviev, March 1919

The worst thing that can happen to a revolutionary party is to lose its [revolutionary] perspective.

Zinoviev, May 1925

In terms of historical reputation, GE Zinoviev undoubtedly would have the right to repeat the words of the old song: "I've been 'buked and I've been scorned". No one seems to have a kind word for him. Among the many charges laid against him is intellectual and political inconsistency. Trotsky summed it up in a memorable wisecrack: "Luther said: 'Here I stand - I can do no other.' Zinoviev says: 'Here I stand - but I can do otherwise.'"¹

1. I. L. Trotsky *The permanent revolution*, chapter 1: www.marxists.org/archive/trotsky/1931/tpr/pr01.

Zinoviev was not in the least a systematic thinker who could state a coherent outlook in propositional form. On the other hand, he was an inspirational speaker who very often told stories - small anecdotes from daily life, large narratives about the revolution as a whole - in order to impress his audience. An assessment of the coherence and consistency of his outlook therefore requires a systematic survey of his many speeches during his time in the top leadership of the ruling Bolshevik party.

Using Zinoviev's speeches as basic material, this essay examines his outlook as revealed in two interconnected themes: the relationship of the party to the working class as a whole, and the battle Zinoviev thought was being waged for the soul of the peasantry. I have found a striking and *demonstrable* consistency in Zinoviev's outlook in the period 1918-1925, manifesting itself in rhetoric, focus of attention, and policy preferences. The transition from so-called 'war communism' to the New Economic Policy (NEP) did not lead to any fundamental changes in the way Zinoviev presented the basic Bolshevik message. In my view, Zinoviev's relatively populist version of Bolshevism has its attractive features. I am thus willing to join the small group of observers with something positive to say about Zinoviev (the only others I know in this select group are Anatoly Lunacharsky and Myron W Hedlin).²

I should reassure my readers that I am not going to challenge the general impression that Zinoviev was far from *vozhd* (leader) material. On the contrary, my investigation has brought home to me his anti-charisma, his tactical errors, and his inability to present his views in organised fashion. I am not going to argue anything like 'if only Zinoviev's views had been taken seriously ...' I take it for granted that his solutions to intractable problems were simplistic and would not have worked. This simplistic outlook was one reason - but not the only one! - for the political ineptitude that was revealed in the Bolshevik infighting of the 1920s.³

Two comments by Lunacharsky seem to me to hit the right note: he called Zinoviev a "person who had a profound understanding of the essence of Bolshevism" and one who was "romantically" devoted to the party.⁴ I will present Zinoviev as someone who was under the spell of the Leninist drama of hegemony, but with a decidedly populist bent.

Lenin's drama had three basic characters: the proletarian vanguard, the he-

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2. Lunacharsky wrote sympathetically about Zinoviev in 1920, reprinted in *Lunacharskii, Radek Trotskii, siluety: politicheskie portrety* Moscow 1991 (an English translation of a version of this is available at: www.marxists.org/archive/lunachar/). Myron Hedlin wrote two excellent articles on Zinoviev that appeared in the 1970s: 'Grigorii Zinoviev: myths of the defeated' in *Reconsideration on the Russian Revolution* (ed) Ralph Carter Elwood, Columbus OH 1976, and 'Zinoviev's revolutionary tactics in 1917' *Slavic Review* 34 (1975) pp19-43.

3. For a recent discussion of Zinoviev's weakness as a political leader, see Alexis Pogorelskin, 'Kamenev in early NEP: the 12th Party Congress' in *Rude and barbarous kingdom revisited: essays in honor of Robert O Crummey* Bloomington, IN, 2008.

4. *Siluety* pp296,298.

gemonic rivals, and the wavering classes. The best description of the vanguard is in Robert Tucker's classic article 'Lenin's Bolshevism as a culture in the making.' I will cite Tucker at length in order to give the Leninist context for Zinoviev's outlook:

To understand Lenin's political concept in its totality, it is important to realise that he saw in his mind's eye not merely the militant organisation of professional revolutionaries of which he spoke, but the party-led popular movement 'of the entire people.' The 'dream' was by no means simply a party dream, although it centred in the party as the vanguard of conscious revolutionaries acting as teachers and organisers of a much larger mass following in the movement. The dream was a vision of an anti-state popular Russia raised up by propaganda and agitation as a vast army of fighters against the official Russia headed by the tsar; and of this other, popular Russia as an all-class counter-community of the estranged, a mass of people trained to revolutionary consciousness by its party tutors and dedicated to the goal of a revolution that would rid Russia of its 'shame and curse,' as Lenin called the autocracy.⁵

To get the full dramatic structure of Lenin's outlook, we need to introduce two other characters. The first is the petty bourgeois with his or her 'two souls,' one leading toward proletarian socialism and the other toward capitalism; the conflict between these tendencies produces the key feature of the petty bourgeois, namely, wavering (*kolebanie*). The other character is the hegemonic rival, the alternative leadership trying to lead the waverers down the wrong path.

The word 'populist' is used here in its American sense: someone who has genuine concern for the problems of ordinary people, who has a simplistic tendency to blame those problems on the machinations of elites, and who sees full democratisation as the ultimate solution to all issues. We shall examine Zinoviev's message on three levels: the overall historical narrative or background story, the implied definition of specific stages of the Russian Revolution, and the policy recommendations that flowed from his definition of the situation.

Party and class: civil war (1919-21)

We should start with Zinoviev's background story: what he thought was the *natural* course of events, the way things should go without disturbances, the story created by deep historical forces. According to this story, the party was in the vanguard not so much in the sense of a permanent officer corps but in the strict sense that it was the first to go where the rest of the working class would soon be going. Zinoviev assumed that the influence of the party would be steadily growing and that the proletarians and semi-proletarians who didn't join today would be joining tomorrow. A category essential to his outlook - the 'non-party' worker or peasant - could really be labelled as 'not-yet-party'. At

5. R C Tucker *Political culture and leadership in Soviet Russia* New York 1987, p39.

any one time, the bourgeoisie might have influence over a certain portion of the masses, but all in all there will be a steady movement away from bourgeois influence. This fundamental assumption is set out in a resolution Zinoviev drafted for the Comintern in 1920 that he often referred back to later with pride:

Before the conquest of power and during the transition period, the Communist Party - given favourable circumstances - can make use of an undivided ideological and political influence on all proletarian and semi-proletarian strata of the population, but it cannot unite them organisationally in its own ranks. Only after the dictatorship of the proletariat has deprived the bourgeoisie of such mighty tools of influence as the press, the schools, parliament, the church, administrative machinery and so on - only after the decisive defeat of the bourgeois system has become evident to all - will *all or almost all* workers begin to join the ranks of the Communist Party.⁶

Just as the party is the most coherent organisational expression of basic class interests, so the party programme is just a more sophisticated expression of class instinct. It was good for the party to spend time on its programme in 1919, because each party member “wants to have his own view on things, he wants to know how our world came to be, he needs an integral and thought-out worldview”.⁷ But knowledge of the programme should not be a necessity for participation in the soviet system. Zinoviev wanted VTsIK⁸ to have fewer commissars and more representatives of the people: “Let peasants come to us from somewhere out on the Volga or from the Ukraine and other places, peasants who do not yet grasp all the inner secrets of communism, who know only the basics, that they are against the rich, that the land should belong to the peasants and not the *po-meshchik* (the landed nobility), and so on.”⁹

As the last citation shows, Zinoviev’s background story led to an optimism that made him always come down on the side of expanding membership of the party and “enlisting” (*privlekat*) “non-party elements” into the soviets. He assured his party audience that expansion would not mean that “our party dissolves into fragments and stops consisting of a single whole.”¹⁰

6. Text taken from Zinoviev’s self-quotation in 1924; see *Trinadtsatyi s’ezd RKP(b): stenograficheskii otchet* Moscow 1963 (Zinoviev’s emphasis).

7. Grigorii Zinoviev, ‘Ob itogakh VIII s’ezda RKP(b)’ *Izvestiia TsK*, No8 (1989) pp187-91 (remarks of March 29 1919 to a meeting of party *aktiv* in Petrograd).

8. VTsIK was the All-Russian Central Executive Committee, the highest legislative body in the Russian Soviet Federative Socialist Republic (RSFSR) in between sittings of the congress of soviets. It was elected by the All-Russian congress of soviets. It became the executive body of the RSFSR during the 2nd All-Russian congress of soviets during the October Revolution. It was composed of 62 Bolsheviks, 29 Left Socialist Revolutionaries and 10 Mensheviks and Right Socialist Revolutionaries.

9. Grigorii Zinoviev, ‘Ob itogakh VIII s’ezda RKP(b)’ *Izvestiia TsK*, No8 (1989) pp187-91.

10. *Ibid*, pp196-97.

The party's expanding influence did not manifest itself primarily in passive assent but in active participation in government. This participation promised benefits for both state and population. For the population, it ultimately offered a cheap and transparent state apparatus: one of the key promises of the revolution. For the state, it offered the only long-term solution to inefficiency and bureaucracy. Thus the end result of the party's steadily expanding influence would be not only a party that embraced the entire working class, but the commune-state (*gosudarstvo-kommuna*).

We now turn to Zinoviev's analysis of what Mary McAuley has labelled "the wall": the barrier that seemed inevitably to grow up between the vanguard party and its constituency, much to the distress of the former.¹¹ Zinoviev himself used this imagery when he stated that even some party collectives in Petrograd "have been able to fence themselves off from the masses with a wall"¹². The wall also grew up within the party itself, leading to the 1920 crisis of the 'lower-downs versus the higher-ups' (*nizy i verkhi*).

Zinoviev's analysis of the wall cannot be understood without keeping in mind the background story I have just discussed. The wall was a betrayal of the vanguard's mission of leadership, so that "people look on these [party] collectives as the people running things [*nachal'stvo*] rather than looking on them as the advanced people".¹³ Thus the expectations that arise from this story are what prompt Zinoviev's concern with the wall; they also form the basis of most of his solutions.

Based on work he had done before the war, Zinoviev had a ready-made and detailed model of the dangers of the wall in the German SPD.¹⁴ He interpreted the SPD as an originally revolutionary party that unbeknownst to itself had allowed the leadership stratum to become a closed caste. The result was degeneration (*pererozhdenie*) of the party organism. This was a warning to the Communist Party, which should not simply feel superior to other parties and ignore "the beam in its own eye". There was a definite possibility that it too would end up dominated by a stratum of state-employed intellectuals, soviet *chinovniki*, soviet and party bureaucrats.¹⁵

Of course, Zinoviev denied that the wall was inherent in the soviet system as such (witness his speech at the 8th Congress of soviets in 1920), but he did analyse some of the deeper causes of the phenomenon. (In reading over Zinoviev's analysis of the situation in 1919 and 1920, keep in mind the standard stereotype according to which the Bolsheviks were then in the grip of a euphoric ideology

11. Mary McAuley *Bread and justice: state and society in Petrograd, 1917-1922* Oxford 1991 p402. The last two chapters of the book and McAuley's conclusion contain an insightful analysis of the phenomenon of the wall. For a discussion of differing Bolshevik responses to the wall in 1920, see Lars T Lih 'Vlast from the past' *Left History*, 6, No2 (1999): pp29-52.

12. *Vos'moi s'ezd RKP(b): Protokoly* Moscow 1959, p294.

13. *Ibid.*

14. See Zinoviev, 'The social roots of opportunism' in John Riddell, (ed), *Lenin's struggle for a revolutionary international* New York 1984, pp476-95.

15. *Vos'moi s'ezd RKP(b)* pp279-80.

of 'war communism' that led them to believe that socialism was just around the corner.)

One set of reasons arose from the fundamental fact that the party was now in power and had the responsibility of administering a vast state. Whether you were in your office administering a department, or off on a *komandirovka* in the provinces, you were physically unable to maintain a living link with the workers in the factory.

Another set of reasons was the sacrifices caused by the war and the complete collapse of society (*razrukha*). What kind of communist paradise could there be if Russia had to be looted in order to serve the front?¹⁶ No wonder that political life in the soviets died away. Poverty led to strict prioritising and this in turn was the underlying reason for *glavkokratiia* (rule by *glavki*, the boards that ran the highly centralised industrial sector). The party also had to be on a war footing, with strict centralisation, which meant that practices such as *naznachenstvo* (appointment from above) and *perebroška sil* (centralised distribution of scarce party forces) had to be tolerated.

Another war-related factor was the need to deny political freedoms. Zinoviev affirmed the necessity for this denial, but he leaves the impression that it was anomalous and he looked forward to its gradual disappearance.¹⁷ At the 8th party congress in 1919, he noted that in practice a much wider group had been deprived of electoral rights than the Soviet constitution itself had mandated. The Bolsheviks should strive to extend electoral rights (when circumstances permitted) instead of waiting for the Mensheviks and the Socialist Revolutionaries to get the credit.¹⁸

Another fundamental reason for the appearance of the wall was the cultural gap between the leadership of the party and the mass membership. This led to reliance on *spetsy*, the so-called "bourgeois specialists" - a reliance that was not only bad in itself, but threatened an infectious degeneration on the part of the communists who worked with them. Attempts by the workers simply to replace the *spetsy* created chaos in government, as the workers "get tangled up in the state *apparat* in the same way that a child will sometimes get tangled up in the coat of his father."¹⁹

All of these factors together - the need to administer the state, the permanent emergency of war and *razrukha*, the monopoly of political power, the cultural gulf between leaders and followers - meant that too great a burden was placed on the thin layer of the party leadership. These leaders were spread too thin,

16. GE Zinoviev, *Na poroge novoi epokhi: kommunisty i bespartiiinye* Petrograd 1921 (speech given to non-party conference in April 1921).

17. It should be recalled that Zinoviev's dispute with Lenin in October 1917 was fundamentally over the issue of a coalition government, as shown by Myron Redlin 'Zinoviev's revolutionary tactics in 1917'.

18. *Vos'moi s'ezd RKP(b)* pp290-91.

19. 'Pometki V I Lenina v tezisakh GE Zinov'eva' *Voprosy Istorii KPSS* No. 6 (1990) pp30-36. This image is taken from a draft Zinoviev wrote for presentation to the 8th Congress of soviets in late 1920. Lenin was somewhat taken aback by it, writing "??" in the margin.

bone-tired, and loaded down with an “accumulation of power” and offices that boded no good.²⁰

The wall was like a dam that interrupted the otherwise natural flow of hearts and minds into the Bolshevik camp. There were bad consequences on both sides of the wall. On the leadership side, there were flagrant abuses of power and privilege. Among those mentioned by Zinoviev were cases of privileged distribution of expropriated goods such as apartments and an alarming case of incipient anti-Semitism in his home town of Elizavetgrad.²¹ On the side of the workers, there was natural and justified anger at these abuses. One of the key promises of the revolution had been equality, and nothing did the party more harm than indifference and greed on the part of the party leadership. “People do not realise that they deal a blow to our party with this sort of thing that no single white guard would be able to do.”²² Even if there were no abuses, the wall led to resentment on the part of those left behind:

The worker is jealous, he envies his fellow worker who is a member of a soviet, who dresses a little better, who eats a little better, and therefore he hates him worse than he earlier hated a *burzhui* (bourgeois). Yes, the worker has this trait ... If the worker doesn't see the one he elected for three months, he starts to regard him as part of ‘them’ [*chuzhoi*] and no longer as his representative.²³

All of this led to a situation where alternative leaderships - the Bolsheviks' rivals for hegemony - had a greater chance. Zinoviev gave the example of one Federov at the Putilov factory: a “petty crook” that the workers trusted more than their own elected representatives, simply because he was always there in the factory.²⁴

If the main reason for the wall was objective conditions such as the war and material poverty, then ultimately the only way to break down the wall was to remove those underlying causes: end the war and improve productivity. At the beginning of 1920, Zinoviev looked forward to steady improvement in the standard of living, but this proved premature, since 1920 turned out to be another year of war and sacrifice. In the meantime, the party leaders had to be frank about the sacrifices they demanded and show that they realised the cost of victory.

Objective difficulties should not excuse inaction. The party's own incompetence - its “lack of skill, sloppiness, lack of culture and carelessness” - had

20. *Vos'moi s'ezd RKP(b)* pp279-80.

21. Zinoviev *Ob itogakh* pp190,197.

22. *Ibid* p197.

23. *Ibid* p195. This statement may give the impression that Zinoviev was justifying this inequality, but at the 9th party conference in September 1920 he discussed these same problems (position of a worker elite) at length and made clear that equality was a key value of the revolution (*Deviataia konferentsiia RKP(b): protokoly* Moscow 1972 pp145-52). In 1925, the party majority gave Zinoviev a very hard time when he insisted that equality was a key revolutionary value.

24. Zinoviev *Ob itogakh* pp194-95.

greatly contributed to the problem.²⁵ The most important thing was to improve the workers' lot in some minimal way:

Up here in Petrograd, in connection with the recent disturbances, it was established that at the Nevsky gate cloth supplies were rotting away, while at the same time women workers who needed clothes were driven to thievery, for which we persecuted them and created conflict after conflict. There's no greater shame for us than that these supposedly small - but in reality not small at all - 'defects of the mechanism' are still around, that we still can't clothe a worker family or the mother of a worker, who would appreciate even the smallest improvement of their lot or some genuine love and concern for them.²⁶

Another basic antidote for degeneration was workerisation (*orabochenie*), or bringing the workers (and after them, the toilers in general) into the party and the soviets. The accent here is more on the workers' role in curing the party than spreading the party's influence. Workerisation includes bringing workers into the party, non-party toilers into the soviets, and turning Rabkrin [Workers' and Peasants' Inspectorate] into a tool for improving the state apparatus. It also meant bringing party members closer to the workers: Zinoviev persistently pushed measures to ensure that officials be regularly sent back to the floor.²⁷

In particular, effort should be made to revitalise the soviets and extend party influence within them.²⁸ The net of enlistment should be thrown wide: in Petrograd a somewhat successful effort had been made to enlist craftsmen, laundresses, cabbies and lower-level civil servants in order to free them from the influence and hegemony of the petty and large-scale bourgeoisie.²⁹

The converse of workerisation was 're-registrations' or *chistki* (purges) to remove non-proletarian elements - or at least to impose a special check-up (*proverka*) on them. Finally, Zinoviev proposed some specific measures of abuse prevention:

25. See Zinoviev's speech at *Vos'moi s'ezd Sovetov rabochikh, krest'ianskikh, krasnoarmeiskikh i kazachnykh deputatov* Moscow 1921.

26. *Ibid* pp283-84.

27. McAuley comments: "When faced with unrest, one response was to try to bring the government itself, physically, closer to the people; to create an immediate, personal link between leaders and led ... They repeatedly resorted to this strategy, described as one of restoring 'links with the non-party masses,' one which had its roots in old party practice (meetings were the place for gaining party support) and which fitted with notions of direct democracy, but one which was woefully inadequate as a means of connecting government and people" (*Bread and justice* p426).

28. Zinoviev recalled the hopes that had been placed on the soviets in 1917: "the soviets as organs in which the creativity of the masses finds for itself the most free and most organised path, the soviets as organs that guaranteed a constant stream of fresh forces from below, the soviets as organs where the masses learned at one and the same time to legislate and to carry out their own laws" (*Pometki V. I. Lenina* p33). "Revitalisation of the soviets" became central to Zinoviev's rhetoric in the mid-1920s.

29. *Vosmoi s'ezd* pp290-91.

legal accountability of party members, a crackdown on favouritism and “protectionism”, and wide preliminary discussion of state decrees.

NEP (1922-25)

We now turn to the early NEP period, when Zinoviev was the principal spokesman for Bolshevism. The basic story and the analysis of the wall remain more or less the same, but updated to take into account the new circumstances of peacetime.

Zinoviev now adds some elaborations to his basic story of expanding influence. In 1922, he provided more detail to the story prior to the revolution. He claimed that in the pre-revolutionary years the party had been able to create a “reservoir” of sympathizers who provided the basic core of new members after 1917.³⁰ In early 1921, the difficulties of the civil war reached their height and the party’s relations with the workers reached their low point. In a speech given at the time, Zinoviev apologised for the guards at the factory gates, but asserted that it was the role of the purposive (*soznatel’nye*) leaders to make sure that waverers at a moment of intense strain do not lead to disaster.³¹

After this low point (Zinoviev continues) things gradually became better. Although 1921-1923 were difficult years that allowed a growth in social democratic influence abroad, they also saw the beginning of economic revival and the end of the ‘declassing’ of the scattered and demoralised working class. The ‘Lenin enrolment’ of 1924 marked the completion of the years of recovery and the beginning of a new chapter in the story, one that would end with all members of the working class inside the party.

The role of Cassandra is no longer played by the warning example of the SPD’s degeneration, but rather by what Zinoviev calls the “clever foe” (*umnyi vrag*): Russian émigrés who were looking forward to the party’s degeneration. The clever foe was a basic rhetorical device for Zinoviev: he does not just refer to such writers in passing, but gives very extensive citations from their articles and indeed often frames his presentation around them. Among the émigrés used in this way were Pavel Milyukov, David Dalin, Fyodor Dan, Vladimir Nabokov (the father of the novelist), and Nikolai Ustryalov. It almost seems as if Zinoviev is engaged in an inner polemic with these intelligentsia critics.

The wall that had grown up between party and class still existed, and the basic reason was still the clash between the responsibilities of power and the party’s self-image as leader of the oppressed. On the one hand, the party member was told to “learn to trade”, to work closely with specialists, and to accept the need

30. XI s’ezd RKP(b): *Stenograficheskii otchet* Moscow 1961, pp380-85.

31. Zinoviev *Na poroge novoi epokhi*. Zinoviev was evidently deeply shaken by this episode; I have found two other references to it, both emphasising the depth of the alienation between party and class at this point in time, but also praising the Bolsheviks for remaining true to their “historical mission”. See Zinoviev *Zadachi nashei partii posle konchiny V I Lenina: dva doklada* Krasnaia Nov’, 1924, p24 and Zinoviev *Istoriia RKP(b)* 4th ed., Leningrad 1924, p200 (English translation by R Chappell, London 1974).

for inequality; on the other hand, he was told to be to a representative of the class that was “recently oppressed and which still today is economically the most downtrodden.”³² This dilemma was not unique to NEP: “The danger of degeneration of the social nucleus is real, we talked about this danger in 1919 and in 1921. We are obliged to repeat it, especially under NEP, with an even heavier accent.”³³

The economic collapse was thankfully a problem that was gradually receding into the past: problems such as unemployment remained, but nothing like the crises of the recent past.³⁴ The revival of the economy presented a new challenge: handling the demands for political activity that were sure to come both from non-party elements (to be encouraged) and the new bourgeoisie (to be discouraged).³⁵

Zinoviev was adamant that there would be no “political NEP” that is, no legalisation of independent political activity. It is still possible to see hints that Zinoviev thought of this situation as an anomaly.³⁶ When he was accused in 1925 of advocacy of independent peasant councils, his fellow leaders seem to find the charge plausible.

In any event, Zinoviev went into detail about the dangers that resulted from the party’s “legal monopoly”. It was not so much open careerism that was the problem, since careerists could be removed with the relatively blunt instrument of the *chistka* (purge). It was rather the mass, elemental phenomenon of the influence of unprepared party members, especially those from the Red Army. Zinoviev’s discussion of this problem shows the tension in his outlook. He continues to praise the new recruits, point to their services, and emphasise their sincerity; it is not their fault that they do not know themselves and that they bring petty bourgeois prejudices into the party.³⁷

The party is therefore still faced with a cultural gap between leaders and rank and file. The low cultural level leads to endless squabbles (*skloki*), especially on the local level.³⁸ It is also undoubtedly true that decisions are often handed down ready-made from on high and that there is insufficient free discussion in the party. Besides objective reasons for this situation, Zinoviev granted that inertia from the days of the civil war was a factor.

Finally, the party’s responsibility to give political direction to the state put a tremendous strain on its internal unity. In a speech of January 1924, Zinoviev listed ten different categories of party membership: factory workers, peasants, Red Army officers, students, civil servants, administrators of the local soviets, economic officials, trade union officials, “our merchants” and officials in the co-

32. XI s’ezd pp394-95.

33. *Ibid* pp407-10.

34. *Trinadtsatyi s’ezd RKP(b): Stenograficheskii otchet* Gosizdat, Moscow 1963, pp85-87.

35. Zinoviev *Zadachi nashei partii* pp20-24.

36. XI s’ezd pp391-94.

37. *Ibid* p390.

38. For a civil war discussion of *skloki*, see *Vos’moi s’ezd RKP(b)* p292.

operatives.³⁹

Some recently published archival material indicates that Zinoviev was genuinely worried about the possibility of the party turning into a “mandarin sect.” On August 6, 1923, while vacationing in Kislovodsk, he wrote the following note to [Joseph] Stalin:

In one of the protocols of the Politburo I saw a decision ... to ease the enrolment of the children of high officials into secondary education. In my opinion, this decision is a big mistake. It will only make the position of the children of high officials more difficult. And, most important, this kind of privilege closes the road to more gifted [applicants] and introduces an element of caste. This won't do.⁴⁰

In relation to the other side of the wall, Zinoviev revealed in his speeches what appears to be genuine empathy with the difficulties of ordinary individuals and the reasons why they would not always be completely thrilled with the party. For example:

I mentioned the Putilov factory [in Petrograd] because not so long ago I went through an unpleasant experience there: after the end of one rally a young lad about 17 years old with a gloomy expression said to his neighbour but obviously so that I would hear it: ‘Ekh, there's not one intelligent person in Soviet Russia’ - clearly trying to say ‘and you aren't so smart yourself’. When I started asking why he had such a gloomy, Schopenhauerian outlook on life already at age 17, it turned out that it wasn't from [Arthur] Schopenhauer at all, but because ‘I have three unemployed at home, I'm the only worker and I can't provide for them. And what I'm usually receiving in the way of culture is next to nothing.’ The figure of this young lad at the Putilov factory is not something exceptional and we have to pay attention to it. If we really have 17-year-olds in the factories that are subjected to such thoughts, then this is a serious danger.⁴¹

As we might expect, Zinoviev's basic wall-prevention measure was to end any “massophobia” (*massoboiazn*) in the party and to accelerate workerisation. An article dated February 15 1923 - the beginning of the campaign for the Lenin enrolment - provides the fullest account of his hopes, and I will summarise it here.⁴²

In the Comintern resolution from 1920 that I cited earlier, Zinoviev had looked forward to the time when the party would embrace almost the entire working class. After citing this resolution, Zinoviev exultantly claimed “We are now, in the USSR, in the most completely evident way, *beginning* to approach precisely this final phase ... The fragmentation, the de-classing of the proletariat

39. Zinoviev *Zadachi nashei partii* p12.

40. *Izvestiia TsK* No4 (1991) p202.

41. *XI s'ezd* pp405-06.

42. This article can be found in Zinoviev *Istoriia RKP(b)* pp5-21.

is coming to an end”.

The foundation of the party had always been its “stratum of old, long-time [*korennye*] worker-Bolsheviks”. The new worker members were also hereditary workers, so that the present enrolment was a case of “potential energy turning into kinetic”. Everybody in the party should be taught to take for granted that they should take their cues (*ravniat'sia*) from the basic core of workers from the factory floor.

Now that these new members have been enlisted, the party had to aggressively assimilate them (*perevarit'*). The basic method should be to give them state responsibilities: to help production through production conferences and the like, to assist the local Rabkrin in improving the state apparatus, and to strive for influence among the non-party elements. The new members must remember that the standards of the non-party people have risen, so that the basic party mission of acting as leaders has become even more challenging. Zinoviev seems confident that the new workers will genuinely improve matters; he cites the testimony of “our best red directors” that industrial production was now finally reviving.

Zinoviev then went into some other ways to get the most out of workerisation. There should be a party reorganisation to get cells closer to the factory floor. Party democracy - especially in the sense of free discussion - should be intensified as the basic means of party education. The new workers with links to the village should be used to strengthen the *smychka* (the alliance between the proletariat and the peasantry). The everyday living standard (*byt*) of the workers should be improved. Finally, massophobia should not be allowed to stand in the way of getting even more workers into the party: “We must plough the virgin soil ever deeper”.⁴³

In presenting Zinoviev's outlook during this period, I have abstracted from some dissonant notes that emerged in the struggle against Trotsky. There was, for example, more and more of a stress on party unity and the impermissibility of any attack on it. Lenin's death also made Zinoviev even more afraid of splits within the party leadership. The audience response to this theme was always foot-stomping approval - far more than to anything else Zinoviev says. Zinoviev also takes up the defence of the party *apparatus* as a necessary tool in disciplining the state *apparatus*.

Despite these dissonant notes, I think we can conclude the following: from at least 1919 to 1924, despite the end of the civil war and the introduction of NEP, Zinoviev presented a consistent picture of the danger of the wall as well as some possible antidotes. His main response is to urge the overcoming of “massophobia” (his own, perhaps, as well as that of others). Despite the many objective reasons for the existence of the wall, the party should strive to overcome it for the sake of its own health as well as its need for social support. Zinoviev was able to give a relatively lucid analysis of the wall and its conse-

43. *Ibid*; see also Zinoviev *Zadachi nashei partii*.

quences because of his underlying optimism that the party and the class (and beyond it, the mass) share an underlying unity of outlook which time will only make more clear.

The peasantry: hegemony and “who-whom”

In the 1920s, Zinoviev often made a claim that stands in stark contrast to conventional wisdom about NEP: he presented it as just another manifestation of the essence of Bolshevism, namely, the insistence on the mission of the working class to act as hegemonic leader of the peasantry. According to Zinoviev, the insistence on this mission was Lenin’s central contribution to Marxism and had always separated Bolshevism from its socialist rivals. In 1924, he cited the newly discovered manuscript of Lenin’s *Who are the friends of the people?* from the early 1890s: “The person of the future in Russia is the worker - this is the thought of the Social Democrats”. He then paraphrased Lenin’s formula in order to bring out the fundamental idea of hegemony: “The person of the future in Russia is the worker, *leading the peasant*”.⁴⁴ Thus the *smychka* of the 1920s is shown to have deep roots in Lenin’s earliest writings.

In this way, Zinoviev fits the peasantry into his own larger story of hegemony: just as the party will eventually win over the working class as a whole, so will the working class win over the peasantry. The drama of the story is heightened, both because the peasants are more backward than the workers and because the kulak is a more formidable hegemonic rival than the urban bourgeoisie. Nevertheless, Zinoviev’s drama of hegemony in the 1920s is basically optimistic, since it is structured by an assumption of a *natural* hostility between the kulak and the majority of the peasantry: “We have united with the working peasant against the kulak bloodsucker!”⁴⁵ When Zinoviev, [Lev] Kamenev and [Nadezhda] Krupskaya protested against what they viewed as a whitewash of the kulak in 1925, they did so because they thought it would offend peasants, not party ideologues or urban workers. The *smychka* thus *required* hostility toward the kulak.

Civil war

By 1920, the revolution had given the peasants land and a countryside free from *pomeshchiki* (gentry estate-owners) but very little else except heavy burdens and a deteriorating economy. The minimum (and perhaps the maximum) we can expect from the Bolsheviks is an honest avowal of these facts. Zinoviev (along with many other Bolshevik spokesmen) passes this particular test.⁴⁶

44. Zinoviev *Istoriia RKP(b)* p208.

45. G Zinoviev *Krest'iane i sovetskaia vlast* Gosizdat, Petrograd 1920 (speech given April 21, 1920 to a non-party conference in Petrograd guberniia).

46. In reading the following, keep in mind the entrenched stereotype reflected, for example, in Robert Conquest’s assertion that “grain procurement by force” was “regarded by the Party, from Lenin down, as not merely socialism, but even communism” (*Harvest of Sorrow* Oxford University Press, New York 1986 p48).

In early 1920, Zinoviev admitted that although Russia had been in bad shape when the Bolsheviks took it over, it was in worse shape now. Yes, the peasants had received land. "But you know, the peasant can't scrape the earth with his teeth. The peasant can't work the land because he has no horses. We declared mobilisation after mobilisation. The village is short of everything necessary."⁴⁷ "Taking peasants away from the field for two weeks at harvest time was appalling and a real torture. But still it was unavoidable ... With a weary heart, we were forced literally to loot half of Russia, but achieve victory over the generals."⁴⁸

Added to the material burdens was arbitrary government by representatives of Soviet power. "When I hear specific complaints - here they took your horse away, there they made an illegitimate arrest, the special tax was improperly levied - then I am amazed, not that such examples [of peasant protest] occur, but that they are becoming ever fewer." Given illiteracy, general backwardness, years of being divided from the workers, and the shortage of "decent people and officials", such abuses could not be avoided.⁴⁹

These are not isolated statements, or ones made only to peasant audiences. In Germany in late 1920, critics cited statements like these by Zinoviev as well as Lenin and Preobrazhensky to show how badly the peasants were faring in Russia. Zinoviev responded that yes indeed, he and the others had been quoted correctly, but they were doing their best to make things better. Besides, these statements showed that the Bolsheviks were not afraid to talk about their problems.⁵⁰

We next inquire whether we can find any doctrinal reflection about the importance of maintaining peasant support. We should remember that the Bolsheviks were criticised by orthodox socialists such as Karl Kautsky because they gave *too much* to the peasants: the break-up of the estates hurt large-scale agriculture and helped to entrench a village bourgeoisie. The Bolshevik response was to write the necessity of attracting peasant support into the 21 terms and conditions of affiliation to the Communist International - a document drafted by Zinoviev.⁵¹

In his speech in Halle in October 1920, Zinoviev maintained that neglect of the peasants was a cardinal reason for Béla Kun's failure in Hungary, and forecast the necessity for the German revolution to gain the support of the *seredniak* (middle peasant) in order to ward off counterrevolution. In response to critics who said that the break-up of the estates signified a return to the Middle

47. *Novye zadachi nashei partii (ot voyny k khoziaistvu)* Gosizdat, Petersburg 1920 p11 (speech given January 28 1920).

48. Zinoviev *Krest'iane i sovetskaia vlast'*.

49. *Ibid* pp45-56.

50. Zinoviev *Dvenadsat' dnei v Germanii* Petersburg 1920, pp66 ff.

51. Hedlin shows that Zinoviev was the main author of the 21 conditions, despite their attribution to Lenin in the fifth edition of his works ('Grigorii Zinoviev: myths of the defeated'). I can add a stylistic observation to Hedlin's discussion: the presence of the rare word 'razzhizheniia' (rarefaction), one that I have run across only in Zinoviev's writings.

Ages, Zinoviev retorted that Russia could live 5 or 10 years without socialism in the villages, but at least it would never go back to capitalism.⁵²

These statements by Zinoviev support his claim that, even during the period of so-called war communism, Bolshevism distinguished itself from Menshevism and other varieties of socialism by its willingness to attract peasant support even at the cost of slowing down the purely economic evolution of socialism in the countryside.

We now turn to Zinoviev's view of what was going on inside the peasantry. Here "the kulak" can best be understood as a role in the drama of hegemony: the alternative leadership that struggles with the proletariat for influence over the swing vote, that is, the wavering mass of the peasantry. There is a certain inner contradiction contained within this role in all versions of the hegemony story, since the alternative leadership is seen as both the oppressor loathed by the masses and the seductive rival with an enormous capacity to deceive the same masses.

This is certainly the case for Zinoviev's view of the kulak. On the one hand, the kulaks are a small handful who "hold the whole village in their tenacious clutches."⁵³ The peasants know who these people are, and ultimately it is up to the peasants to deal with them. The kulak is somebody who lives "at the expense of others" and thrives on usury, speculation and exploitation of labour. Zinoviev is frankly puzzled why the village does not declare open season on them and attributes this to village shyness or lack of organisation.⁵⁴

This leads us to the other side of the coin: the threat posed by the kulaks as the most entrenched and rooted bourgeois class in Russia. Unlike the urban bourgeoisie, they are not leaving for Constantinople. On the contrary, they show great survival power: throw them out of a fifth story window, and they land on their feet. Some of them may see the need for a new life, but for the most part they remain dangerous enemies even if they don't take up arms (they spread rumours, wriggle into soviets and so forth). This is a long-term problem: kulakdom (*kulach'e*) is not going to be extinct for a long time.⁵⁵

Zinoviev's fierce rhetoric about kulaks must be put alongside the evidence that he took the worker-peasant union seriously. Perhaps this can best be seen by the very fact of the speech I have been citing extensively (*Krest'iane i sovskaia vlast'*, given on April 21 1920) which was given at a "non-party conference" in Petrograd province. Here Zinoviev went before a peasant audience, admitted that the revolution had given little but imposed much, pleaded that the mutual

52. He quickly added that it would be at least a century before the "full practical realisation of communism". Later, during NEP, Zinoviev often admitted that the Bolsheviks had underestimated the time factor.

53. Zinoviev *Pis'mo k krest'ianam: Zachem rabochie posylaiut prodovol'stvennye otriady v derevniu?* Petrograd 1918.

54. Zinoviev *Krest'iane i sovskaia vlast'*.

55. *Ibid.* Zinoviev's rhetoric about kulaks in 1920 is actually more moderate than it was in 1918; for examples, see Lars T Lih *Bread and authority in Russia, 1914-1921* University of California Press, Berkeley 1990.

victory not be spoiled by distrust, and tried to respond to the many vocal complaints. He could not understand why people in the audience were offended by his attacks on the kulak: "There's no reason to be offended by what I said! ... If the kulak is offended, that makes sense. His turn has come. But there are no kulaks among you."⁵⁶

Zinoviev's confidence that deep down the peasants were on the side of the Bolsheviks is an extension of the same confidence he expressed in the case of the workers. The point of the soviets for both workers and peasants was to provide a means of "bringing understanding to our backward brethren."⁵⁷ Conversely the soviet mechanism would only benefit from enlisting peasants as well as workers. In 1919 he proposed that VTsIK bring in more peasants: "We should see more leaders of the peasant poor there, who have not yet enrolled in the party, but who will do so in a month or maybe two."⁵⁸

As this last comment indicates, Zinoviev entered into the world of the peasantry from the proletarian door, that is, the *bednota* (poor peasantry). These were the "best people" in the village. Zinoviev was inclined not to be harsh about their mistakes: wasn't it time for them to triumph for once? He regarded the *seredniak* (middle peasant) somewhat condescendingly and put him in the same category as the "lower middle-class intelligentsia" and the urban man-in-the-street (*obyvatel'*): all these groups could and should be won over, but only with time. The task of the party was thus to extend its influence in the villages so that it is possible to "maintain the *vlast* (state power) [without military force]. To accomplish this will require a huge amount of work that will occupy a series of years."⁵⁹

NEP

We now turn to Zinoviev's presentation of the logic of NEP in the years before he went into opposition in 1925. His understanding of it was summed up in the repeated phrase *kto-kogo*. Like most people, I had always thought that this phrase was an expression of the hard-line Lenin: "who (oppresses, beats, takes advantage of) whom". It was something of a shock when some time ago I tried to track down its actual use by Lenin and found that (as far as I can tell) it was entirely confined to the NEP years and only employed to express the logic of NEP. He used it no more than a couple of times, and I would hazard the guess that Zinoviev's frequent use of it in 1923-1925 put the phrase into wider circulation.

As understood by Zinoviev, the phrase means something like this: who will gain the loyalty of the peasants: the proletarian state or the new bourgeoisie? Who will best take advantage of the opportunities presented by economic revival? Who will best represent the political interests of the peasant and best provide

56. *Krest'iane i sovetskaia vlast'* pp38-39.

57. Zinoviev *Dvenadsat' dnei v Germanii*.

58. *Vos'moi s'ezd RKP(b)* p288. See also the citation given earlier claiming that the peasant does not need a sophisticated grasp of the party programme in order to join VTsIK.

59. Zinoviev *Ob itogakh VIII s'ezda*.

the peasant with goods and credit? Which *smychka* will prevail: the proletarian or the bourgeois? The answer to these questions will decide the fate of the revolution.

Thus, *kto-kogo* turns NEP into an ongoing drama. We can best understand the further details of the NEP drama as understood by Zinoviev if we take seriously a terminological innovation he proposed in 1923 and 1924: to distinguish between ‘NEP’ and the New Economic Policy. ‘NEP’ had been turned into a term referring to the nepmen, the new bourgeoisie and the kulaks. Its negative connotations should not be transferred to the New Economic Policy, which was the only sensible policy for constructing socialism in a peasant country surrounded by capitalism. (The following discussion uses this distinction somewhat more systematically than Zinoviev did, but I am sticking closely to Zinoviev’s own presentation of the logic of the New Economic Policy.)

According to Zinoviev, the New Economic Policy did involve a retreat, namely, the tolerance of NEP elements (*not* the concessions to the peasants). This retreat was necessary in order to revive the economy under conditions of capitalist encirclement. The retreat was not all the way back to capitalism, but only to “state capitalism”, which included such uncaptalist things as a state monopoly on foreign trade. Once the economy had revived sufficiently, an advance was again possible. This advance would also be conducted under the terms of the New Economic Policy: its aim would be to replace the economic services provided by the Nepmen with the state’s own superior economic structures. Until the advance was successfully completed, the question of *kto-kogo* would still be open. ‘NEP’ could therefore at first be read as the Necessary Economic Policy; later, when state economic structures were in place, as the Needless Economic Policy.⁶⁰

In the case of the party’s relation to the workers, degeneration manifested itself by an acceptance of the wall. An equivalent degeneration in the case of the New Economic Policy would be forgetting about *kto-kogo*, that is, welcoming economic revival in and of itself, no matter where it was leading, and in this way refusing the challenge of directing economic development down the proper socialist channels. This is the outcome predicted by the ‘clever foe’.

In his 1924 political report to the 13th party congress, Zinoviev asked two questions. The first was “did the state’s economic performance mean that it was moving out of the elementary class of economic competence?” The second was *kto-kogo*. A generally positive answer was given to the first question, but Zinoviev emphasised that an unambiguously positive answer could not be given to the second question. His speech is sprinkled with warnings about the dangers of forgetting about *kto-kogo*:

We shouldn’t delude ourselves: there is a real danger of degeneration, and the danger of a more than proportional growth of the bourgeoisie is also real - and of course this bourgeoisie is starting to emerge out of the

60. Zinoviev *Russia’s path to communism* London 1925 (speech given May 20 1925).

village. This is the reason that we are much less confident and final in our response [to questions about the success of *kto-kogo*]. Here much depends precisely on the subjective efforts of our party, and what we need to do is not so much to underline the positive aspects but rather to show where we need to apply all our strength. The struggle between us and 'them' [the new bourgeoisie] is just starting.⁶¹

Zinoviev did not talk much about the kulaks until 1924; before then, 'NEP' meant primarily the urban nepmen. Even in 1924, he maintained that there was more danger from a revived Menshevism (interpreted as the political expression of the urban 'NEP') rather than from the Socialist Revolutionaries (the political expression of the village 'NEP'; that is, the kulaks). But we find a familiar theme in his insistence that in the long run it would be the SRs who would prove most dangerous.⁶² Zinoviev's views rest on an assumption that he shared with others in the party opposition: the new bourgeoisie would eventually find political representation and expand their influence if the state was unable to render it economically superfluous. One might say that Zinoviev and the rest were stuck in pre-war conceptions of civil society and underestimated the power of their own repression. In contrast, [Nikolai] Bukharin was supremely confident that the kulaks presented no threat, because his model was the wartime 'state capitalism' that (it seemed to him) was able to co-opt all opposition.

In his 1924 congress report, Zinoviev also put forward the idea of two possible deviations on the kulak question: trying to eliminate them by repressive means alone versus denying their existence. He cited reports from the countryside that indicated the danger that the kulak would end up supporting the Bolsheviks more than the *bedniak* (poor peasant) did. Out of concern for the *smychka*, the party should be aware of peasant criticism on this issue.

It is hardly surprising that Zinoviev put heavy emphasis on the worker-peasant union during 1922-25, and I will not discuss this theme at length. I will cite here a few characteristic touches. In 1923, he rebuked the party by saying that even Mussolini was doing a better job of linking up with the peasants.⁶³ In his 1923 correspondence with Stalin, Zinoviev expressed his delight in the founding of a peasant international.

In a speech of early 1925, we find some of Zinoviev's populism.⁶⁴ In explaining the new policies of the neo-Nep, he reviewed some statistics on peasant poverty and concluded: "We are a government based upon the poor, but it is not our desire to perpetuate the poor; we want to improve their lot." Later in

61. *Trinadtsatyi s'ezd RKP(b)* p88 (similar passages on pp99,105).

62. Zinoviev's worries about the kulak did not include the danger that he would refuse to hand over enough grain for industrialisation. Kamenev was more aware of this economic danger, which lay outside Zinoviev's focus on political and social questions (see Alexis Pogorelskin, 'Kamenev and the peasant question: the turn to opposition, 1924-1925', *Russian History/Histoire Russe*, 27, No4 (Winter 2000) pp381-96.

63. *Dvenadtsatyi s'ezd RKP(b)* p6.

64. Zinoviev *Russia's path to communism*.

the same speech he admitted that:

We know that often the non-party peasant knows our decrees, is almost invariably a better husbandman, better understands agriculture and sometimes is better educated than our village communists.

Zinoviev is still upset by abuses of power:

The peasant will be sure that the 'bad communist' is not all-powerful when he feels free to lift his voice against him and see justice meted out to him. . . . How, I ask . . . are we to get the peasant to feel he has a right to speak up against bad communists?

If he had an answer to his own question, he didn't give it in this speech.

Opposition in 1925: Flip-flop or continuity?

My original aim was to carry my analysis forward to the disputes of late 1925 when Zinoviev and Kamenev went into opposition, but this has proved to be quite impossible, since I would have to go into the policies of 1925's neo-Nep, Bukharin's position, and the various doctrinal disputes that became intertwined with the main debate. I will only give the briefest outline of what I think was at issue.

At present, the only full discussion of the debates of 1925 is by EH Carr. According to him, Zinoviev performed a flip-flop on the question of NEP, moving from a strong defence of the neo-Nep to a strong critique of NEP in a matter of months. However, with the background provided by this article, the essential consistency of Zinoviev's position becomes apparent.

In my view, the essence of the debate was defeatism vs complacency. Bukharin's main polemical enemies had always been socialists such as Kautsky who argued that the Bolshevik Revolution was doomed to failure because conditions in Russia were not ripe for socialism (I call this the maturity (*zrelost'*) debate). If any Bolshevik talked too much about the difficulties facing socialist construction in Russia, Bukharin tended to conclude that he or she was a defeatist who secretly accepted Kautsky's argument and had lost faith in the possibility of socialism in Russia. In response, Bukharin himself tended to glide over the difficulties, and this pushed Zinoviev's buttons: behind Bukharin he heard the voice of Ustryalov and other clever foes who were predicting that the Bolsheviks would come to terms with capitalism, become complacent, and gradually forget their revolutionary aspirations.

Thus it was not the actual policy of neo-Nep that led to Zinoviev's worries, but its interpretation by Bukharin and others. For Zinoviev, it was very important to see the legalisation of various kulak practices as a retreat and to keep one's revolutionary perspective: the *kto-kogo* question was still an open one. Zinoviev had always said it would be a disaster if the *bedniak* came to see the New Economic Policy as a wager on the kulak, and now Bukharin with his "get rich" slogan (April 1925) seemed to be going out of his way to give exactly that impression.

A related debate was over the status of state industry: was it “state capitalism” or already socialist? Behind the mind-numbing citation-mongering on this issue we can perceive Zinoviev’s concern that the party should take seriously the workers’ dissatisfaction with low pay, bad working conditions and abuses by the bosses.

Conclusion

The most important conclusion to emerge from this material is that Zinoviev did in fact express a consistent outlook with some degree of intellectual and political integrity (given standards appropriate for political leaders). This outlook was based on his understanding of Leninism as a drama of hegemony: a battle with the class enemy for the souls of the masses. Zinoviev was especially concerned with the danger of degeneration: would the vanguard forget its mission? Would it accept with complacency the wall that inevitably sprang up between vanguard and masses? Would it forget about the drama of *kto-kogo* made necessary by concessions to the new bourgeoisie? Indeed, degeneration itself could even be defined as forgetting that hegemony *was* a drama, that is, a struggle with no sure outcome. I can see no reason to dismiss this outlook as mere rhetoric or as motivated by passing factional concerns. Zinoviev stuck to it over a number of years, during both the civil war and NEP; he consistently put forth policy suggestions based on it; he used it as the basis of his platform when he moved into opposition.

The particular features of Zinoviev’s outlook seem to have been recognised by his comrades in the Bolshevik leadership. For example, in Spring 1919 Zinoviev was the speaker for the Central Committee at the 8th party congress on issues of party organisation and bureaucratism. He was also the main spokesman on this question at the 9th party conference in September 1920, when the issue of bureaucratism was at the centre of a violent controversy within the party. Zinoviev was also given the job of reporting on this issue at the 8th Congress of soviets at the end of 1920.

Zinoviev’s emphasis on the concept of hegemony makes one think of Antonio Gramsci. As a foreign communist, Gramsci would have dealt more with Zinoviev than with any other Bolshevik leader and must have been influenced by his particular understanding of Leninism. Certainly it would be satisfyingly ironic if the despised Zinoviev turned out ultimately to have more enduring intellectual influence (via his talented pupil Gramsci) than any other top Bolshevik.⁶⁵

I have been stressing some of the relatively attractive features of Zinoviev’s outlook, since it seems to me that this is the more surprising result of my investigation. Lest I seem unbalanced, I should add at least the following. Zinoviev had very little concrete to say about the policy dilemmas faced by the Bolsheviks except what was revealed by his hegemony scenario. Furthermore, when he

65. For the deep roots of the hegemony scenario in Lenin’s outlook, see Lars T Lih *Lenin rediscovered*, Leiden 2006.

went into opposition, all his weaknesses came into play and he was never able to make a coherent presentation of his case. His book *Leninism* and his speeches at the 14th party congress and the 15th party conference show him drowning in defensive logic-chopping and citation-mongering. It is mainly (but not entirely!) his own fault that his message had to be excavated by obscure academics many decades later.

There is nevertheless something refreshing about Zinoviev's outlook, symbolised by the occasional presence in his speeches of the hungry mother and the Schopenhauerian teenager. To some extent, perhaps, this is just a rhetorical device - but if so, it is a refreshing one after the faceless abstractions that dominate the writings and speeches of other top Bolshevik leaders. My impression is that Zinoviev was genuinely concerned about the problems faced by ordinary people.

One reason that I undertook this research was scepticism about received understandings of 'war communism' and NEP. I have not stressed this aspect in the present essay, but I will make a couple of observations. Some of the things Zinoviev said during 1920 - especially about the problems of bureaucratism and the burdens placed on the peasantry - are simply not compatible with the standard stereotype of 'war communism' as the sanctification of wartime expedients into a permanent system. In a less direct way, my Zinoviev material presents problems for typical interpretations of NEP. There is first simply the consistency I have shown in Zinoviev's outlook: he was able to defend NEP by making the same kind of arguments that he made during the civil war.⁶⁶ Zinoviev's own understanding of NEP as typically Bolshevik also stands as a challenge to conventional views. Finally, his understanding of the retreat/advance metaphor shows that the "advance" was not meant as a return to 'war communism' or a Stalin-style assault on the peasantry. (In none of this is Zinoviev unique - he is simply another anomaly confronting the standard stereotypes.)

The main purpose of this essay has been to complicate our understanding of the early years of Soviet power by presenting one authoritative and relatively populist rendering of the "essence of Bolshevism".

66. I make the same case vis-à-vis Bukharin in Lars T Lih 'Bukharin's "illusion": war communism and the meaning of NEP', *Russian History/Histoire Russe*, 27, No4 (Winter 2000) pp417-59.



Front row, left to right: Leon Trotsky, Yakov Sverdlov, Grigory Zinoviev and Mikhail Lashevich

Meeting of Sovnarkom (Council of People's Commissars) in Petrograd, early 1918

III

Twelve days in Germany

Grigory Zinoviev

Petrograd, Smolny,¹ November 13 1920

I am off to Germany. The first question, which naturally arises in all of our minds is: how has it happened that the German government has given me permission to enter the country? Various guesses have been made. Those comrades who are most in touch with the diplomatic world suppose that this is due to the desire of the German government to do something towards rapprochement with Soviet Russia. More practically-minded comrades, who are in touch with the All-Russian Extraordinary Commission,² express the view that the German white guards desire simply to inveigle me into Germany, and there, under the pretext that some part of my speech is bound to constitute an 'offence' against the German laws - arrest me ... Other comrades suppose that I am allowed to enter Germany chiefly because the bourgeoisie desires to split the Independent Social Democratic Party of Germany (USPD), and hopes that my arrival will precipitate that split.

There are also comrades who suppose that the decision of the German government is due to all the above-mentioned considerations taken together. However this may be - I am going.

Now, after all that I have seen and heard in Germany, I am convinced that the

1. A building in St Petersburg. In 1917, the building became the Bolshevik headquarters and was Lenin's residence for several months, until the national government was moved to the Moscow Kremlin.

2. Most commonly known as the *Cheka*. Established by decree on December 20 1917, this was the first of a long succession of Soviet state security organisations.

Head to head in Halle

decision of the German government to allow me to stay 10 days in Germany was dictated by two considerations.

The first and principal one: the position of German bourgeoisie in relation to the right wing of the USPD - [Rudolph] Hilferding, [Wilhelm] Dittmann, [Julius] Moses, [Robert] Dissmann, [Albert] Kohn and company. They have for a long time past been *personae gratae* in the most influential government ('socialist' and 'democratic') circles.

The German bourgeoisie and the Scheidemannists [supporters of SPD leader Philipp Scheidemann - BL] know perfectly well that the right wing of the USPD is their ally, their reserve force, their hope for the immediate future. The leaders of the German bourgeoisie and the Scheidemannists were undoubtedly anxious to avoid anything that could embarrass the sorely tried leaders of the right wing of the USPD at the forthcoming party congress in Halle. The position was such that, had I been forbidden to enter Germany, the position of these leaders would undoubtedly have been rendered more difficult under the prevailing circumstances. Let us see how things stood.

The Halle congress had to settle one question only. Is the USPD going to join the Third International? To refuse to admit a representative of the Third International, when that question had to be discussed, would be equivalent to a confession that the bourgeoisie and the Scheidemannists, who had it in their power to admit or to refuse me, were supporting those who do not want the Independents to join the Third International. Permission to enter the country was granted to the Russian Menshevik [Julius] Martov and to the French representative of the 'centre', [Jean] Longuet, who were going to Halle in order to save the leaders of the right wing.

Had the representative of the Third International been refused that permission, our supporters would only have had to point out that fact, and it would have been clear to everybody that the bourgeoisie and the Scheidemannists were in league against the 'USPD left'. This would have been far too disadvantageous to Hilferding and co. They had to choose the lesser of two evils.

The other reason was undoubtedly the fact that part of the bourgeoisie - the dull-witted part of it - thought that a split in the USPD would be to the advantage of the bourgeoisie. It was precisely that part of the bourgeoisie which had seized on the elementary idea that, if there was to be a split in any workers' party, it was always bound to be to the advantage of the bourgeoisie. Such was the notion of this section of the bourgeoisie, far removed from the subtler idea, that splits are not all alike and that the clearing of a workers' party of elements of the right and 'trimmers' may work out in favour of the revolution and not of the counter-revolution.

The wise guys of the Scheidemann party, well-informed as they were, knew that a split was inevitable in any case, and were in favour of allowing the representative of the Third International to appear in order to make the petty bourgeois and nationalist workers believe that 'Moscow' was to blame for the split.

Such was the combination of forces among the bourgeois and social demo-

cratic leaders, which finally led to me obtaining leave to enter Germany.

The journey

I am getting ready hurriedly, and at 1am on October 9 I leave for Reval. In Reval I remained only a few hours. I took the Estonian steamer 'Wasa', a small passenger and cargo steamer. She usually takes only 20 to 30 persons on board. This time she had to take no less than 75. Most of the new passengers came on board, to the surprise of the captain, during the last few hours. The captain owes this sudden incursion of passengers to me.

Why this sudden rush of passengers? The riddle is easily solved. They were spies of all countries and of all nations. Reval has absolutely no claim to be and no chance of becoming an important international centre, but it can claim the honour of having become the centre of an international spy system. It is honeycombed with them. One can hardly walk along without bumping into one of them. They spy on one another. All the great powers of the world (and the lesser ones as well) keep a couple of dozen spies in Reval. It can be imagined what a sensation was caused among these gentry when they suddenly learned that I was passing through Reval, boarding a steamer, and going to Germany!

Well-informed comrades told me that this sudden news caused extraordinary excitement among the spies of all countries. Every secret service had its own quasi-scientific theory as to why I was going; how it was that I had been admitted and so on. At the same time, each agency pretended to possess the most authentic information, which the agencies of the rival country would never be able to obtain. In consequence, these honourable gentlemen swarmed our ship like flies on a lump of sugar.

This presented a most picturesque scene. I was accompanied by a Bulgarian comrade, Shablin, and a Petrograd comrade, Ionov. Besides, there were on the same steamer 5 Soviet diplomatic couriers on their way to Germany, Czechoslovakia and Austria. We Russians thus numbered 8 men in all. There were at least 40 spies, an average of 5 to each communist! There were English, French, Germans, Latvians, Estonians, Austrians, Czecho-Slovaks, and many others. It was, so to speak, a veritable International of spies. One could hardly show his nose on deck without being surrounded on all sides by these honourable gentlemen. All sorts and conditions of people were present there. Well-dressed ladies, English dandies, gentlemen dressed up as 'workmen' etc. We did not derive the least pleasure in meeting these gentlemen whose very faces invited insults, and were in no way pleasant to contemplate. We could hardly move a step without meeting them. When not engaged in other occupations, they played at cards, and as usual quarrelled amongst themselves. Since spying on us could not occupy the whole of their spare time, they were engaged in spying upon each other. This was extremely funny.

Under this trusty escort we arrived at Stettin after two-and-a-half days. In Stettin we were met by the German comrades: the president of the sailors' union, a communist-anarchist, member of the German Communist Party [Felix Wolf -

Head to head in Halle

BL], and comrade Curt Geyer, one of the best-known leaders of the left wing of the USPD. The first question we put to comrade Geyer was: who is in the majority at the congress; we or they, the 'left' or the 'right'? Comrade Geyer reassured us that our faction was as solid as a rock. This news immediately put us in a most cheerful mood.

The Stettin workmen and sailors had been informed of our arrival. They all wanted to take part in the welcome. The leading comrades, however, dissuaded them, considering quite rightly that they should not bring embarrassment to our stay in Germany from the very first.

Next to the sailors, who came to meet us, stood some well-fed, immaculately-dressed bourgeois. Our comrades told us: these are the leaders of the *Orgesch* organisation (a white guard organisation led by reactionary generals and officers, which in some parts of Germany terrorises the whole population. The organiser of this gang is colonel Escherich. Hence 'Org Esch', or commonly *Orgesch*). These gentry also came to 'meet' us. The second group of representatives of the same honourable organisation, which consisted of a few young men of an equally disagreeable type, were waiting for us on the staircase of the hotel, where we remained for a couple of hours until the next train.

After a few hours we were sitting in a train on the way to Berlin. Comrade Geyer was so considerate as to bring with him all the papers and news of the last few days. They showed that the gulf between the 'rights' and the 'lefts' of the Independents had greatly widened, and the leaders of the 'rights' were engaged in dirty tricks. The German comrades who accompanied us were anxious about our safety. They assured us that the *Orgesch* and the 'Noskeites' (that is, the name given in Germany to the cut-throats of Mr Gustav Noske) would undoubtedly try to play a dirty trick on us.

For several days past no bourgeois papers had appeared in Berlin, as a printers' strike was in progress. Only the communist and the so-called 'socialist' papers appeared. *Vorwärts*³ and *Freiheit*⁴ met us with howls and gnashing of teeth. The same night - midnight of October 12 - we arrived in Halle. Here we were met by Comrade [Paul] Levi and some other members of the German Communist Party, as well as by the grey-haired Adolf Hoffman, [Ernst] Däumig, [Wilhelm] Könen, and other leaders of the left wing of the USPD.

At 2am we organised a short preliminary consultation. We agreed on our tactics. The main thing we were striving to achieve was to force the right wing of the USPD to accept battle on points of principle, to force them to take part in a political discussion.

The fact is that on their return from Moscow, [Arthur] Crispian, Dittmann

3. *Vorwärts* (*Forward*) was the central publication of the German Social Democratic Party published daily in Berlin from 1891 to 1933, as the successor of the *Berliner Volksblatt*, founded in 1884. It refused to publish articles by Lenin, taking a social chauvinist stance during World War I and later printed many articles against the October Revolution.

4. *Freiheit* (*Freedom*) was a daily newspaper of the USPD, published in Berlin from November 1918 to October 1922, when the USPD right dissolved into the SPD again.

and co immediately side-tracked the issue in Germany onto the question of organisation. They were even ready to vow that: "We stand for the Third International. There is hardly any question on which we disagree with the Third International. We only demand a greater independence for our party. We do not wish to be altogether deprived of our autonomy. We have agreed to 18 conditions worked out in Moscow, but we object to the Bolsheviks stiffening these conditions by adding, at the last moment, three new conditions. We wish to belong to the Third International, but we reject the dictatorship of Moscow."

Such was the main line of argument adopted by all the right wing of the USPD. Why did the over-wise leader of the USPD right try to turn the discussion onto that ground? The answer is obvious. They cannot accept battle with the Communist International on points of principle. The overwhelming majority of the German workers are on the side of the Russian revolution, on the side of the Soviet government, on the side of the Communist International. To tell the workers openly that they are against Soviet Russia, against the dictatorship of the proletariat, against the programme of the Communist International, means to lose nearly all support from the rank and file of the workers. This is well understood by the rightwing leaders of the USPD.

They could only harp on one string - ie, the question of organisation. But in this respect the right spared no efforts in exaggerating their case. They pandered to the lowest nationalist instincts of the workers. They did not disdain to appeal to the very sentiments which played such a fatal part at the beginning of the imperialist war. The papers of the USPD right displayed headlines like: 'The Moscow knout,' 'Despots from Moscow,' 'The Moscow dictatorship,' etc. Only references to the cossacks were missing to make the picture complete.

If the USPD right succeeded in obtaining a considerable minority at the congress, it was due to the fact that at the preliminary discussions before the congress they avoided all arguments based on principle and even proclaimed their agreement in principle with the Third International, thus sidetracking the dispute to the famous 21 conditions, which they thoroughly misinterpreted and distorted in a most cynical manner.

Absolutely everything within human power was done by the leaders of the USPD right to confuse the real difference in principle existing between the communists and the USPD right. The leaders of the USPD right seem to have entered into a conspiracy to conceal the truth from the workers at all costs. The deception of the workers is carried out systematically and reduced to a fine art. When I saw the clever rascally game being played by the leaders of the USPD right at the congress to conceal from the workers the real meaning of the split, I recalled Noske's book.

If the reader is not acquainted with Noske's book entitled *From Kiel to Kapp*,⁵

5. Kiel is the port town where a sailors' mutiny sparked the November revolution of 1918. Kapp refers to the attempted military *coup* led by the fervent nationalists Wolfgang Kapp and General Walther von Lüttwitz in March 1920. It was defeated by the organised working class rallying to the defence of the republic.

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I earnestly advise him to read it. It is a remarkable book. It is written by a typical representative of the labour bureaucracy, whom the bourgeoisie has placed at the head of the government, and who became an avowed executioner of the working class, forced by the course of events to go to all lengths in his nefarious task.

Noske begins his account by describing how he was met at Kiel by a crowd of 20,000 sailors on the first day of the November revolution in Germany. This is most interesting. On the first days of the revolution the huge crowds of revolutionary sailors and workers regarded Noske and his party as their leaders. At the Kiel station this crowd of 20,000 men literally carried Mr Noske on their shoulders. We cannot help recalling the familiar features of the first months of our March revolution, when the workers' and soldiers' masses were doing likewise to [Alexander] Kerensky, the counterrevolutionary babbler and humbug. The soul of the popular masses, which awakens in days of revolution, is like the soul of a child. It seems to be made of wax. And, alas! In the first period any clever humbug can mould it into anything he pleases.

But the most remarkable thing in Noske's book is that it gives a clear idea of how the SPD hatched treason to the revolution from the very first moments of its birth. With laudable frankness and in a business-like fashion, with all the details, dates, facts, documents, etc, Noske tells us how he and his party betrayed the working class of Germany. This treason may be said to have been scientifically organised. The counterrevolutionary part played by German social democracy and its leaders is most clearly illustrated in Noske's book.

At the present time a similar treason is being perpetrated by the USPD right and its leaders. The division of functions by these right leaders of the USPD is carried out to perfection. The deception of the workers is once more organised on 'scientific' lines. The meetings of these right leaders of the USPD vividly remind us of the Roman augurs, who could not face each other without laughing. A day will come when an 'Independent' Noske (Dissmann, for example) will frankly relate how the right leaders cheated their faction at Halle!

Poor deluded workers! When will the day come when all the workers will know their traitor 'leaders'? When shall we at last reach a period when men like Crispien, Hilferding, Dittmann and others will no longer be able to gather a whole party in the course of a few weeks by means of an obvious and systematic deception of the workers? Under such circumstances our task was to force a discussion by all manner of means, be it even at the party congress, on the fundamental questions of principle - the programme and tactics of the Third International.

We at once fell in with the views of the leaders of the left USPD. Our programme was drafted. The next morning at 9am we were already on the field of battle, in the hall where the congress was to take place. At the beginning of the congress the lefts had a majority of 50. Towards the end of the congress, at the time of the principal division, this majority grew to over 80, and the chief motion concerning the acceptance of the 21 conditions of admission to the Third International was carried by a nearly two to one majority.

The right leaders, as is well known, were trying to rush the congress, in spite of the protests on the part of the lefts and the Executive Committee of the Third International (ECCI). The wire pullers of the right wing were in a hurry, and called together a congress in the course of some four or five weeks. They reckoned on taking the German workers unawares. Most of the papers and the whole party machine were in the hands of the USPD right. The USPD right used its 50 dailies to open a fierce campaign of lies and calumny against 'Moscow', against the Third International, against their own comrades of the left; *Freiheit*, edited by Mr Hilferding, was especially active in this respect. In Moscow we pointed out to Crispin and Dittmann that *Freiheit* is a counterrevolutionary periodical after the taste of Kautsky. They replied, however, that they had no voice in it, that *Freiheit* was not the central organ of the party for which the party as a whole could be held responsible; that it was the organ of 'your' Berlin left organisation. "If the Berliners could not create such a press as would satisfy you, this is not their (Crispien's etc) fault, but that of the Berliners."

The hypocrisy underlying their arguments is seen from the following: The Berlin organisation had an overwhelming majority for the lefts; the Berlin organisation, according to all the rules of the constitution, expressed lack of confidence in Hilferding, and demanded a change of editorship. But Hilferding, 'the democrat', and his followers, the famous and ardent supporters of 'government by the people', completely ignored the decision of the Berlin organisation. They did what Scheidemann did in 1915 with regard to *Vorwärts*. They stole the paper from the Berlin workers, making use of the bourgeois courts and police, which of course backed the USPD right against the left.

However, in spite of all the subterfuges of the right wing, in spite of the campaign of calumny in the press, and the short space of time which the lefts had at their disposal to enlighten the workers, our side secured the majority. If under such conditions the communist elements, ie the USPD left, secured a two-thirds majority at the congress, it is obvious that among the rank and file of the party, among the workers, the lefts could have no less than nine-tenths on their side. The next few weeks or months will prove this.

The congress

We are on the field of battle. The audience in the hall is divided in two sections: it is as if a knife has cut them sharply in two. Two parties are present. The relations between the rights and lefts have become very strained during the pre-congress deliberations, and at the congress itself we had to deal with bitter enemies. There were two chairmen presiding over the meeting - the representative of the left, [Otto] Brass, a worker, and the representative of the right, no other than Dittmann; that very same Dittmann, who had appeared as a sordid calumniator of Soviet Russia, and had been honoured by the notorious Anti-Bolshevik League, which reprinted in its press his insinuations against Russia.

We were greatly surprised, and asked our left comrades how, being in the

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majority at the congress, they could allow such a rascal as Dittmann to act as chairman. The lefts explained: "The right leaders are continually trying to find fault with us over petty formalities; they are seeking a pretext to leave the congress in order to prevent a discussion on points of principle and thus make the congress a failure. We decided to yield to them in all matters of secondary importance, in order to elucidate matters, and make them appear in such a light that every workman would see who possesses the majority and who is causing the split in the party."

In order to achieve that object the lefts agreed that the mandatory commission and the presidium should consist of equal numbers of representatives of the two sides. For the same reason the lefts agreed even to the hateful candidature of Dittmann. The left comrades said he represents not the whole congress, not us, but the right wing in the presidium. If the right wing was unable to find a more worthy representative than Dittmann, so much the worse for the right wing.

We take our seats next to comrade Hoffman and the other leaders of the left section of the congress. We look around and gradually acquaint ourselves with the composition of the two sections of the congress. What a familiar sight! We saw exactly the same picture some 10 years ago and earlier at our congresses in which the Mensheviks participated. On one side workers only, on the other, an overwhelming majority of intellectuals.

We closely inspect the left wing. In the front row there are two smaller tables at which the leaders are seated. Among the latter we can discern one or two intellectuals, but the rest, some 99% of the left wing, consists exclusively of born-and-bred working men, many of whom even now are working at the factories and works. Now the composition of the right wing! A few dozen workers will be found there. These belong mainly to the class of 'officials', but the bulk of the section, all the leaders, are exclusively legislators, editors, journalists, lawyers, doctors etc. There are also three or four big bank officials and wire pullers. Quite a different social make-up, a different type, a different tone and temper. The so-called 'flower' of party officialdom and intellectuals is undoubtedly on the side of the rights! We witnessed just the same in our party in the days before the Mensheviks gladdened us by their departure ...

A few words on the principal leaders of the right wing at the congress will explain much. As far as theory and ideas are concerned, the principal leader of the right wing is undoubtedly Rudolf Hilferding. His features remind us of a 'respectable' stockbroker or a well-to-do banker. He is *persona grata* with representatives of the British diplomatic mission in Berlin, with the fashionable political salons of ladies of rank, and sometimes he appears at the meetings of trade union officials and at congresses. He is no believer in revolution; he believes in realities. But then he does not believe in anything. You can see it in his face, nay, in the very folds of his coat. He is a thorough sceptic; he is convinced that the high tide of revolution is over, and that at the present time Germany and the whole of Europe is passing through the

last convulsions of the revolutionary upheaval. All that has passed he regards as - just like our Kadets and Mensheviks did some time ago - as 'the raging of the elements'. A conversation of his with an English diplomat, an intrigue with some 'left' Scheidemannists are of far greater importance in his eyes as a 'factor' of progress than a movement of hundreds of thousands of unemployed in Germany, or the growing unrest of the eastern nations.

Mr Hilferding, from the heights of his smug 'scholastic' greatness, arrogantly mocks everybody whose political wisdom is inferior to his own. At the party conference of the Independents, which took place in Berlin some three weeks ago, this scholar spoke with inimitable stupidity of the "mullahs of Chiva", whom the demagogues, the Bolsheviks, were trying to draw into the Communist International. By "mullahs of Chiva", the learned Mr Hilferding understands the Baku congress of the nations of the east, and generally speaking the movement of oppressed nationalities. Mr Hilferding, and with him the other USPD rights, treat this movement with sublime contempt as a "non-Marxian" movement, devoid of serious purpose and wholly unworthy of any attention from such enlightened statesmen as Crispian and Dittmann. Hilferding possesses in abundance that gift of senile doctrinaire reasoning which is so typical of Kautsky in the period of his decline. Kautsky, however, is an 'honest' opportunist, whereas his worthy disciple, Hilferding, besides scholastic pedantry, displays other traits more worthy of a stock exchange gambler. In his struggle against the workers' revolution, Kautsky seeks inspiration mainly in books. His pupil Hilferding, on the other hand, seeks it also in the antechamber of the British diplomats, in the cabinets of bank managers, and if necessary in other even more savoury places.

The whole mental equipment of the USPD right is undoubtedly borrowed from Kautsky. All the orators of the right wing use the stunted arguments of Kautsky, and nevertheless they try to avoid mentioning him. Their unworthy attitude to their master, their fear of being regarded as in touch with one who in fact is the spiritual leader of the whole section of the USPD right, shows well their utter cowardice. Hilferding is a sort of substitute for Kautsky (substitutes are now very much in vogue in Germany). The wily Hilferding is more permissible than the spiritual 'leader,' the blunt, outspoken Kautsky.

Owing to his connections with bankers and smart businessmen Hilferding possesses more evasiveness than his master Kautsky. He is more adept in evading a direct answer to difficult questions. He will hold his tongue where Kautsky is candid enough to blurt out counterrevolutionary rubbish. Hilferding can even, if needs be, utter two or three stereotyped official 'revolutionary' sentences. He will always be able to play up to the actual wire-pullers of the right section of the USPD, like Dissmann and co. In a word he is at once accommodating, flexible, and wise. He has no principle which he would not substitute at a moment's notice. When necessary, he will quote a few passages from Marx and Engels merely in order to show off his education. In short, he is just that 'spiritual' leader which the right section of the USPD so badly needs. The task

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of leading a mob of petty bourgeois and officials suits him to perfection. He is precisely in his place as the 'pontiff', the high priest and prophet of this section, who are only second rate Scheidemannists.

Hilferding appeared as my chief opponent. His speech lasted about three hours. He started his speech against us with the following subterfuge. On the platform, where the committee of the congress was seated, there stood a big poster. On one side was written in German, 'Workers of the world unite!' On the other - also in German - 'To the German workers, from the Petrograd workers' commune.' I am not certain how this banner came to Halle. Apparently it was brought back by the German delegates after the 1st congress of the Communist International.

On the first day of the congress this poster was turned to the audience, with that side showing which bore the inscription, 'Workers of the world unite!' But on the day when my speech was delivered, perhaps intentionally or otherwise, this poster was turned the other way round. Hilferding thought it appropriate to begin with a remark, directed to the circumstance.

This is symbolic, he said. It is most significant that the Petrograd workers' commune should appear on the stage! Hilferding, however, miscalculated the effect of his remark. The vast majority of the congress, which hitherto had paid no attention to the inscription on the poster, now, thanks to the kind assistance of Mr Hilferding, turned its gaze to these words and gave a hearty cheer for the Petrograd workers' commune.

The first part of Hilferding's speech was most characteristic. He mentioned in it the "*Schmutz-Konkurrenz*", ie, the "dirty competition" of the USPD left leaders against the right leaders. The essence of this reproof was as follows: 'You, the leaders of the left Independents, yourselves belong to the same caste as we do. Your profession is the same as ours. You are leaders just as we are. In order to ingratiate yourself with the masses you are now resorting to watchwords more extreme than ours. But this is nothing else than 'low competition' on your part. You wish to cut us out by pandering to the low instincts of the masses. But you will be punished for that; tomorrow the masses will find even your watchwords not sufficiently extreme, the syndicalists and anarchists will meanly compete against you, and the masses will go over to the side of these more extreme leaders.'

The psychology of Hilferding is typical of a shopkeeper, who regards everything from the standpoint of one who is first and foremost afraid of competition. He even uses purely commercial terms. The whole struggle of principles which is now tearing the workers' movement in two is reduced, in his eyes, to a 'competition among leaders'. This pusillanimous fellow can only find one explanation for the difference in opinion which is now dividing the ranks of the German labour movement, and that is sordid competition.

Although Hilferding is the spiritual leader of the USPD right, their practical leader is Mr Dissman (NB - Dissmann and not Dittmann). This Dissmann is currently the president of the German National Union of Metal Workers.

A comparatively short time ago he was in the ranks of those who opposed [Carl] Legien. Sometimes he pretends to do so now, but only in words. As to Legien, he is the biggest of the big guns of the counterrevolutionary trade union officials in Germany. But in fact Dissmann is already Legien's right hand. He is the rising star and hope of the whole counterrevolutionary trade union bureaucracy of Germany. Legien is too old. His star is on the wane. Someone more energetic, more persistent and younger is needed, and Dissmann is the right man. His recent playing up to the 'left' can only enhance his opportunities. In the eyes of the wide masses of workers he has compromised himself less than the others; he is a more suitable person. Dissmann himself is fully aware of his destiny to supplant Legien, and then to become another Legien. He anticipates that moment impatiently, and is prepared to give anything in order to hasten it. He will welcome that happy moment. Everything else is of minor importance compared to this 'ideal', and he is ready to use any means in order to reach his goal. He looks with annoyance not unmixed with indignation at anybody who does not understand the simple fact that he, Dissmann, is marked by the finger of god and by fate itself to become a new Legien.

The Amsterdam International

The leading part in the right section is taken by a group of trade unionists numbering 80 delegates, about half of the whole right section. In that trade union group, the leading part is undoubtedly played by Dissmann. The intellectual leaders like Hilferding and [Georg] Ledebour, in search for some 'mass' support, turn to the trade unions. There they find only the group led by Dissmann. In order to obtain the support of that group, the intellectual leaders are compelled to do anything the trade unionists may demand. This was too officiously demonstrated at the congress.

The question of the attitude to the trade unions, and especially to the so-called Trade Union International in Amsterdam, played a most important part in the discussions in Halle. As is well known, the 2nd congress of the Communist International made one of the conditions of admittance to the Communist International the struggle against the yellow leaders at the head of that Amsterdam 'International' of Trade Unions. When Dissmann and Crispian were in Moscow they did not utter a single word against this clause. They understood that to defend the Amsterdam Trade Union 'International' meant to compromise themselves. They were perfectly aware that at the head of the Amsterdam organisation were such noted yellow traitors as Legien, Just, and [Samuel] Gompers. In Moscow they did not say a word in defence of the yellow Amsterdam International.

But we witnessed quite a different sight at the party meeting in Halle. In the draft of the resolution drawn up by the right section, the defence of Amsterdam occupies the first place. Twice this resolution mentions Amsterdam, and each time defends it energetically against Moscow. Such was the watchword of the USPD right at the Halle congress.

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In this connection it is interesting to note how the whole right section received comrade [Solomon] Lozovsky's speech. Comrade Lozovsky spoke mainly as a trade unionist. He devoted his speech chiefly to the question of the Amsterdam 'International'. His speech was admirably constructed. In the quietest possible manner he simply expounded facts and nothing more. And the more facts adduced by the orator, the more furious Dissmann and co became. In the end that clique could no longer contain themselves and created a disorder lasting two hours. Dissmann and co averred that Lozovsky had insulted them. After a long altercation the meeting was suspended, and a joint commission was appointed to examine the stenographic report of Lozovsky's speech in order to ascertain whether his speech contained anything insulting. Even the rights were compelled to acknowledge later that the speech was absolutely free from anything offensive. Dissmann and his friends were driven to confess that it was not in the expression of the orator, but in "the whole tendency of his speech", which was such as to give offence to the German trade unions.

Why were the rights so painfully sensitive to the speech of comrade Lozovsky? Simply because by stating mere facts concerning the activity of the notorious Amsterdam 'International', comrade Lozovsky opened the eyes of those workers who still supported the right. The right leaders felt that they would lose their hold as soon as the workers learned the truth about Amsterdam. All the leaders of the USPD right, especially Hilferding and Crispian, suddenly became 'experts' on the trade union movement, and ardent worshippers of Amsterdam.

How is this to be explained? Why did the leaders of the right section of the Independents suddenly become such ardent champions of Amsterdam? The more far-sighted of them were aware, of course, that they were defending a hopeless cause, and that this advocacy would in the long run be detrimental to them. Did not the section of the USPD right announce to all and sundry that it wished to enter the Communist International? And who does not know that the Amsterdam organisation, far from being part of the Third International, is part and parcel of the Second International? Now, at all workers' meetings the leaders of the USPD right will be taunted with being advocates of Legien, Just, Gompers, and the others, ie, open social traitors.

Why did the leaders of the USPD right choose these tactics? Just because the right leaders have not, and cannot have, any other mass support than the trade union group. As to Dissmann and co, they, like Shylock, demanded their pound of flesh: "If you want us to vote for you, then you must solemnly and publicly subscribe before the congress and the whole world that you are in favour of Amsterdam, ie, in favour of Legien, Just and co." If Hilferding, Ledebour and co are forced to compromise themselves to that extent, surely it was because they were in a fix. They otherwise risked becoming generals without an army.

The right leaders of the German trade unions form the chief support of the bourgeois counterrevolution. That is clearer now than ever. And one of the worst representatives of these reactionaries is undoubtedly Dissmann. He is not eloquent, but like all reactionaries he is a 'man of action'. He organised at

the congress a group of irreconcilables, who from the very first made it their aim to disorganise the congress and to prevent any discussions on the points of principle. Dissmann's group used every conceivable opportunity to create disorder at the congress by throwing chairs about and hurling insults at the lefts etc.

Dissmann reminds us somewhat of Noske, said several of our left comrades, who knew Dissmann well. And, indeed, whoever observed the furious anger of this man, whoever saw with what hatred this bureaucrat regarded the whole of the left, whoever observed the party tricks to which this gentleman resorted at the congress must have acknowledged that this remark was not without foundation. Dissmann first established his reputation in the trade union movement as a representative of the left. But as soon as he got the job he wanted, he immediately followed the same trade union policy as the rights. All the workers see now that only a change of persons, not of policy, took place. At the recent congress of the factory committees, Dissmann did practically all that was desired by Legien. Dissmann is a sort of 'whip'.

No doubt, in the party of the USPD right Dissmann will be a virtual master. He will put his feet on the table there and make Ledebour and Hilferding dance to his tune. If the bourgeoisie and the Scheidemannists require a new hangman for the working class, if they decide that in place of Noske they want a man with a different name, we may be sure that among the principal candidates they will name Dissmann. And we may assert with equal confidence that if ever the bourgeoisie and the Scheidemannists entrust great power to Dissmann, he will try and justify their trust in him; he will prove a faithful henchman of the bourgeoisie, a furious watchdog of the middle class, just as Noske did.

After Dissmann the most influential man in the right section is Dittmann. He is a typical representative of that comparatively small, but extremely noxious counterrevolutionary caste, the labour aristocracy. Marx, in his time, used to mock some of the English representatives of this type, who valued an invitation to the Lord Mayor's banquet far more than the confidence shown to them by their own class. Dittmann tries to be just as 'respectable' as the representatives of the 'best' society.

He possesses as 'good manners' as any other member of the committee of the German Reichstag. He dresses as well as any 'genuine' MP of the bourgeoisie, and prides himself, like most parvenus, on possessing 'good manners', 'refinement' and culture. He wants to prove that he does not come from the dregs of society, and is no way inferior to 'real' gentlemen, and for that purpose he carries about with him - in the appurtenances of the dandy - a small mirror and a comb, to which he resorts upon every public appearance, so as not to show himself at a disadvantage.

His path has been long and thorny. When young, he committed youthful 'indiscretions' and at one time was regarded as belonging to the lefts. I remember when I was at the SPD party congress in Jena in 1910, the late Rosa Luxembourg first introduced Dittmann to me, stating that he was one of her pupils. It is true

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that Dittmann at that very same party congress twice betrayed his instructress.

Nonetheless at that time he was not averse to playing the part of the 'left'.

So long as the old Social Democratic Party was united and strong, Dittmann was patiently working in its ranks, trusting to make a name for himself in the party by his persistent work. At the beginning of the imperialist war, Dittmann tamely voted for the war credits, and passed over to the USPD only when it became clear that the old SPD was beginning to lose its supporters. Before the revolution, Dittmann was imprisoned - at that time, both guilty and innocent were imprisoned in Germany. This circumstance enhanced his popularity amongst the workers.

When the revolution came, Dittmann was one of the first 'socialists' to scrape through into the 'revolutionary' government, and was one of the last to leave it, and most unwillingly, too.

On his arrival in Moscow to the 2nd congress of the Communist International, Dittmann was so unpleasantly obsequious to all of us, that we really felt ashamed of him. So long as he thought that we would not force him to say yes or no, that he and his friends would succeed in slipping into the Third International, Dittmann was all honey, he was simply sickening. We often said to each other:

"This man always wants to ingratiate himself with those whom he expects will be useful to him."

But it soon dawned on Dittmann that neither he nor his friends would succeed in wriggling themselves into the Third International.

It is remarkable how this petty philistine and big mischief maker avenged himself. An unimportant incident with a few dozen German emigrant workers was exaggerated by Dittmann into a big 'affair'. He collected 'spurious material' from calumniators and sycophants (like Martov), took them carefully to Germany and there, immediately on his arrival, with maliciousness natural to little minds, hurled that stink bomb at Soviet Russia. From that time, needless to add, he became the idol of all the counterrevolutionary rabble of Germany. He was carried shoulder high, he was declared the only worthy statesman, his calumnies were reprinted by the anti-Bolshevik League and published by means of public posters.

Who gave him the so-called 'material'? Apparently Martov was among his principal agents. The authenticity of the 'material' published by Dittmann may be judged by the following: that gentleman dares to affirm that, in our party (ie, in the Russian Communist Party) out of a total of 600,000 members, 418,000 are Soviet employees and only 12% are workers! These 'data', Dittmann barefacedly asserts, were published by the central committee of our party. The other information gathered and published by Dittmann is equally authentic.

When I publicly challenged him from the platform of the party congress to enter into a public debate with me on the question of the conditions in Soviet Russia, Dittmann preferred to be silent.

When the organisers of the meeting in Berlin sent him a written invitation to appear at the debate, Dittmann did not even reply. This is quite in keeping

with his character.

The fourth 'leader' of the USPD right - Crispian - is a man of similar type. He also had known better days in his youth, and was then a radical. But when he turned thirty, he 'grew wiser'.

He is as respectable and dignified as Dittmann, and he is equally a vacuum as far as ideas are concerned. His manners remind us of our old Socialist Revolutionaries. He tries to preserve the appearance of revolutionary dignity. When necessary, he can make a display of a few borrowed revolutionary stock sentences, he can even assume a pathetic air. In some respects, he combines in himself all that is worst in the Menshevik and Social Revolutionary parties.

Crispian's style is illimitable, long-winded and trivial. One can hardly imagine greater poverty in ideas. I had the dubious pleasure of meeting Crispian for the first time in Moscow. We often asked ourselves at that time how it could happen that an insignificant man like him could be president and leader of a German workers' party, numbering over a million members. Well-informed men answered - and apparently they were right - that Crispian was at one time president of the party precisely because, owing to the general condition of affairs in the party, a president was wanted who possessed neither ideas, nor character - a man who could by smooth words 'reconcile' all the contradictions which were rife in the party, who could, to use a German expression, 'talk away' all the delicate questions which had to be solved. Anybody who has looked through Crispian's pamphlets will be surprised at the dull-wittedness of the author. The German workers' movement has never yet had a more trivial, insipid, ignorant and wordy 'leader'.

Crispian pretends to be in favour of proletarian dictatorship. But he understands it in the light of the Erfurt programme. Crispian is in favour of the soviet system, but he understands it in the light of Kautsky's and Hilferding's theories. Crispian 'in principle' agrees with the employment of violence, but he is against terror. Crispian 'in principle' is for the proletarian revolution, but he is against civil war and rebellion. Crispian is the quintessence of all the philistine and petty bourgeois elements which are now trying to conceal themselves with the cloak of socialism.

He is loquacious, affable and tame as long as he deals with indifferent topics, when he has to feed the audience with a liberal ration of 'revolutionary' phrases. But when it is a question of a serious struggle, Crispian becomes simultaneously coarse and cowardly. At the Halle congress, we did not see the sanctimonious Crispian; there we saw another Crispian, who tried to retain power by every available means, who knew of no baseness which he was not prepared to commit in order to remain in power. He belongs to that type of men of whom we can say beforehand: he has stepped upon the inclined plane and will slip down to the very bottom. Some workers, members of the party congress, told me with good reason that there is only one difference between Crispian and Scheidemann, and that is that Scheidemann has fair hair while Crispian's is a shade darker.

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Georg Ledebour is quite unique. He has now become leader and president of the USPD right, though up till now he was not taken seriously by the rights, who regarded him as a popular fool. The USPD right has now purposely placed him in the forefront, being well aware of the extraordinary ambition of this old man. They managed to make him the first to sign the resolution of the rights. The outer world could thus imagine that he was playing a leading part.

We must confess that before the Halle congress we did not fully share the estimate which the German communists and the left Independents formed of Ledebour. We knew of course that Ledebour was the personification of the old bourgeois democratic views on socialism, that to the end of his days he would remain a typical democrat of the 1848 period. We had read his reactionary middle-class statements about terror. We knew he was not a Marxist and could never become one.

But still, we valued him as an old fighter, a brave man taking part in the workers' movement, not out of any selfish motives, but in order to serve the working class. Thus when the German communists and the left Independents told us that Ledebour was now playing a counterrevolutionary role in Germany, we were inclined to regard it as an exaggeration.

Alas, all that we saw and heard in Germany convinced us that we were in the wrong and that the German communists and the USPD left was quite right. Ledebour has become the tool of the darkest, vilest and most bloodthirsty elements, which are now taking shelter under the cover of the USPD right. His temperament, idiosyncrasies and his senile prejudices make him a most suitable figurehead for the rights, whom gentlemen like Dissmann can lead on a string.

We have already said that Dissmann is potentially another Noske. If Dissmann has not yet shot hundreds of workers, it is only because he has not yet had the opportunity to do so. But he already scents the smell of workers' blood, and dreams of the moment when he will be one of the ministers and will be able to put down the 'communist rabble.' Dissmann and co are far too cunning to openly take upon themselves the responsibility for the dirty work they are preparing.

Ledebour is just the man for it. From the very beginning of the Russian workers' revolution, Ledebour clung persistently to one point: the question of terror. He declared dozens of times that he could not reconcile himself to terror, simply because it was 'immoral.' He declared dozens of times: he who admits red terror is a reactionary. Dissmann and Crispian purposely pretend to believe that Ledebour has discovered something great on the question of terror, something which deserves to become a new gospel for the workers of the world.

The question of terror plays quite an important part in Germany. It is not a mere difference of opinion on one of the many points of tactics. It is a question which goes to the very roots of the whole proletarian revolution. During the two years of the revolution, the German bourgeoisie distinguished itself from

the bourgeoisie of other countries by the exceptionally cruel and ruthless white terror which it applied to 'its' workers. It is enough to mention the murders of Karl Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg. This has embittered the German workers and naturally made them hate the bourgeoisie.

It is imperative that the German bourgeoisie sidetrack the German workers. It must find popular men, who will make it their special business to preach against red terror. Such a man is Ledebour.

The German bourgeoisie could not have found anybody better fitted to serve its ends. A man who for several decades took part in the workers' movement and who is fairly popular as a mass speaker, a man who himself suffered at the hands of the bourgeoisie for the cause of the workers, now goes from meeting to meeting, and with an ardour worthy of a better cause, proves that it is 'immoral' and inadmissible for a worker to raise a punitive hand against the bourgeoisie. What more can the bourgeoisie desire?

Before the Halle congress, when the conflict was especially acute, Dissmann and Crispian started to spread lies in the press and at meetings to the effect that the USPD left was going to use terror in their struggle against the rights and had organised for that purpose an "assassins' committee" [*Mörderzentrale*]. It need hardly be said that the bourgeoisie of Germany was not slow in seizing upon this legend. But this is not all. When the question of terror was debated in connection with my deportation, the USPD right sent forward Ledebour as its spokesman, who played a very mean game.

When Könen, the speaker of the left Independents, charged the German generals with being guilty of the imperialist war, and of the murder of millions of men, when Könen reminded the deputies of how the white guard officers shot innocent workers in the streets of Berlin and other towns, Ledebour flung in the speaker's face the accusation that the communists in Germany during the January days and later were organised in a 'communist committee of assassins'.

Of course, all the white guards in the German Reichstag howled with delight when they heard such a 'revelation'! This debate in the Reichstag is undoubtedly the precursor of an epoch of new persecutions against the communists. The bourgeoisie is preparing a new massacre of the German workers, everything points to it! And under such circumstances, the accusation emanating from Ledebour is more valuable to the German bourgeoisie than a gold mine.

We can state without exaggeration that Ledebour has paved the way for a white terror against the workers. If the white guard officers of the *Orgesch* will once more shoot down and lynch the best leaders of the German workers as they did in January, the blame for it will be Ledebour's as well, since he, by his speech, has prepared a justification for such action on the part of the *Orgesch*. Up till now many regarded Ledebour merely as an old fool. But from what we have stated above it is clear that he is a bloodthirsty fool at that. The class struggle in Germany is so bitter that these so-called eccentricities of an old 'democrat' of the 1848 brand become in the eyes of everybody open counterrevolutionary appeals.

The other leaders of the USPD right are less noteworthy. Some of them are only

fit to be musical comedy heroes. Take for instance Luise Zietz - *Schlummertante* ["sleepy aunty" - BL] as she was aptly dubbed by one of the left comrades. She has for some reason or other been appointed the spokesman of the central committee of the party, although in reality she is only fit to frighten birds from an orchard. She is utterly ignorant and exceedingly spiteful, clinging to her bit of influence in the party like a drowning man at a straw. All criticism from the revolutionary workers directed against the central committee which aunt Luise Zietz adorns with her presence is regarded by this old bureaucrat as a personal affront. The central committee is as much her personal property as her apron, her wardrobe, or her old overcoat.

Take Richard Lipinsky, the 'venerable' bureaucrat of Leipzig - a typical office rat. He knows all the rules and regulations of the party by heart. But he sees nothing beyond this. He does not understand the conflict of principles. He only knows that he has been secretary from times immemorial, that he gets a salary of so many marks a month, that he owes obedience to Hilferding and Crispien, that wicked people want to violate the beautiful 'order' and routine established by long efforts in the ranks of the German social democracy. Why he is not on the side of Scheidemann - heaven alone knows! He in no way differs from a 'respectable' Scheidemannist. He will now, of course, be one of those who will form a living bridge between the USPD right and the 'left' Scheidemannists!

Take Kurt Rosenfeld - a well-meaning lawyer of the good old times with an infinitely narrow political outlook and a most flexible spine. Yesterday he was for the lefts, today he is for the USPD right. Yesterday he was prepared to prove one thing, today he will prove the exact opposite with an equal force of conviction and even with pathos. Today he holds with the rights, tomorrow he will lean towards the left, and the day after, if the wind blows in the other direction, he may again be in the ranks of the rights.

Then there is Moses, the famous author of the *Gebärstreik* [birth strike - BL]. A few years ago he discovered the easiest and the best means of destroying capitalism: women must organise a strike and refuse to bear children - the capitalists will then be left without workmen and without soldiers!

Now Moses is a leader of the USPD right. He sits in the front row, indignantly eyeing the turbulent left, which has so 'impertinently' transgressed the peace and decorum of a quiet home. Moses has been elected as a member of the central committee of the new USPD right party. What his merits were is a secret known only to Dissmann and Crispien and to god.

Take another individual - standing isolated, and cutting a clumsy and ridiculous figure. There is only one point in his favour - his name: Theodor Liebknecht. Theodor is the brother of our Karl Liebknecht. Up till now Theodor Liebknecht had no hand in politics. The USPD - both right and left - discuss him in whispers; Theodor Liebknecht is a total ignoramus as far as politics go. This, alas, is the unvarnished truth. The rights, however, are no rhetoricians; they are 'businessmen'. Everything can be made use of in a big household, even the well-sounding name of Theodor Liebknecht.

The USPD right performed the following trick: at the head of the Berlin list of candidates to the Halle congress, they placed Theodor Liebknecht next to Ledebour as candidate of the right. I repeat: Theodor Liebknecht never took any serious part in politics. But now that he has declared himself for the USPD right, they have picked him up (even a bit of string may be of use) and placed him at the head of the list, hoping thus to hoodwink the ordinary workers. And certainly such simpletons can be always found among the workers who will say: "If Liebknecht, the brother of Karl Liebknecht, is on their side then they are probably not such rascals after all."

This trick shows the dexterity of Dittmann and Crispian. But what should be said of Theodor Liebknecht, who allowed such use to be made of his name? What should be said of a man who did not scruple to misuse the memory of his brother, who fell in the fight against such rascals as Dittmann and Crispian? Theodor Liebknecht came up to me at the congress, and shaking me by the hand, said gloomily: "I am pleased to welcome you, but regret that it should be under such circumstances." Bearing in mind the mean actions of Theodor Liebknecht, I was unable to reciprocate his greeting.

Such is the general staff of the USPD right. We need only add that next to these honourable leaders were sitting the following distinguished foreign guests, representatives of the fraternal parties of other countries: Mr Grumbach, the patented journalistic charlatan, the jingo who in the course of the war flooded the venal press with fantastic 'news' from Germany. Next to Grumbach was seated his honourable colleague Martov, a man of the past who popped up at Halle to whitewash Dissmann - the new Noske of the future. And, finally, sitting shyly at the end of the bench among the rights was Longuet, the French Kautskyan. He looked uncomfortable, however, in that company, and his face seemed to say: "If only I could sit between the two sections of the congress ..."

Karl Kautsky

The attitude of the whole USPD right towards Karl Kautsky was most characteristic. As is well known, Kautsky himself was not present at Halle. He, together with his wife, the well-known French social traitor [Pierre] Renaudel, the Belgian social traitor [Jean Joseph Camille] Huysmann, and a couple of other social traitors, were visiting Georgia at that time. Kautsky's absence from the congress apparently was not accidental. The wire-pullers of the USPD right felt that Kautsky was in their way, and they endeavoured to remove him from the scene during the critical period.

A short time before the congress at Halle, Hilferding, the "pupil and friend" of Karl Kautsky, purposely mentioned in his paper that Karl Kautsky proposed to transfer his residence to Vienna, hinting that the question of Kautsky's position in the USPD has become of lesser importance.

Vienna, however, is not far enough from Germany. The 'ingenious' pupils of Kautsky came to the conclusion that the old man must be removed farther, for the time being at any rate, and they accordingly despatched him to Tiflis to call

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on Mr Noe Zhordania, the hangman of the Georgian workers.

Being as we are, opponents of the USPD right, we should not think of this attempt on the part of Hilferding and co to establish Kautsky's 'alibi' as anything else but a trick. We put the question categorically. We reminded them of Kautsky's numerous pamphlets, in which he extolled the notorious idea of 'pure' democracy, in which he threw dirt at the Russian workers and the Russian workers' revolution. We reminded them of the commonly known fact that Kautsky's pamphlets were printed as leading articles in the white guard press of the tsarist generals, who were fighting against the Soviet government. We criticised all of Kautsky's counterrevolutionary tendencies.

It is most interesting to note the reply of the honourable pupils of Karl Kautsky. It is so characteristic of the USPD right that we shall refer to it on more than one occasion. All the theoretical learning displayed in Halle by Dittmann, Crispian, and Hilferding was borrowed from Kautsky's pamphlets. Among the so-called ideas of Hilferding, Dittman, Crispian and co we can hardly detect a particle that is not borrowed from Kautsky. With regard to ideas they owe everything to him. None of them, however, dared to own up to Kautsky as their leader in the presence of the workers' delegates. To all the questions on their attitude to Kautsky, no one was able to declare a straight 'yes' or 'no'. Individual hotheads from the right benches shouted that they had nothing to do with Kautsky, that Kautsky had no influence on their policy, etc. But the most responsible of them kept silent or tried to turn the question off with a jest. A more blackguardly attitude to one's teacher and theoretical guardian can hardly be imagined.

These men are utterly devoid of all conviction. At the beginning of the Moscow congress, when Dittmann and Crispian thought that our conditions for entering the Communist International would not be so rigid, and that they would be able to slip into the Third International, both of them, especially Dittmann, often renounced Kautsky in private conversations. They even subtly hinted that, if we came to terms with them, they would go as far as to expel Kautsky from the party. Their lack of principles is so great that each of them is always prepared to betray the other - provided he will thereby consolidate his own position.

There is no doubt whatever now that the USPD right has seceded and formed a separate party; their theoretical chief will remain Kautsky, the same Karl Kautsky whom Dittmann and Crispian were only the other day prepared to sacrifice and expel from the party. It may be that owing to the great unpopularity of Karl Kautsky among the German workers, those pulling the strings in the new party will try to keep him for the time being behind the scenes, and let him out as rarely as possible. But there is not the slightest doubt that this famous renegade will still continue to formulate the 'theory' of the USPD right.

Needless to say, the attitude towards Soviet Russia was practically the chief topic of discussion at the Halle congress. The leaders of the USPD right made an attempt to split the question: the attitude to Soviet Russia as a distinct question from the attitude to the Third International. The leaders of the USPD right was ever ready to vow that they were entirely for Soviet Russia, and will "continue to

support” it in the future irrespective of whether there is a split in the party or not.

The draft resolution proposed by the USPD right states: “The USPD will of course continue to lend all possible aid to Soviet Russia.” This was said by people who acknowledge men like Dittmann - who made his name in bourgeois circles through his articles against Soviet Russia - as their chiefs.

Whence, then, such hypocrisy, whence such double-dealing? There is no doubt that all these Hilferdings, Crispiens, Dittmanns and co hate the Bolsheviks from the bottom of their hearts, and secretly yearn (Kautsky did it openly - he wrote a number of times that the Bolshevik regime would fall in a couple of months) for that happy moment when ‘democracy’ will destroy the Soviet government in Russia.

The thing is easily explained. The workers of Russia, by their great struggle, have won the hearts of the workers of the world. The workers of all countries, including those of Germany, do not allow anyone at their meetings to speak against Soviet Russia. The workers are firmly on our side.

Whosoever wishes to win the least confidence from the German workers must at least pretend that he is a friend of Soviet Russia. Even the Scheidemannists pretend to be friends of Soviet Russia.

The USPD right, whose chief watchword is ‘keep your nose to the wind’, had of course to pretend that they, in spite of everything, are in favour of Soviet Russia. But the USPD right was, of course, unable to logically follow its line of conduct. Their outbursts against the ‘Moscow knout’, their accusations against the lefts at the preliminary discussions, displayed the most outspoken jingoism directed precisely against Soviet Russia.

Freiheit tried its best to preserve the decorum of a newspaper friendly to Soviet Russia. But on Dittmann’s arrival from Russia he commenced a series of articles against Soviet Russia. However, the ‘overwhelming’ success which he had in bourgeois and Black Hundred circles at once discredited him in the eyes of the workers. It became impossible for him to show himself at any workers’ meeting. *Freiheit* was boycotted by the working people. Under such circumstances the paper preferred to discontinue the proposed series, after printing two libellous articles.

But in spite of Hilferding’s efforts, who as editor of the paper tried to restrain its tendencies, his grip on it became feebler and the paper became more and more anti-Bolshevik. During the congress *Freiheit* published on the front page in bold the manifesto of the Armenian so-called ‘workers’ party’ addressed to the Second International, ie, to the so-called International Socialist Bureau. In this manifesto, the Armenian Scheidemannists, in the name of Armenian ‘democracy’, begged the Second International to protect them from the wicked Bolsheviks, who were alleged to be preparing an attack against the Armenian nation.⁶

6. Zinoviev is referring to the Democratic Republic of Armenia, May 1918-December 1920, which the Paris Peace Conference of 1919 proclaimed an internationally recognised state. Following the Turkish-Armenian War (September-November 1920) half of the republic’s territory was ceded to

There is not the slightest doubt that Hilferding knows quite well the present role of the so-called Armenian 'democracy!' He is well aware that the present bourgeois Armenian government is simply a pawn in the hands of the Allies and that it served as a store agent for munitions for Wrangel, etc. He must have known that the so-called Workers' Party of Armenia is a branch of international Scheidemannism. If, in spite of all that, Hilferding chose to print the manifestoes of this Armenian pseudo-workers' party, it is precisely because *Freiheit* has become a disreputable anti-Bolshevik rag.

'The lower-downs versus the higher-ups'

All of the USPD right at the Halle congress were most anxious to make capital out of the question of 'the lower-downs versus the higher-ups' which has lately become the question of the day in our party. Martov brought to Halle the Moscow papers, with detailed reports of the discussions at our last All-Russian Party conference, and articles on this question. Hilferding's newspaper immediately republished this material - throwing out, of course, everything it deemed unsuitable, and distorting the real meaning.

Dittmann himself undertook the task of 'explaining' that material at public meetings. He quoted with great satisfaction and gusto the articles by comrade [Yevgeny] Preobrazhensky, published in *Pravda*⁷ on the eve of our last All-Russian Party conference. Dittmann recited with even greater pleasure extracts from my report at our party conference, in which I spoke of some of the dark sides of our party life, and pointed out the prevailing inequalities and so on. Having embellished it all with his own eloquence, Dittmann concluded triumphantly: "Is it not clear to everyone that this means the utter failure of the Bolshevik Party, a complete failure of the idea of centralism?"

I fully analysed this circumstance in my speech. Dittmann's game was soon turned against him. I acknowledged that there were some faults to be found in our party. We are suffering from a "seasonal illness". When we came to power many alien elements joined us. When our best men were sent to the front, things sometimes went badly at home. Yes, we do ruthlessly criticise these darker sides in our organisation. We have done so for the last 25 years, and have fearlessly pointed out the most vulnerable spots in our party organisation. It is just on that account that we have such a powerful party, sound to its core and capable of fulfilling its historic mission.

Messrs Dittmann and Crispian were telling fairy tales when they said that we in Russia have a dictatorship that makes it impossible for anybody to utter a word of criticism; they said a lot about the 'knout,' the 'quietness of the grave,' etc, but they have themselves refuted them! The German workers can see now that we are capable of openly and violently criticising our own party, pointing out its maladies, and healing them as well.

the new Republic of Turkey under the Treaty of Alexandropol (December 2 1920). The remainder was ceded to Russia.

7. *Pravda* (Truth) was the Bolsheviks' main organ first published in 1912 in St Petersburg.

I said that I should like to see a leader of the USPD right who would dare to criticise his own party with the same frankness and boldness. This part of my speech created a big stir in the hall. The shot had hit its mark. I told the German workers that when they came to power, some alien elements would try to join their party. They would have to take special measures in order to guard their party from the influx of these elements. We were doing the same thing. I added that I was ready to read out those quotations from my speech, which were cited by Dittmann, at any gathering of German workers, and that I was sure the German workers would be on our side.

Martov and the Mensheviks

We must give citizen Martov our most hearty thanks for the failure of the rascally tricks of the USPD right. More than anyone else he was instrumental in bringing this failure about. Before the congress the USPD right tried to assert that they had nothing in common with the Russian Mensheviks. They asserted this even at the congress. Hilferding protested against my statement that the USPD right formed part and parcel of international Menshevism. He tried to pour ridicule on my seeing the whole world through Russian spectacles.

Every position, however, has its logic. In fighting the Third International and Soviet Russia, the USPD right was naturally driven into the arms of Martov. And Martov supported them with all his might, just as the rope supports a hanged man.

Of course, I did not expect anything pleasant from Martov's speech. I understood that Martov did not go to Halle in order to support the Soviet government and the Third International, but in order to attack them. We never expected, however, that he would stoop to such meanness as he did. He not only described the 'horrors' of the Bolshevik regime, the vile persecutions to which [Victor] Chernov had been subjected at the hands of the Soviet government, and the cruel persecutions of the Mensheviks, etc.

This in itself would not have been too bad. But Martov reached such depths of depravity that in Halle, at the international congress, he supported the Polish bourgeoisie against Soviet Russia, and in an interview published at the time of the congress in *Freiheit*, announced to [Alexandre] Millerand and Lloyd George that the peace concluded at Riga⁸ between Soviet Russia and Poland was a military trick on the part of Soviet Russia, that it was a temporary armistice, which would be violated by Soviet Russia in the spring.

Martov described in glowing terms the Vladivostock government,⁹ and gave the whole world to understand that the setting up of the Far Eastern

8. The formal treaty which brought about the peace between the Soviets and Poland was not signed until March 18 1921. The peace Zinoviev is referring to is the ceasefire of October 1920.

9. Vladivostok was of great military importance for the Far Eastern Republic, the Provisional Priamurye Government, and the Allied intervention, consisting of foreign troops from Japan, the United States, Canada, Czechoslovakia, and other countries. The taking of the city by Ieronim Uborevich's Red Army on 25 October 1922 marked the end of the Russian Civil War.

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Republic¹⁰ as a buffer state between ourselves and Japan was the result of some secret convention etc. Martov showed himself a brazen-faced renegade, vilely calumniating the Russian workers' revolution in a 'Black Hundred' speech.

Some 'neutral' people, who up until now treated Martov with a certain degree of confidence, and thought we were too severe in our treatment of him, made the following remark to us: "We expected from Martov anything but such slanders."

Part of the right section was struck by such a reactionary speech. Longuet considered it his duty to protest openly against the attack on Soviet Russia contained in Martov's speech. But the Dissmann group of the right and all the right leaders were simply delighted with Martov's counterrevolutionary outburst. The faces of these right leaders shone like new pennies, when Martov, excelling himself, passed from one smear to another. The union between the right leaders of the USPD and Martov, the counterrevolutionary, was sealed in the presence of the whole congress. This once more convinced the left majority of the congress of the necessity of a complete break with the USPD right.

Martov, however, discredited the rights in another way. My chief accusation against the leaders of the USPD right was: "You gentlemen refuse to believe in an international workers' revolution; therefore all your schemes are built on the supposition that you are facing not a revolution, but a long era of peaceful development."

I quoted in my speech Crispian's report to the party conference, which took place some three weeks before the congress, soon after Crispian's return from Moscow. He stated definitely in his speech that the present situation in all the countries of Europe is similar to that after the revolution of 1848.

He compared the present struggle between the communists and the USPD right with the struggle between the Marxians and the 'left' squabblers in the Communist League at the end of the 1840s.

By this declaration he has entirely betrayed himself. Generally speaking we can say of Crispian: what Hilferding has in his mind, Crispian is sure to blurt out. Hilferding, Crispian and co have absolutely no faith in the future revolutionary development of Europe. They are convinced that the bourgeoisie has got over its main difficulties and has now entered on an era of gradual peaceful reform. One could find almost anything in the lengthy speeches by Crispian and Dittmann at the congress. But there was no mention of the coming world revolution.

When I drew the attention of the meeting to that fact, I hit the bull's eye. Our opponents, however, tried to present some lame excuses. Crispian asserted that his comparison, which I had quoted, was used with reference to the state of affairs within the party, not with reference to world politics in general. Stating this he confused the issue still more - to his disadvantage.

The situation within the party is of course closely bound up with the general political situation. What was the question debated in the Communist League

10. A state created in April 1920 with the tacit support of the new Russian Bolshevik government, a buffer state between the Russian Soviet Federative Socialist Republic and the territories occupied by Japan.

towards the end of the 1840s? It was whether a new era of revolutionary outbursts was opening in the near future. Marx, taking the general situation into account, came to the conclusion that these outbursts could not be expected in the near future, and he was right in that. If Crispien compares the present dispute with the disputes of that day, he can only mean one thing - that at the present time we cannot expect any revolutionary outbursts.

Crispien and co, however, tried to prove the contrary. They tried to assure us that they too are in favour of a world revolution. Martov tried to help him, but rendered him the worst service. His speeches, apart from base calumnies against our party, mild denunciations of Millerand the imperialist, and adulation for the Polish bourgeoisie, had a so-called general part, in which Martov, with a sincerity worthy of all praise, attacked the 'fanaticism' of the masses, the 'naïve' 'religious' faith of the workers in the possibility of introducing socialism immediately.

Martov reverted to this same topic a dozen times. He never stopped complaining, lamenting and deploring the fact that the labouring masses of our day are so immature, uneducated, raw and primitive, that they believe in miracles - in the possibility of a rapid advent of socialism. Martov thus put his cards on the table. It became clear to everybody that Martov and those who share his views, Crispien and Dittmann, regard it as their task not to help the working class to bring about socialism as soon as possible, but that their task is to persuade the 'uncultured', 'primitive' and 'backward' labouring masses that they must abandon their 'fanaticism', their 'naïve' and 'religious' faith in the advent of socialism.

We cannot but express our thanks for the service that Martov has rendered us. It was sufficient merely to point out this part of Martov's speech. It was sufficient to ask all those present: Don't you see that this so-called 'naïve, religious' faith in the possibility of socialism is the greatest revolutionary factor in history? No one can doubt that without this so-called 'religious fervour' of the masses, the workers' revolution and the emancipation of the labouring class are utter impossibilities.

Martov expounded a programme which was a direct challenge to the socialist revolution; it was the open contempt of a renegade, a doctrinaire-intellectual, for the mass struggle of the workers, for the indomitable faith in the victory of the workers. Martov spoke as a typical reformist.

Tell me who are your friends, and I will tell you what you are! Tell me who is your friend in the international arena, and I will tell you what is your own political position! The leaders of the USPD right walked arm in arm with Martov, the counterrevolutionary reformist, and that in the sight of the whole world. This will cost them many dozen local organisations, which will now turn away from them even sooner than we could have otherwise expected.

We made the USPD right speak out, and made them state categorically in what manner their principles differed from those of the Communist International and the theses adopted at the 2nd congress of the Communist International. The USPD right in the persons of Crispien, Dittmann, and Hilferding declared that

there were four questions on which they disagreed with us in principle, namely: the agrarian question, the national question, terror, and the role of the soviets. Later on we had little difficulty in proving that all these four divergences could be reduced to one cardinal dissension: the proletarian world revolution versus reformism.

The agrarian question

Let us now turn to the divergencies as formulated by the USPD right itself. Let us start with the agrarian question. The right leaders reject the theses of the 2nd congress on the grounds that they oppose the division of big estates into small peasant holdings as being contrary to Marxist principles.

Poor Marxism. Marx can only turn in his grave when Crispian, Dittmann, and Hilferding take upon themselves to expound his theories. The arguments of Crispian, the speaker of the USPD right, were pure Menshevism. We remember very well when our Russian Mensheviks pretended to be a 'purely workers' party', which did not wish to make the slightest concession to the peasantry, and also when they professed to be the 'people's party', and started to defend the peasants against us at a time when the working class was forced even by compulsory means to make the rich peasants give up their corn.

We see the same here. So long as the working class is not yet in power, the German Mensheviks prefer to cover themselves with the cloak of a 'genuine' working class party, which demands that no concessions be made to the small peasantry. The USPD right referred in this question to [Giacinto] Serrati, who, it is averred, is also opposed to any concessions to the small peasantry. We had no difficulty in refuting this statement by pointing out that revolutionary events in Italy during the last few weeks have justified our views, not those of Serrati. When in the course of the last few weeks the Italian workers started to seize the works and factories, the small peasantry of Italy started to take possession of the land. And of course only a stupid reformist could deny that such seizure of land was a help to the revolution.

We put this question to Crispian and co: "If you do not desire a union with the small peasants at a certain stage of the workers' revolution, what is your attitude to the idea of the necessity of peasants' soviets in time of revolution?" Crispian and co answered that in their opinion no peasants' soviets were necessary, and by this statement they once more laid bare their reformist souls.

The USPD right seeks no allies for the successful carrying out of the proletarian revolution, for the simple reason that it does not for a moment believe in that revolution. This was proved by the objections which the USPD right made to the theses on the agrarian question.

The national question

An especially interesting discussion was raised on the national question. Much

was made of the Enver Pasha affair.¹¹ The USPD right, with a truly Menshevik propensity for slander and insinuation, for several weeks past have been trumpeting all over Germany that Enver Pasha has joined the Third International, and that we fraternised with him at the Baku congress of Eastern peoples. This story was reprinted in nearly all the papers of the world. In the pre-congress electioneering campaign this story played a very important part. We saw an electioneering leaflet from Frankfurt signed by Mrs Toni Sender and some other leaders of the USPD right, in which it was stated: "Enver Pasha, the executioner or the Armenian people, is admitted into the Third International, but Ledebour the old revolutionary fighter is refused admittance."

We had to start by telling the truth about Enver Pasha's visit to Baku. Enver Pasha, as is well known, was never there as a delegate: he came as a guest. He asked to be allowed to address the congress, and was met with a refusal. Then he asked to be allowed to read a declaration, which was read. In this declaration he stated that he and the other representatives of the present Turkish government are on the side of the Soviet government, and that they have become convinced that they will find no salvation in alliance with the bourgeoisie of any country.

What did we do in reply to this declaration? Did we receive him with open arms? Not at all. Béla Kun and I moved a resolution, which was carried at the congress, stating most emphatically that:

We warn the Turkish people against those leaders who are responsible for the imperialist war, and invite these leaders to prove their present loyalty to the people by deeds and not by words; we call on the Turkish workers and peasants to fight not only against the foreign oppressors, but also against their own capitalists. We call on them to organise soviets, where none but the poor could be admitted etc.

From this fact alone the USPD right, with a dexterity worthy of the late reactionary journalist Burenin, and Martov, the Menshevik, told a tale of our alliance with Enver Pasha and of his joining the Third International. However, this was only a detail. It is very interesting to note the whole view taken by the USPD right on the national question. They affirm that a follower of Marx can have nothing in common with the national movements of oppressed nationalities.

What is actually taking place in the east? Ask the philosophical Crispien. They are - so he says - young capitalist countries, which desire to liberate themselves from influence of old capitalist countries.

Thus, according to Crispien, India, Persia, and China turn out to be 'young capitalist countries'.

This is an obvious fallacy. But Crispien expounded it in all seriousness and

11. Zinoviev is being slightly disingenuous here. While it is true that the former Turkish head of state had not attended the Baku Congress as a delegate, Lenin had met Pasha several times to discuss the prospects of channelling Muslim unrest into a struggle against British imperialism. Desperate to establish a foothold in the Middle East, Comintern had also arranged for Pasha to travel to Moscow via Germany. The experiment rebounded though: instead of going to Bokhara to challenge British colonialism in India, Pasha declared holy war on the Bolsheviks. It is unclear just how much the Bolsheviks knew about Pasha's role in the Armenian genocide of 1915-1917.

Head to head in Halle

with a pretence to scholarship. We had no difficulty in proving how utterly ignorant Crispien and co were on this question. We said:

“There can be no world revolution without a rebellion, an awakening of Asia. Only then can we count on a European revolution.” We pointed out that only the Third International could inspire boundless confidence in the nations of the east in the shortest space of time. We pointed out that the present attitude of the USPD right towards the movements of eastern nations is in reality a continuation of the policy of the Second International. That sublime contempt which was poured on the ‘mullahs of Chiva’ by gentlemen like Hilferding proves the petty bourgeois conceit and stupidity of the ‘European’ reformists, who are incapable of understanding the revolutionary part which the awakening of Asia is destined to play. We had no difficulty in proving that the USPD right is incapable of understanding the movement of emancipation among the eastern nations as part and parcel of the proletarian revolution, precisely because to them the world revolution itself is only an empty sound and a meaningless symbol.

Terror

With regard to terror, Crispien and co - following in the footsteps of Kautsky - attempted to make a ‘scientific’ distinction between ‘terror’ and ‘violence’. “We recognise violence”, stated Crispien, “but under no circumstances terror”. We answered that terror is only the most extreme form of ‘violence’, just as civil war is the most extreme form of the class struggle. Further, we adduced instances from the Russian and the Finnish revolutions.

We reminded them of that rosy dawn of the workers’ revolution in Russia - the first days of the October revolution - when we liberated [Pyotor] Krasnov from the Smolny upon his word of honour, when we released Kerensky’s ministers who afterwards organised civil war against us which cost us the lives of tens of thousands of our comrades.

We reminded them how the intervention of the Allies gradually forced us to apply terror as the most extreme form of self-defence. We cited the resolution of the 8th council of the Social-Revolutionist Party (Dittman in his articles and reports defended Chernov), which at the time of the Czechoslovak revolt¹² called on the Allies to send troops into Soviet Russia.

We reminded them of the instance of the Finnish revolution, when the Finnish workers, after taking over the government, were so naïve as to liberate all the deputies of the diet and the bourgeois ministers. The latter went to Berlin, hired cutthroat white guards of the kaiser and then killed some 30,000 Finnish workers.

We also told the German workers that their own German experience, and first and foremost the treatment of their best leaders - Karl Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg - at the hands of the white guards, are in themselves positive proof that the petty bourgeois views on terror are utterly false. This part of my speech

12. In May 1918 the Trans-Siberian railway was seized by the Czech Legion, which had been in transit to Vladivostok for re-deployment in France. The action formed part of the Russian Civil War and Allied intervention.

was especially welcomed by the overwhelming majority of the congress.

The German workers understood the motive of my words. But this part of my speech - as was shown by future events - united the whole of reactionary Germany against me, from the *Orgesch* organisation to the right leaders of the USPD. The bourgeoisie and the 'social democracy' started an unprecedented and savage campaign against me, precisely for uttering these words. These words of mine were represented as a bloodthirsty appeal in the style of Nero, an appeal for immediate 'massacre of all the bourgeoisie', etc.

The soviet system

Finally, Crispien formulated his view regarding the 'soviet system' as follows: Firstly, only intelligent working men must be admitted to the soviets - reactionary working men such as Christian socialists etc must be excluded from them. Secondly, no party must pretend to guide the soviets. Such guidance leads not to the dictatorship of the workers but to the dictatorship over the workers.

We had no difficulty in proving that both his statements were reactionary. The soviets are important to us, precisely because we can attract the backward workers to them. We said the soviets are the best universities where the backward labouring masses can best outlive their lack of faith in the proletarian revolution. All the workers must be admitted to the soviets. And it is for that reason that the party must possess its own organisation within the soviets in order to guide all the soviets.

The first to speak on the chief question of the day was Crispien, the second was [Ernst] Däumig, the third Dittmann, and the fourth [Walter] Stöcker. Then I was allowed to speak. Dittmann's gang was only waiting for an opportunity to shout me down. This opportunity came very soon. When I analysed the part played by the yellow leaders of the Amsterdam Trade Union International, I stated that some of the yellow leaders were far more repulsive and far more dangerous to the working class than the outspoken white guards of the *Orgesch* organisation. At this statement Dissmann and co attempted to create an uproar, to show how deeply I offended their assumed dignity. They said that I insulted 28 million trade union members. Dittmann pathetically brandished his membership card, crying that he had been a member of a trade union for the last 22 years, and that he would not allow trade unions to be insulted etc.

However, these gentlemen did not succeed in shouting me down. The speakers of the USPD left at the pre-congress debates allowed themselves unfortunately to be driven onto the defensive. In my speech, of course, I at once assumed the offensive. Crispien dubbed the USPD left 'the disguised communists'. Crispien and co attempted to prove in their speeches that the USPD left are in fact communists, but do not own up to it. The whole of the left wing of the congress met my words with a storm of cheering when I said that we on this side are not disguised but open communists. I then asked

Crispien and co: "If you are such irreconcilable enemies of communism, why do you seek to enter the Communist International, what do you expect to find there?"

And the congress gave a hearty cheer. At first the right did not give up all hope of shouting me down. But after a short time I compelled them to listen to me. There were so many questions which I had to deal with that I had to speak for four and a half hours at one stretch - the longest speech I have ever made.

After the first half hour the whole right was sitting in absolute silence and listening with intense interest. Even Ledebour, who is famous for his habit of interrupting his opponent every five minutes, was sitting quietly and listening in rapt attention. In the end even some of the rights themselves led me to shed some light on this or that topic to which I had not yet referred in my speech.

The chief purpose of my speech was to prove that the USPD right does not believe, does not wish to believe in a proletarian world revolution, holding a reformist view on revolution, and frames its tactics accordingly. "You disagree with us not because 21 conditions have been substituted for 18, but because we are revolutionaries and you are reformists!" That was the gist of my speech.

Of course I had to dwell minutely on the conditions of entry into the Communist International - ie, on the question which the USPD right tried to make the central topic of the dispute on the eve of the congress. A special sensation was caused in the ranks of the rights by my declaration in the name of the executive committee, which was as follows:

You say that 21 conditions are unacceptable to you? Well - you are within your rights. But in the name of the ECCI we demand you write down in definite and clear terms which of our theses and conditions you consider unacceptable, and which of them you regard as wrong. State definitely and clearly in writing what conditions of entry into the Communist International you regard as acceptable? Do not limit yourselves to vague sentences about 'autonomy', 'national independence' etc. Show your cards! Tell the whole world in what particulars the decisions of the 2nd congress of the Communist International are unacceptable to you.

This statement hit the leaders of the USPD right in their weakest spot. They became agitated, and started to shout that this was base demagoguery on my part. I once more dealt with this question in detail and easily demonstrated that there is no demagoguery in requesting a party which wishes to enter the Communist International (on conditions other than those worked out by the 2nd congress of the Communist International) to state definitely - what are the conditions of that party?

This cut the leaders of the USPD right to the quick - for their faction was brought together with great difficulty on the platform of a general disapproval of the abolition of all autonomy, etc.

Hilferding and co were fully aware that if they were to set down the conditions on which they would consent to enter the Communist International, they would immediately lose a considerable part of their faction.

Soviet Russia

I spoke of course about the Russian revolution, and of conditions in Soviet Russia. In this part of my speech I believe I inflicted the greatest moral defeat on our opponents. I spoke of the hardships and privations which have been the lot of the Russian workers during the last three years. The audience listened with the warmest fraternal sympathy.

The moral victory of the Communist International over its enemy was beyond doubt. The left wing at the congress and the numerous working men in the gallery celebrated their victory and stormily expressed their delight. After the end of my speech the rights at first sat speechless, then they rose and stealthily sneaked away from the hall. At the same time some individual workers' delegates, who were sitting on the right side, approached us and stated that they would cross over to us. Hoffmann introduced me to a young female teacher whose name was Bock,¹³ if I am not mistaken. She declared with tears in her eyes that up till now she had been hesitating, but that now she will come over to our side. Our comrades told us that many workers walked up to Crispian and Dittmann, and said to them angrily: "What lies you were telling of them!" (meaning us, the Russian Bolsheviks!). Some of the right delegates were clearly inclined in our favour.

Brass, the chairman of the lefts, who had many friends in the right section, assured us that evening that after my speech the right section met in two distinct groups. True, these groups were afterwards reunited by the efforts of the rights' leaders, but a certain cleavage remained nonetheless.

The left increased not only in numbers but also in moral strength. It became more united, and more deeply felt the righteousness of our cause.

That night, the Communist International brought about the complete transformation of the left section of the USPD into a Communist Party. The same night also witnessed the disintegration of the newly-formed party of the USPD right. A new left wing was immediately formed. Ludwig Wurm, and some others were named as the leaders of this left wing of the right. If we had made certain concessions we could possibly have gained that wavering left wing of the rights on to our side. But we preferred not to do it. Let these vacillating elements remain in the party of the USPD right.

Our party must be as solid as a rock, as hard as stone - and such it will remain. The highest praise was bestowed on my speech by my opponents. The local bourgeois papers wrote that the speech had a 'demonic' effect on the congress. This description of the speech was written in all the bourgeois

13. In the list of delegates, there are two delegates named Bock: Wilhelm and Max. It is likely that she was one of the many observers who crammed into the gallery at the back of the hall.

papers.

All the central organs of the bourgeoisie which appear in Berlin (by that time the strike was over and the papers began to appear), such as the *Berliner Tagesblatt*, *Deutsche Tageszeitung*, *Vossische Zeitung* and others, gave the most flattering accounts of the oratorical merits of the speech.

Vorwärts, the organ of Scheidemann, described the speech as "first rate". *Leipziger Volkszeitung*, the organ of the left Independents, called it "superficially brilliant". *Freiheit*, the extreme right paper of the USPD right, was generous enough to declare that they must do justice to their opponent, who, they say, is "the first orator of our century". The correspondent JM, a Finnish conservative journalist, telegraphed to the Finnish press that I "hypnotised" the congress. In fact there was too much praise.

But at the same time a most ruthless campaign was being prepared in response to my speech. I shall deal with this later on though.

Splitting the conference

The decisive moment of the congress at last arrived. The voting on the principal question gave us an almost two to one majority. Thereupon, Crispien rose and made a declaration, which is a specimen of his impertinence, stupidity, and impotence. Crispien declared in the name of the central committee of the old body (by the way, none of the left members were invited to this meeting of the central committee of the old body, though they formed nearly half of the central committee) that by carrying such a motion the congress was practically deciding to enter another party, ie, the Spartacus League. And since, he said, by the rules of the USPD no member of the party can simultaneously be a member of another party, the majority of the congress has thereby placed itself outside of the party. On that ground the central committee of the old body declared the whole of the USPD left to be outside of the party. The rights were invited to leave the hall of the congress, and they went to another place to continue the work of the congress.

This declaration caused a storm of indignation on the part of the left majority of the congress. The gallery filled with workers was in a special uproar. The workers shook their fists at Crispien and co.

Had our left friends not done all in their power to restrain the crowd, there would certainly have been a free fight. Crispien's declaration suited us perfectly. In fact, we could not have wished for anything better. Think of it! These men had shouted to the whole of Europe of their fidelity to the principle of democracy within the party, these men had vowed right and left that, their only reason for not joining the Third International was because the latter desired to violate some presumed interests of the German party. These men accused us of heresies, and bewailed the dictatorship of the Bolsheviks.

And after all, when the congress was called together on their own initiative, under rules which they themselves worked out, after they themselves recognised the validity of all the mandates, when the central committee, by all laws human and divine, ceased to exist (the central committee in fact represents the party

only when no congress is sitting; but during the congress the latter body has all power vested in it) - after all that, some person rises to speak in the name of six members of the central committee and states that he declares the majority of the party outside the party!

One can hardly imagine a greater contempt for the principles of democracy within the party, or a greater betrayal. Now every rank and file worker whom Crispian and co used to catch by professing that they defended autonomy, which they said was being attacked, will understand this simple and clear fact: when the overwhelming majority of the party asserted their will, the party bureaucracy (which remained in the hands of the minority at congress) prevented this decision from being carried out, left the congress, and seized the editorial offices, the clubs, the party funds, using the bourgeois police and law courts for their purpose. By these actions the USPD right has destroyed the last remnants of confidence still placed in them by a part of the workers.

I shall long remember the moment when the right section of the congress left. The workers who filled the gallery were shaking their fists at the retiring rights and cursing them. The lefts were enthusiastically singing 'The Internationale.' Some of the rights walked off with downcast eyes; others arrogantly and impudently stared at the majority of the congress. These retiring gentlemen are Dissmann's gang of cut throats, the future Noskes of greater and lesser importance.

Some of us felt like shaking our fists at them too. The right has gone. We have got rid of the agents of capital; now we are just one family. The atmosphere has become clear. The proceedings of the congress continue. A new, possibly the most important leaf has been turned in the history of Germany and of the world. *Nunc dimittis!*¹⁴

At any rate, the enemies of the proletarian revolution will no longer be in our own house. How vividly this reminded us of our break with the Mensheviks! The same social make-up, the same arguments, the same anger written on the faces of the intellectuals driven out by the workers from the proletarian party, the same contemptuous gestures. Let us hope that the results will be the same as well. The workers' party in Germany will be strengthened, the petty bourgeois intellectuals who pretend to be socialists will be crushed. A part will join the bourgeoisie, the other - the better part - will after a time return to its paternal home.

Whatever else may be said, the German workers are the first in Europe to have recovered from an unparalleled crisis and to have closed their ranks. The discipline of the old school proved effective. The work of the best German revolutionaries was not done in vain. A Communist Party has been born in Germany and is leading the masses. This will involve consequences of the greatest historical importance.

The split occurred on Saturday night. Late the same night we left for Berlin. A meeting was arranged in one of the largest halls of the city. I was to speak on 'The truth about Soviet Russia.' A few days previously this meeting was approved

14. *Nunc dimittis*: Latin words from Luke ii:29-32 which form the opening words of a canticle in Christian evening services. The later words of the Canticle, "for mine eyes have seen thy salvation" in the English of the *Book of common prayer*, seem to be the point of Zinoviev's allusion.

by the authorities. Unfortunately, I was unable to speak at that meeting. I caught a chill in Halle, and was so hoarse that I could hardly utter a single word. I got up with a heightened temperature, and at first we decided that I should not go out at all, as I was in any case unable to speak. Other speakers were selected to take my place at the meeting. But half an hour after the beginning of the meeting a group of workers arrived from the meeting with an insistent request that I should at least 'show myself' at the meeting. It was impossible to refuse them, and although I felt very ill, I had to go.

During the three years of our revolution I saw a good many imposing workers' meetings, but I have rarely been at a meeting like the one which took place in the Neue Welt. The huge hall was absolutely packed, the galleries were also full, the whole place was like a solid human mass. When we arrived [Ernst] Meyer was reading his report; the president interrupted him, announced my arrival, and led me to the platform. Stormy cheers continued for a long time.

I never in my whole life more regretted my inability to speak than I did at that moment. So majestic and powerful was that out-and-out workers' assembly, so fraternally did its feelings go out to us, that I can scarcely express now the sentiments of deep sympathy to the audience which then animated me. The unusual role of a 'silent orator' could not be very pleasant for me. But the warm wave of fraternal sympathy which emanated from the hall was so extraordinary that I shall long preserve in my heart the memory of that moment.

Whilst being driven to the meeting, some comrades pointed out to me red notices exhibited in all the streets, many of which were pasted over the placards announcing my meeting. These were notices issued by the Anti-Bolshevik League. They contained the most unmistakable threats directed against me. Near the place of the meeting some fellows were distributing appeals directed against me, in which the chorus of Martov's speech – 'the butcher of the Mensheviks' was quoted. It was explained at the same meeting that the Russian Mensheviks are the same as the USPD right and the members of the Social Democratic Party in Germany.

Here is a translation of the text and the translation of the appeal which was distributed in Berlin on October 16-17, 1920:

"On Sunday, October 17, 1920, at 9.30am in the Hasenheide, a speech will be delivered by Zinoviev, the butcher of the Mensheviks (the Mensheviks correspond to the right wing of the USPD and the Social Democratic Party of Germany). German workers, turn up in your thousands to greet the murderer of your brothers, the Russian workers."

The men who attempted to distribute these leaflets were soundly thrashed. My comrades and I were soon compelled to leave the meeting, as I felt worse.

'An undesirable foreigner'

I had scarcely time to reach home when three representatives of the 'political police' entered my room and announced that they had received orders to take me immediately to the police presidium. A doctor who attended to me and was present at the time, protested against my being taken away on account of my

illness. They started long arguments on the telephone. The representative of the Soviet government in Berlin intervened in the matter.

Kurt Rosenfeld also arrived on the scene. He is a lawyer who took part in the negotiations concerning my permission to enter Germany, and is a member of the central committee of the USPD right. Two sentries were standing at my door the whole time. Finally they succeeded in securing the abandonment of the demand for my appearance at the police presidium, and the decision which they had to announce was to be communicated to me personally at home.

This decision was announced to me by a pompous social democratic commissary. He was very polite and solemn in his manners. He seemed to be performing a religious ceremony, trying not to omit any formalities. He began by asking how old I was, whether I could read and write, etc.

The decision practically came to this. I was regarded as an "undesirable foreigner" - this classical term was inherited by the German Republic from Wilhelm the bloody. I was forbidden to appear at any meeting or even leave my room to speak on the telephone, or to grant any interviews. But I was not forbidden to receive visitors. A considerable discussion was caused by the question of how I was to visit the lavatory.

At first the functionary, who acted in the name of the police presidium, insisted that each time I was to go there I must specially inform the 'officer' (this was the polite term used to denote spies) and only after the latter's sanction could I proceed there. Later on, the commissary who conducted these negotiations (I was told he was a social democrat) gathered sufficient courage to say: "After all, one must be a fatalist; I will take the whole matter on my own responsibility". I could go to the lavatory 'solo', ie in 'revolutionary' fashion, without giving previous notice to the spy in question. This 'commissar' seemed to be honestly convinced that he was thereby carrying out a revolutionary act.

I had the alternative of either refusing to submit to these orders and declaring that I place myself under the protection of the Berlin workers, thereby causing a general strike in Berlin, which would undoubtedly have followed the very next day - or of refraining for the time being from causing a conflict, and submitting to brute force. After consulting my friends, I chose the latter alternative.

Two considerations prompted me to do so. Firstly, at a moment when the party was not yet organised, I did not want it to have a conflict over me, which could easily grow into a most formidable encounter. Secondly, I had made in Berlin a series of appointments with representatives of over ten communist parties of various countries, and I hoped (this hope was fully justified) that, in spite of everything, I would be able to see them.

Only the night previously - in Halle - I was under the protection of the law. This morning I am subjected to house arrest, and guarded by a dozen detectives, who were placed in the street, at the entrance, on the stairway etc. I had only one consolation: I was told most of these spies were Scheidemannists, ie members of the Second International. This is surely flattering for a communist rebel.

The whole German press, as if it had acted on a signal, let loose the most

rabid attacks on me. The press seemed to run amok, and remained in this state for a whole week. The whole press, from *Freiheit*, the organ of the USPD right, to *Deutsche Tageszeitung*, the organ of the reactionary bandits and the *Orgesch*, concentrated on that part of my speech on terror, to which I referred above. All the accusations which Martov made against the Bolsheviks generally, and myself in particular, were reprinted on the front pages of all the reactionary and bourgeois papers.

The bourgeois papers yelled that it was not enough to expel me, that my place was not in the hotel under the protection of officers of the political police, but that my place was hanging from a lamp post. *Deutsche Tageszeitung* openly incited to murder. The atmosphere became very stormy. It was exactly like the July days¹⁵ of 1917 in Petrograd. The only topic of conversation in the streets, in the trams, in the papers and in the theatres was the cursed 'despot' and 'dictator' who had come to Germany to advocate the wholesale murder of the bourgeoisie. The leaflets of the Russian white guards, issued in Berlin, added fuel to the fire. The 'facts' reported by Martov were seized upon greedily and were still more exaggerated and distorted. The whole German press was one ferocious counterrevolutionary howl against me.

The local comrades assured me that the persecution was similar to, if not greater than that which was directed against Karl Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg in the January days of 1919. Only *Die Rote Fahne*,¹⁶ the paper of the German communists, boldly opposed the savage attacks of the counterrevolutionaries, maddened by hatred and fear. The effect of my speech in workers' circles, where it was thoroughly discussed the very day after it was delivered, made the enemies of the proletarian revolution realise in dead earnest the spectre of communism. There was no limit to the wrath and hatred, the dirt and calumnies which filled the pages of the whole German press.

Our German friends found it necessary to take their own precautionary measures. They doubled their watch in the street where our hotel was situated, sent a number of trusty comrades as guests to that hotel, and took other measures for armed defence in case a direct attack was made upon us.

Certain measures of defence were taken by the German workers - even in Halle. We were inclined to chaff them for these precautions, and thought that our friends went too far in their fears. Once in Halle I entered my room on the fourth floor and saw a mysterious wire sticking out of the wall. My friends told me in confidence that this wire communicated with the street, and that in case of danger they could pull it in the street, and then an alarm bell would warn me of impending danger.

15. The 'July Days' refer to the dramatic events that unfolded in Russia between July 3-7 1917 which saw workers and soldiers stage spontaneous demonstrations against a hated, war-mongering Kerensky regime. The Bolshevik leadership urged caution, restraint and for the protests to remain peaceful. But they were subsequently subjected to much repression and a smear campaign accusing them of being German spies.

16. *Die Rote Fahne* (*The Red Flag*) was a daily newspaper founded by Karl Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg as the central paper of the Spartacus League; it later became the central paper of the KPD. Publication of the newspaper began on November 9, 1918 in Berlin. The newspaper was repeatedly subjected to persecution and banned by the Scheidemann-Noske Government.

This, of course, was a naïve measure of precaution. But those taken in Berlin were perhaps far from superfluous. We have never since July 1917 witnessed such a wild orgy of madness.

Germany exhibited in those days instances of incredible lying about Soviet Russia. True, we have somehow grown accustomed to the absence of the so-called 'freedom of the press.' 'The freedom of the press' in the happy, 'free' German Republic means the following. If you take Berlin, for instance, it means that bankers, generals, and manufacturers edit 34 big dailies. The workers - even if you count as workers' papers the organs of Scheidemann and Hilferding - possess only three daily papers. In fact we have only one genuine workers' paper in Berlin - *Rote Fahne*, the communist organ. 'The freedom of the press' in Germany means that workers are left without their paper, and that all the best printing machines are working for the bourgeoisie.

During the last few weeks, the bourgeoisie of the whole world has opened an even more violent campaign of calumny against Soviet Russia. It is clear now that this was part of the military plan of the Allies who backed [White general] Baron Wrangel. But this campaign of calumny became a fine art in Germany in connection with our arrival there.

Sometimes we ask ourselves why people lied every day for three years running. Surely no one believes them! But in reality this is not so. A man who everyday reads a cleverly propagated lie ends by involuntarily falling under its influence. Take, for instance, our delegates. Of course, we were fully aware that the bourgeois press tells lies about Soviet Russia. We spent only a few days in Germany. And still, when we read in all the papers 'extracts' from the Moscow *Pravda* (they afterwards turned out to be false) on this or that event at the front, we involuntary inclined to think that there must be a particle of truth in them.

The forgers of the bourgeois press perform their work artistically. The bourgeois papers very cleverly forged the famous 'passage' from the Moscow *Pravda* concerning comrade [Semyon] Budyenny's alleged treachery and alliance with the Whites. They do the same in all instances.¹⁷

Of course the workers place no faith in the bourgeois press. They know that the bourgeois press is lying about Soviet Russia. But still we must not delude ourselves. The bourgeoisie is most adept and even talented in using the 'freedom of the press', that principal weapon which still remains in its hands. One of our chief tasks abroad must be to organise daily and methodical means of information to keep the workers in touch with everything that is taking place in Russia.

The 'Bolshevik debates' in the Reichstag

After a couple of days the session of the German Reichstag was opened. The

17. One of the most famous forgeries concerned Zinoviev himself. A letter purportedly written by him on behalf of Communist International to the Communist Party of Great Britain was published in the reactionary *Daily Mail* four days before the general election of 1924. It called for more co-operation between the communists and the Labour Party and helped to defeat the government of Ramsay MacDonald. The letter later turned out to be a forgery.

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USPD right made an interpellation concerning the expulsion of myself and comrade Lozovsky. The faction of the USPD left and the communists was not able to do this owing to the fact that they could not gather the required number of signatures. The USPD right, seeing that they had gone too far in their persecution, decided to make up for it by making a pious protest, in the form of an interpellation in the Reichstag.

The question was asked and became the topic of a most interesting political discussion, which portrayed very accurately the features of each of the parties. The discussion of this question lasted a whole day. For two days all the papers were full of reports of parliamentary debates, nicknamed 'The Bolshevik debates'. The interpellation of the USPD right was made by Rosenfeld and Ledebour, the former from the juridical, the latter from the political standpoint. It is in this speech that Ledebour uttered his disgraceful words about the alleged central commission of the German communists for the "organisation of murder".

The speech by the Scheidemannists was also of interest. The parliamentary faction of the SPD appointed Eduard Bernstein as their spokesman on this matter. The old opportunist sinner took on himself this dirty work. Bernstein spoke against the USPD right, ie against their proposal to interpellate the government. He said: we want to see Germany a free republic, we are in favour of the right of asylum of foreigners, but ... this right of asylum should be given to the oppressed, not to the oppressors. And since the representative of the Communist International is an oppressor, he should be expelled from Germany. But his case should be distinguished from that of Martov, who is a representative of the persecuted.

All the white guards fully endorsed that point of view, as expressed by Bernstein, the social democrat. Both the representatives of the Black Hundred *Orgesch*, who were present in the German Reichstag, and the reactionary nationalist deputy, [Reinhold] Wulle, who shouted that I must be hanged from a lamp post, immediately adopted Bernstein's point of view. All the bankers, landowners, and reactionary generals, who now rule the German Reichstag, immediately fell in with the view advanced by Bernstein, namely that Martov is the victim, and I the sinful oppressor.

Martov was immediately taken under the august protection of the Black Hundred majority of the German Reichstag. My expulsion was sanctioned by the same majority.

Bernstein said: "We must have the right of asylum; to give refuge to a foreigner is a sacred duty. In my free, beloved German republic the right of asylum must certainly exist. Otherwise there is no democracy. But ... (and here begins the little 'but') this right of asylum must exist for those who are oppressed, not for the oppressors. This Zinoviev fellow who has arrived from Petrograd is an oppressor. But my venerable friend Martov is quite on a different footing - he is the oppressed, persecuted by Zinoviev and the Bolshevik party; we must give him hospitality."

The whole bourgeois parliament got up and cheered Bernstein, the father of all the opportunists. They all reiterated: "That is right, we fully agree with it! We

shall grant the right of asylum, he is a persecuted man.”

We can ask ourselves, what reward did these people deserve, since they succeeded so thoroughly in opening the eyes of the people? What else could we wish for? The white guards of Germany, all the bourgeois and the landowning parties, all the reactionary groups of Germany, get up, tenderly squeeze Martov's hand and say: “Our dear persecuted friend, come with us, we shall protect you; as to the representative of the Petrograd and the other workers of Russia - he is an oppressor.”

Truly a sight for the gods. We hardly need better propaganda. What could be clearer and more instructive than Martov walking arm in arm with Wulle and white guard officers and with those who protected the murderer of Karl Liebknecht? And the whole chorus singing in concert: “We are the oppressed!” The thing could never be made clearer than that. If the German bourgeoisie says, “Martov is our man, let us embrace him”, they surely know what they are about. And indeed, the Mensheviks are bound to fall on the necks of the bourgeoisie. A bird will always spy his mate at a distance.

A short time before my arrival in Berlin a conference of Russian white guards took place. They were ex-merchants, bankers, the rag-tag of the bourgeoisie, lawyers, who are now there because they are no longer wanted in Russia etc. It is said that there are some 200,000 of them in Berlin.

They all regard themselves as ‘oppressed’ since they can no longer stay in Petrograd as the exploiters of the workers. They called a conference and worked out some ‘theses’. It is very important that we acquaint ourselves with these ‘theses’, which we shall publish.

The Berlin white guards admit that the Soviet government cannot be overthrown by sheer force of arms; the more white armies are sent out, the worse becomes the state of affairs. No, they must agitate. All these bankers are now rapidly reforming their ranks and wish to become agitators. They say, we must agitate so as to emphasise the food question, the bread monopoly. We must appeal to the workers, and point out to them that the Bolsheviks have made slaves of them, that the workers are now forcibly chained to the factories; we must show the peasants that horses are taken away from them etc. If we had read the above without looking at the title of the appeal, without knowing who drew it up, we could easily have believed that these ‘theses’ had been worked out by the Mensheviks of Petrograd or Moscow - Martov, [Fyodor] Dan and co. In fact, they were proposed by [Alexander] Guchkov, former tsarist ministers, writers in the *Novoye Vremya*¹⁸ - in fact all of the white guard rabble which has gathered in Berlin. We do not know who prompted them - Martov, Guchkov, former or vice versa.

18. *Novoye Vremya* (*New Times*) was a daily newspaper published in St Petersburg from 1868. In 1905 it became an organ of the Black Hundreds. Lenin called it a model of a corrupted newspaper. After the February revolution *Novoye Vremya* fully supported the policy of the provisional government and the Black Hundreds. The paper was closed down by the Revolutionary Military Committee of the Petrograd Soviet on October 26 (November 8) 1917.

But let us return to the debates in the Reichstag. Comrade Wilhelm Könen spoke on this question on behalf of the USPD left. He welcomed the presence of the representative of the Communist International on German territory, and expressed the hope that the time will soon come when no one in Germany will dare to attack a representative of the Communist International. In response to the wild roar of the reactionary guns, Könen retorted: "Your hoarse barking will not reach the feet of the man you are barking at." At these words an incredible uproar ensued in that respectable parliament. The rights left the hall as a sign of protest. The social democrats remained, but began to yell at our comrades. [KPD chairman] Paul Levi was refused permission to address the house.

In his final address Ledebour, the mover of the interpellation, argued not against the reactionaries, but against us and the USPD left, earning the praises of the whole bourgeois gang.

We really need not regret what took place. The interpellation and the debate which followed gave all the German workers the most instructive matter to think about. The day after the interpellation was made even the *Vorwärts* of Scheidemann was bound to admit mournfully in its leading article that the persecution directed against comrade Lozovsky and myself could only raise the prestige of Bolshevism. [Walter] Simons, minister for foreign affairs, seemed to be against expulsion. Answering a question in the Reichstag, he tried to be polite and showed his correct manners by deploring the fact that owing to the expulsion of Lozovsky and I the relations existing between Germany and Soviet Russia would be somewhat prejudiced.

As for my sins, he accused me only of framing my speech in a way that brought it very close to what constitutes a crime against the German laws and is punishable on German territory. The chief of the press department, whom Simons had sent to Halle to report on my speech, gave his opinion that this speech was an open appeal to overthrow the existing government. Könen in reply to this read a long quotation from my speech on terror, which caused new outbursts of rage on the part of the bourgeoisie.

The persons primarily responsible for our deportation were the Prussian minister for home affairs [Carl] Severing, a social democrat, and the Berlin police president, Richter, also a social democrat. In strict law this was the concern only of the Prussian government, but in fact the question was discussed at a joint sitting of the all-German and Prussian cabinets. Bourgeois organisations handed in special petitions demanding my expulsion. But the initiative was taken, so they say, by Koch, Democratic Party minister for justice, and of course by the SPD members Severing and Richter.

In my farewell address to the German workers I expressed my hearty thanks to the social democrats Severing and Richter, for giving such splendid confirmation to my words at Halle, when I said that some yellow trade union leaders (both Carl Severing and Richter happen to be old trade union bureaucrats) are far more noxious, and meaner than even the white guards of the *Orgesch*.

I did not want to be indebted to them, and consider that by my expression of thanks we have fully repaid all that 'comrades' Severing and Richter have done for us. . .

The journey back to Russia

The first steamer leaving Stettin for Russia was to set sail on October 23. The German authorities were perforce obliged to reconcile themselves to our stay in Germany until that date. The 'comrades' of the police presidium, however, continued to manifest increased nervousness on that account.

On October 21 at 6am I was awakened in my room by a stout and very respectable looking gentleman. He turned out to be a new police commissar, hitherto unknown to me, and he was also of 'social democratic' extraction. This respectable 'comrade' told me briefly that orders had been received to send me by the first train - at 9am - to Stettin, contrary to the promise made by 'comrade' Severing.

This was too much. Our comrades were especially indignant at the fact that comrade Lozovsky and I were to travel in a slow train, stopping at every little station. Our comrades saw in this (I don't know whether they were justified or not) an attempt to create the chance for all sorts of nasty tricks being perpetrated against us, at some little station. Thanks to the intervention of Rosenfeld, this order was withdrawn, and I was graciously allowed to remain in Berlin until October 23 and then proceeded to Stettin (of course under the vigilant escort of detectives) by a fast train.

'Comrade' Severing complained at the same time that the measures adopted by the detectives were taken without consulting him and against his wishes. Early on October 23 my comrades and I left Berlin. The station was filled with detectives. The old inhabitants of Berlin who had seen sights assured me that the detectives had never before been mobilised in such numbers. It was the same at the Stettin station, soldiers everywhere, detectives walking among them and pointing out to them myself and Lozovsky, obviously desiring to make themselves as unpleasant to us as possible.

Thanks to comrades Hoffmann and Levi, who accompanied us to Stettin with a number of other comrades, everything went off comparatively smoothly. At the last minute the harbour police tried to make themselves still more objectionable. Thanks again to the intervention of Hoffmann everything passed off well on this occasion too. The steamer is leaving the shore. The workers and sailors who wanted to accompany us had to stay at home. We asked them to do so in order to not cause a collision with the *Orgesch*. Only a few groups of workers and sailors gathered in the harbour. At the last minute they could no longer restrain themselves. We heard them singing 'The Internationale'.

In Swinemunde (four hours from Stettin) a special police boat approached our steamer to ascertain whether we were really leaving Germany. This was the last we saw of the representatives of the German government. For six days I was kept under arrest in my room, guarded by my dear 'comrades', the detectives, the

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envoys of my 'comrades' Severing and Richter. The time, however was not lost. I was allowed to receive visitors, and made sufficient use of that privilege. Perhaps I never before received such a large number of comrades as I did in those days of involuntary leisure. I was visited during this period by representatives of the communist and socialist parties of, France, Italy, Austria, Czechoslovakia, Norway, Sweden, Denmark, Finland, Luxembourg, Switzerland, Bulgaria and Holland.

Some of the delegations consisted of four or five persons, and I had to have a detailed conversation with each delegation. It was a kind of international conference. Apart from that I was constantly visited by the German comrades of the KPD, the USPD and the KAPD. Several joint sittings of the two central committees of the KPD and our USPD took place in my room. The time was not lost, and for this I could express once more my hearty thanks to comrades Severing and Richter.

Life in Germany 1920

I was scarcely able to observe German life. I could obtain fleeting impressions only. First impressions of railway stations and streets, which seemed fairly lively, are incomparably livelier than in Petrograd or any other part of Soviet Russia. When looking closer, however, to see who forms this animated crowd, we clearly perceive one and the same thing everywhere; it is only a small class of profiteers, rich men, their mistresses, retainers and flunkies; children are hardly noticeable in the streets, especially the workers' children. The workers have sallow complexions and look sick. Wild luxury reigns in the streets, excellent shops, packed with goods but where no working man can afford to buy anything. Free trade and profiteering also flourishes in the working men's districts, but there are no respectable shops there, and a whole street possesses only one wretched miserable shop. This is easily explained - in workers' districts there is no one who can afford to buy things.

At the congress, I asked many workers how a working man lives in Germany at the present time: worse or better than before the war? The general answer was undoubtedly worse than before the war. The average earnings of a working man are now 250 marks a week, there are some who earn only 220-230 marks a week. Prices are enormous. There can be no question of buying meat.¹⁹ They do not get sufficient bread. The state distribution of necessities is almost reduced to nought owing to the influence of profiteers. In Germany every bourgeois now has the unlimited right to 'speculate', to sweat the workers - and the workers have an equally unlimited right - to starve.

Comrades told me that the workers cannot obtain clothing and that their linen is worn out, that they cannot obtain clothing for their children; the housing conditions, especially in big cities, are terrible. Unemployment increases daily, extending now to hundreds of thousands of people. Those workers who have not lost their jobs altogether mostly work only three days a week, and consequently

19. Between 1919 and 1920 prices in Germany rose by as much as 400%.

obtain half the salary mentioned above.

The movement of the unemployed is increasing daily. So far the government has not ventured to adopt repressive measures, but of late it is obviously preparing for them. On Sunday when we were in Berlin at the Neue Welt, there was a small but gruesome demonstration of blind people - men and women numbering several hundreds. Imagine two hundred soldiers of the *Reichswehr*²⁰ and police armed to the teeth surrounding this crowd and arresting and beating those taking part in the demonstration! An old sick woman who was carrying a little flag with the inscription: 'We demand attention for the blind' who was arrested on the spot and the flag was roughly wrested out of her hand.

The first thing that strikes one in modern Germany is the absence of any uniform system. You cannot state definitely which political system is now prevalent in Germany. What is Germany at the present time? Is it a republic? If so, what republic - a bourgeois, a proletarian, or a republic dominated by generals? Or do we witness here some peculiar relics of the old monarchy? Even now I have seen in public institutions the portrait of Wilhelm II hung in the most prominent place. And this does not seem to shock anybody. 'Respectable' people hold that Wilhelm suffered unjustly; the bourgeoisie has preserved all its former respect for this monarch, and his portrait continues to adorn public institutions.

At the same time this state of affairs differs very largely in various parts of Germany. Thus in Bavaria and in Munich, its capital, the most rabid reaction now reigns, whereas in Prussia and its capital, Berlin, there is comparatively more liberty. In Prussia, in Berlin, the communists may print at least one paper - *Rote Fahne*. Nothing of the kind could appear in Bavaria. Every communist or USPD leftist is arrested there, and the white guard gangs are being openly and unrestrictedly organised.²¹

Only a couple of weeks ago, when there was trouble brewing in Berlin, many people were of the opinion that the white guards would move from Munich to Berlin in order to repeat the Kapp putsch there. Bavaria and Munich are now the strongholds of white guard reaction. And if in the near future there will be a new march on Berlin, similar to that which took place last spring during Kapp's *coup d'état*, there is no doubt that it will proceed from Bavaria, which at the present time is somewhat like the promised land for all the German white guards.

But there are even more glaring instances of this absence of uniformity; not only various parts of Germany but even individual towns are totally unlike each other with regard to political conditions. The present bourgeois Menshevik government is to a certain extent only a blind, whereas power in each individual town is wielded by those who have succeeded in getting hold of it.

There are isolated spots in Germany where even up to the present day the actual power is in the hands of the workers. There are separate districts which have set up their small republics, enjoying more or less freedom. But along with

20. The *Reichswehr* was the name of the German army between 1919 and 1935.

21. It is interesting to note that Adolf Hitler and Erich Ludendorff's failed 'Beer Hall Putsch' of November 1923 also took place in Bavaria.

them we also observe many towns, which are wholly in the hands of the white guards who refuse to obey their own bourgeois government in Berlin, and which pursue their own policy. Separate towns have their own local currencies. Local Berlin currency is not accepted in Hamburg, and vice versa.

All this indicates that we cannot regard the situation in Germany as being stable in any way. The German Mensheviks of the party of Noske and Scheidemann say this openly, and the German Mensheviks of the party of the USPD right say the same in a veiled form: they are of the opinion that the revolution is over and a certain stable equilibrium is about to set in. In fact, there is nothing of the kind. There is no equilibrium. What on earth do they mean by equilibrium?

Germany is now passing through an interregnum, and there are only two ways out of it; either the complete victory of the landowners, and consequently the restoration of the monarchy (for the landowners are only dreaming of Wilhelm the emperor) or the second alternative, which is this: the semi-revolution of 1918, spoiled and distorted by the Mensheviks, who have sold themselves to the bourgeoisie, will be made by the workers the turning point for a real victorious proletarian revolution. What is now taking place is the molecular grouping of forces beneath the surface - the ripening of a crisis. At a given moment this crisis is bound to come from either of these two directions.

Germany's present economic position is incredibly tough. Germany is living through utter financial bankruptcy. The value of the rouble is falling in Russia - it is a great burden for us, and we do not deny it. But we have a way out of it. We say: we are approaching a time when we shall do away with all money. We are paying wages in kind, we are introducing free tramways, we have free schools, a free dinner, perhaps for the time being unsatisfactory free housing, light, etc. We are introducing all this very slowly, in very troublesome circumstances, for the Soviet republic is experiencing hard times. We are still forced to fight. But there is a way out, there is hope, and there are plans to make our hopes come true.

But in a bourgeois country like Germany, where the depreciation of money is proceeding rapidly, where paper money inundates the country, where the state debt amounts to hundreds of billions and grows every week - there is no hope. As long as there is private property and paper currency, modern Germany cannot find a way out of this. It is bound to become more and more involved in debts, it is bound to face a still greater financial bankruptcy, in fact the most utter ruin, for a bourgeois order without some stability in the money market is utter nonsense.

The foundation of bourgeois welfare in Germany is cracking, and we see instances of it at every step. The victorious Allies continue to rob Germany every day. And the most hopeless thing about the state of Germany is that it is not aware as yet how much precisely it owes to the Allies. The French and English bourgeois are still unwilling to state definitely how far they want to skin

Germany. In this sense the peace of Versailles²² is far worse than that of Brest.²³ The Brest treaty stated definitely the amount of the contribution we had to pay. But the French and English bourgeoisie do not wish as yet to tell the Germans how much they must pay. The victors are afraid to ask too little, and prefer to snatch *ad hoc* as much as they can squeeze out of Germany.

They prefer to take in kind. They have seized the best of German transport, nearly all the motor lorries, they have taken all the ships, all the best locomotives, hundreds of thousands of cattle. Recently, while we were in Germany, a new demand of the Entente came in for 120,000 of the best cows in Germany. This is sheer robbery. After our departure, we read a telegram demanding all the diesel engines in Germany. In a word - everything that is good, everything that they can lay their hands on is seized by the French in the most shameless fashion.

The French capitalists have dispatched to Germany a regular gang of officials, who act as supervisors. Germany naturally tries to conceal everything from the Allies: arms, cows, motors, ships. And, therefore, the victors have sent a host of their own officials to unearth the hidden treasures. Now in Berlin and in all the German towns there are thousands of Allied officers, spies and all kinds of individuals sent from France and England. They bribe many Germans in order to obtain secrets from them to get to know, where various things are stored and then lay their hands on them. They insult the German people and even the German capitalists in a most shameless manner. Any group of French officers sent to Germany to do this can enter any ministry in Berlin and say: "Clear out! This apartment is wanted by French officers".

Such is the position of bourgeois Germany. It goes without saying that this too must tend to revolutionise Germany. This state of affairs taxes the ingenuity of German capitalists. Each of them says: I shall give the French capitalists three-quarters of what I have robbed in the course of the many years of my bossing, but I will leave to myself the rest and continue to exploit the German workers. The German capitalists are thus doing their best to be friendly with the Allies, and to come to terms with them.

As to the working men, they hate the Allies and the German bourgeoisie alike: the latter for reducing the country to such a state and for selling itself to the Allies. How can we speak of the prosperity of a country which is liable to be robbed at any moment of all its necessities - cattle, locomotives, even mechanical parts? (They take away everything from the factories, leaving them dismantled.)

Apart from this, the most terrible unemployment now reigns in Germany.

22. The treaty which put an end to World War I. It was signed in June 1919 between Britain, France, Italy, Japan on the one side, and defeated Germany on the other. The treaty of Versailles legalised the re-division of the world in favour of the victor countries and was opposed by the Soviet government in Russia. Germany had to pay huge reparations and indemnities in the form of a great number of ships, tens of millions of tons of coal, half of the country's stock of dyes and other chemicals, and so on.

23. Treaty of Brest-Litovsk, signed on March 3 1918, ended war between Russia and Germany. The terms were harsh for Russia, but were annulled when Germany was defeated by the Allies in November.

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The unemployed number over 500,000 and about 100,000 of them are in Berlin alone. Scarcely any support is offered by the state. The latter is neither able nor desirous of giving that support.

There is also a lack of coal and raw material. Before it is dug, every lump of coal has been marked out for France. A French officer stands by and ensures that the coal is loaded and sent to France, where there is equally a shortage of coal. Thus, unemployment is increasing daily. The unemployed organise demonstrations and demand work - but get none. The bourgeoisie displays increased nervousness and arrest those who take part in demonstrations. The bourgeoisie trembles with fear when a group of such persons - however small - appears in the streets. The bourgeoisie knows that the atmosphere is charged with electricity, so much so that a small group can grow into a large street demonstration and cause serious conflict.

Even the most skilled workers are now in a worse condition than they were during the war. Housing conditions are desperately bad, houses are out of repair, there is extreme overcrowding, rent goes up all the time, as there is no restraint on the landlords. The price of necessities is always rising. The working men's children are in extremely bad conditions. All our delegates observed that there were hardly any children to be seen in the streets, as they are herded in cellars and tenements. They are unable to show themselves because their clothes and boots are worn out and have come to an impossible state. The workers suffer great hardship economically, and only in those works, which are of special use to the Allies, where articles necessary to France are produced, do the manufacturers - with the aid of the French capitalists - do something to better the conditions of the workers. Such is the general state of affairs.

The mad luxury in the towns which is indulged in by a handful of people, the negligible minority of profiteers, emphasises still more the glaring inequality and poverty of the rest of the population, who form by far the greater part of it.

I remember we arrived in Berlin late at night. The famous *Friedrichstrasse* and the streets which run into it are very animated and full of people. But who are these people? None but profiteers, sons of nobles, Allied officers and other people who are out for the high life. This is an old familiar sight of street life in rich European cities. There are women cynically selling themselves in the streets, immaculate dandies with dull faces buying these women with incredible cynicism in the sight of all. They do it as simply as if they were buying a cane or a bottle of champagne. The sight is revolting. We feel ashamed for the men. Is everything here as before? How long will this capitalist 'paradise' last?

We look out of the window upon the streets. The master of the situation is the well-read, mediocre, shallow-minded bourgeois. Rich stores are full of delicacies. Only a few weeks ago meat and various meat products began to appear on the market (up to now meat was rationed). The old familiar sight. A crowd of poor youngsters stand at these windows and strain their hungry eyes at everything that is exhibited there. Poor people stop there merely to look on with wistful eyes. There races up a thoroughbred; the carriage is occupied by a bourgeois

who is leading the fast life. Here in the streets we notice the stolid faces of fat merchants wearing bowler hats. They walk along and talk to each other with an air of dullness and apathy. One of them stops and draws out a huge gold watch the size of a cobble stone. Read through a dozen bourgeois papers, which spread their lies throughout Germany and poison the atmosphere with their putrid ideas. Listen to the conversations of merchants and profiteers in railway carriages. They talk only of 'profits' and 'business'.

Look at the bourgeois women. How stupid it all is, how vulgar, insipid, and humiliating to human dignity! When will it all end? When, oh when, will the giant, the German proletariat rouse up and shake off the bourgeois gang and their hirelings from the top of the social ladder? Thrice cursed be the so-called civilised capitalist world, a world that stifles the human soul, and turns millions of men into slaves!

The German workers' movement

Let us come back, however, to the workers' movement in Germany. We must dwell somewhat more circumstantially on the Communist Workers' Party of Germany (KAPD). We knew before that in this party, at whose head there are many unstable people and nationalists, there are still many valuable workers. We were well aware that our comrades of the Spartacus League, in the heat of battle against the 'left' leaders of the KAPD, had to exaggerate things and show themselves uncompromising. But from the standpoint of the Communist International we thought it our duty to do all in our power to win to our side all the best workers from the ranks of the KAPD. Our acquaintance with the representatives and leaders of the KAPD itself has confirmed our opinion. We reckoned upon appearing in Berlin at the general meeting of the Berlin organisation of the KAPD. But unfortunately this became impossible owing to the interference of the police.

The Communist International has a definite policy with regard to this party, and we are going to carry it out systematically and persistently. This summer the ECCI demanded from the KAPD the expulsion of nationalists like [Heinrich] Laufenberg and [Fritz] Wolfheim. We are pleased to state that this demand has now been met. This showed us that the best proletarian elements of that party desired to meet the wishes of the Communist International, and to remove all obstacles to a friendly understanding between us.

On his return to Germany, Otto Rühle, who fled from the congress of the Communist International, started counterrevolutionary agitation against Soviet Russia after the fashion of Dittmann. He is a typical intellectual apostate, completely muddle-headed. At the same time he seems to be desperately fond of self-advertisement. The day before my arrival in Germany, Rühle announced by a special poster in Halle his challenge to debate me publicly. The public flocked in large numbers to his meeting. But I was of course absent, as I had not arrived in Halle at that time. Even if I had, I do not think it was worth my while to discuss matters with that gentleman.

It is a satisfaction to note that the workers who form the bulk of the KAPD decided at once to exclude Rühle as well, as soon as they saw that he had begun counterrevolutionary agitation against Soviet Russia. Among the leaders of the KAPD there are some pure syndicalists. There are also people embittered by the internal strife through which they have passed, people who are therefore unable to take an impartial view of things. Many of these leaders will probably be lost to the proletarian revolution. But the bulk of the workers who form the KAPD will all the same become our comrades.

At the Halle congress Crispien 'cleverly' described the KAPD as the bastard child of the union between the German Spartacists and the Russian communists. All the petty bourgeois elements present at the Halle congress were highly tickled at this 'apt' phrase. This, however, will in no way affect us Russian communists.

We shall earnestly and persistently strive to bring the better part of the workers who are members of the KAPD within the folds of the KPD, which is now being organised and unified. Members of the KAPD were, owing to our efforts, invited to the forthcoming general congress. Even if some of the members do not attend that united congress, we shall nonetheless insistently and patiently continue to invite them to join our ranks, and we feel sure that in the end the majority of the workers, who are members of the KAPD, will be in the ranks of the unified party.

Amidst the general state of affairs, such as we have described above, the workers grow more revolutionary every day. The strong point of the German revolution consists in the fact that Germany, as is commonly known, is an industrial country; the urban population in Germany greatly exceeds the rural population. In Germany the bulk of the population lives in towns, where the workers can better organise themselves. In Berlin, Hamburg, Leipzig, and especially in the coal districts, the workers form a majority. They have sheer physical preponderance on their side, and everything depends on them. Under such circumstances the working class of Germany can hope to obtain the best from the future.

Given that it has a big majority in the towns, what is it then that the German working class lacks in order to get the upper hand over a bourgeoisie that is absolutely ruined and is giving way before our very eyes?

We cannot say that the German workers lack organisation. They have organisation. The German trade unions are the biggest, numbering some ten millions of members. There is no German worker who is not a member of a trade union. What is lacking is a clear revolutionary point of view amongst the working class. Working class organisation does not yet know what it wants. It does not yet possess leaders who wish to vanquish the bourgeoisie. Its current leaders only wish to flatter that bourgeoisie, to hobnob with it, to compromise with it. The workers possess the physical force.

They form the overwhelming majority of the active population. The unions and parties have many members, but neither the unions nor the parties exhibit any definite aim or consciousness of purpose. Why is it so?

Needless to say there are serious reasons for it. The German capitalists for

decades previous to the war, during their peaceful progress, bred a whole class - the labour aristocracy, the so-called labour 'leaders' - on crumbs from their lordly table. They reared in this manner several tens of thousands, probably 100,000 by now, of exploiters who are workers by origin, but who have sold themselves body and soul to the bourgeoisie. This is the chief mainstay of the bourgeoisie in Germany. Many years ago Marx used to point out (he observed it in England) the part played by the labour aristocracy, the superior caste of the workers, the caste of foremen, managers, trade union officials, editors, MPs, factory bureaucrats, who for a small bribe were ever ready to sell the interests of the working class. If the capitalists allowed such 'leaders' to shake hands with them and offered two fingers only, if the manager of a factory smiled to them and gave them a seat of honour, they would be prepared to sell the whole working class, they would employ every subterfuge in order to help the bourgeoisie perpetuate its oppression over the working class. This stratum of the labour aristocracy and bureaucracy is the soil upon which Menshevism was reared in Russia, and social democracy and the USPD right in Germany. This sickly flower sprung up on putrid marshy soil. These labour aristocrats, reared by the bourgeoisie, are now the mainstay of capitalism.

A number of countries are now on the very threshold of revolution, but the social democrats prevent them from advancing. The workers cannot get over the last difficulty, which has grown from within. They are not yet capable of crossing the Menshevik barrier. The German working class, as was particularly noticeable at Halle, has now reached the last obstacle, the Menshevik barrier.

When German Menshevism is destroyed root and branch - and we seem to be pretty near that time - then the road will be clear, then the mighty organisation which the German working class possesses will not be a chain on the feet of the workers, but a lever with which the German working class will overturn bourgeois Germany and twist the neck of the German bourgeoisie.

The USPD is the chief workers' party in Germany - it is the backbone of proletarian Germany. But up to now this party united both proletarian and Menshevik elements. It is because the Menshevik elements were tolerated in that party and were even guiding it that the party was paralysed all the time. It could not move a single step forward. At the crucial moment, when the working class was eager for the fight, the Menshevik wing of the USPD and its right leaders put a drag on the wheel and endeavoured to restrain the whole labour movement. We in Russia are sometimes unable to understand how a proletarian party could tolerate leaders such as Messrs Crispin, Dittmann, and Hilferding, who remind us so vividly of that rabble which at one time 'ruled' in Petrograd - [Irakly] Tsereteli, Dan, [Victor] Chernov, Tchkheidze, etc. No wonder! We suffered the same for many years, and it is not long since we have freed ourselves. We too were fettered to the Mensheviks, like convicts to their trucks, because we belonged to the same party. Did not the Mensheviks in 1905 betray us on every occasion? Did they not betray us in 1905 during the first Moscow rising, and did they then not sermonise: "You should not have taken up arms"? What did

it mean at the time? It meant to submit to the tsar's knout! Did not we hear the Mensheviks say in 1907-1908: "We must not do anything illegal, let us dissolve the party, let us abolish our past, compromise with the Kadets and become 'respectable' people"? Were we not witnesses at the beginning of the war to the fact that Mensheviks appealed to the people to support the war and the tsar? And did not the Mensheviks and Kerensky sell themselves outright to the Allies at the beginning of 1917? All this happened in Russia, and quite recently too.

We passed through that painful schooling the more rapidly because we immediately entered the revolutionary epoch. But even we paid dearly for these lessons. The working classes of other countries have to go through that period now, and their difficulties are greater, because their bourgeoisie is more clever, more cunning, and more skilful than ours, and their Mensheviks display their artfulness in subtly deceiving the workers. This period in Germany has not been outlived yet. That is the crux of the situation.

At the present time, however, the condition of the workers has become so tough, the treachery of the German Mensheviks so evident, that even there the USPD - hitherto united - has come to a split. And of course this fact will be of enormous importance not only to Germany, but to the whole International, and the international revolution, and first and foremost to the workers of Italy, France, and England. We are therefore justified in saying a new page in the history of the struggle of the working class of Germany and of the whole of Europe was turned at Halle.

The German Mensheviks believe neither in god nor the devil. They imagine they are some kind of nurses and governesses appointed to the working class. But in fact they only hinder the progress of the working class. They imagine that the workers are simpletons, and unless the wise Menshevik aunt keeps them out of mischief, they will get themselves into an awful state.

One should have seen those venerable intellectual 'leaders' at Halle. They were at a loss for words, these enlightened, experienced leaders, as they thought themselves when they were suddenly turned out by the workers! Our Mensheviks - Martov, Dan, Tsereteli, Tchkheidze - were equally unable to understand such a turn of affairs, and left us with the conviction that we had committed the greatest historical injustice, that we had destroyed the sacred intellectual vessel, that we are barbarians who fail to understand the intellectual beauty of those leaders, their great experience, the fact of their being the pearl of the party, the salt of the earth etc. The same hatred was manifested in Halle towards the workers, because the latter failed to appreciate the Hilferding 'pearl', because they did not appreciate the 'learned' leaders, because they did not value those people, who for so many years have held back the German working class. A split was necessary and inevitable. And now that it has become a fact, we need only add: better late than never.

This is the most important question bearing on the workers' revolution in the whole of Europe. We have seen in Russia both money-grabbers and land-grabbers. The former were bourgeois, the latter rich peasants. But we have

hardly ever met any of them who were working men by origin. There was a time in Russia when the whole working class followed the Mensheviks; at the beginning of the revolution the whole working class made this big blunder. But as soon as its eyes were opened, the whole class at once and unreservedly turned their backs on the Mensheviks - the moment the workers saw that they were traitors. In Germany the working class as a whole is also beginning to abandon Menshevism. But Germany possessed and still possesses a large section of what we may call the money-grabbing workers. This is the labour aristocracy, which is numerically large in Germany.

When I charged the right leaders at the congress with being yellow leaders of trade unions, worse than the reactionary *Orgesch*, they howled like whipped dogs, and continued to yell for three solid minutes, trying to shout me down. I had to say this however. This had to be said - for it is the absolute truth. There is not an inch of exaggeration. In Germany one sees with one's own eyes that the chief enemy of the cause is the worker who has betrayed his class, the labour aristocracy, the Mensheviks who have set up the chief bulwark in defence of the bourgeoisie. These reactionary labour leaders are the principal enemies of the proletarian revolution. These tens of thousands of officials, who are bossing the trade unions, are born and bred of the working class. The workers sacrificed for them their earnings, their blood and their sweat. Now they sit on the neck of the working class and betray it. They are well acquainted with the workers' circles, they themselves once took part in them, they know our weak as well as our strong points, and they know what ails us, for they are practical men, not idle theoreticians. It is precisely for that reason that they are of special value to the bourgeoisie. Their numbers are not great, but their significance is enormous. People trust them by habit; they know the trade union routine, they are well-read, clever and evasive. That is why they are so dangerous. They are the chief and the last enemy of the workers' revolution in Germany. In Germany we can see more clearly than elsewhere that it is precisely this last enemy of ours which is our greatest - our arch enemy. This enemy is to a certain extent part and parcel of ourselves. Without cutting ourselves off, we cannot vanquish the bourgeoisie.

A large Communist Party is now being organised in Germany. The USPD left has joined the communists. This is a gigantic force. This force must crush the reactionary leaders of the labour aristocracy. The events at Halle, which we had the joy to witness, and in which we took an active part, is not only the purging of the party - it is an event of the greatest historical importance. The working class has come to understand that it must amputate its gangrenous limb in order to become healthier and stronger. I said to the German bourgeoisie when they were about to expel me: "When you let me in many of you bourgeois thought that my presence would hasten the split of the USPD, and the bourgeoisie is stupid enough to imagine that any split is likely to be to its advantage. I explained to the German bourgeoisie, as plainly as possible, that not every split will work to their advantage; there are splits which are advantageous to us. In order to illustrate my idea I gave them an instance of childish simplicity, making use of the four rules

of arithmetic.

Imagine a regiment consisting of a thousand warriors; 800 of them are staunch men and the remaining 200 are self-seekers and shirkers. If you throw out the 200 self-seekers, you may at first imagine that the 'split' would be disadvantageous, as there are now apparently fewer men. But in fact 800 real fighters will constitute a much stronger force than 1,000 men of whom 200 were cowards, who spread panic at the decisive moment. The same may be said of the German party. If we throw out the reformists, cowards, good-for-nothings, self-seekers, in a word the Mensheviks, shall we become weaker on that account? No, we shall grow stronger. At a moment of danger and decision there will be no one in our midst who will spread panic and demoralise us, no one will go over to the enemy, no one will betray us at every step. Is this not a gain?

What can we expect in Germany now? We repeat - when we look closer at the present state of the German workers' movement, when we see such gatherings as the Halle congress, when we become familiar with the German trade union periodicals - we are more and more convinced that the chief and maybe the only serious support of the German bourgeoisie at the present time is the labour bureaucracy and the labour aristocracy, which is ruling the German trade unions. There are about 100,000 officials in the free German trade unions. Herein lies the chief support, the chief white guard of the bourgeoisie. They are the white army of German capitalism, the watchdogs of capital.

Whenever the bourgeoisie wants some dirty, vile, murderous work to be done, it makes use of no others than these pseudo-labour 'leaders.' These reactionaries of labour extraction give the bourgeoisie everything that is most precious to the working man - his energies, his physical strength, all his knowledge of life - in a word, the most valuable gifts the worker possesses - these counterrevolutionary ex-workers enrol to serve the bourgeoisie everything. When we look closer at it, when we observe how this labour bureaucracy is strangling the working class, when we see how everything is made to serve the ends of capital - the very blood rushes to our head in an outburst of irrepressible indignation. This is the chief weight on the feet of the working class! This is the last obstacle which we must remove in order to come to close quarters with the small handful of capitalists, and simply crush them by the weight of our numbers. The working class has no greater enemy than the handful of ex-working men who have sold themselves outright to the bourgeoisie, and are led in political matters by Scheidemann, Noske, Hilferding, Renaudel and co, and the trade unions by Legien and Dissmann, Mot, Gompers, and the rest of the counterrevolutionary 'worker' rabble.

What must be, will be! Let the reptiles of opportunism hiss at us all over the world, let the big and small Dissmanns of all countries raise frenzied expostulation - this beastly thing must be crushed! Only when the working class shall have crushed under its heavy boot the head of this treacherous reptile will their hands be freed to take the field in a final battle against the capitalists, whom the 'worker' lieutenants, hired by them, have served so loyally up till now.

The USPD left, together with the German Communist Party and the best element of the KAPD, will now form a great proletarian communist party. The bourgeoisie and its hirelings will, of course, not be passive spectators. The counterrevolutionary camp, from the *Orgesch* organisation to the central committee of the USPD right, is perfectly aware of the enormous danger which the Communist Party presents to the bourgeois order, considering that 500-600,000 men will immediately join it. Like a huge magnet, the new Communist Party will attract the best elements of all the workers' organisations. Those bourgeois fools who welcomed the split in the USPD will soon show their fangs when they see that the split was only one side of the coin, while the other was the unification of all the best elements in the workers' movement into one powerful Communist Party. There is an end to flabbiness. The KAPD has already decided to amalgamate, and we are sure that the overwhelming majority of the best workers who are members of the KAPD will not remain passive, and that they will be the United Communist Party (VKPD) which is now being organised.

The bourgeois clique and their flunkey brethren, the USPD right and the Scheidemannists will undoubtedly heap persecutions on the new party, and they will try to do it as soon as possible in order to prevent the new party from properly organising itself. We have scarcely any doubts that when it comes to serious collisions and the bourgeoisie decides that it is time for a new massacre of the German working class, the bourgeoisie will again entrust this delicate task to the gentlemen of the SPD. The bourgeoisie will one way or another attempt to set up a government in which the chief responsibility will rest on the SPD. Most likely the German bourgeoisie will invite the USPD right to enter that government. The military operations will be taken over by Ludendorff and the *Orgesch*, and the political responsibility for the slaughter of working men will be thrust once more onto the Scheidemannists and the USPD right. That is intelligible enough. What could be better for the bourgeoisie than to carry out its infernal aims through the medium of men like Noske and Dissmann? The German working class must fully realise the danger and face it without flinching; they must close their ranks and prepare their arms.

Recently, the social traitors have been turned out of the ministries in a number of countries. Branting is no longer president of the Council of Ministers of Sweden; [Karl] Renner and [Otto] Bauer are no longer ministers in Austria; [Emile] Vandervelde, apparently, will have to remain for some time without his portfolio in Belgium (a social democratic paper has stated in all seriousness that Vandervelde, his King's ex-minister, is retiring in order to devote his time to leading the International).

In Czechoslovakia all the social traitors have been turned out of the Czechoslovak cabinet. In a word, there is a sort of epidemic of this kind. The bourgeoisie casts aside its 'socialist' flunkies as soon as they become superfluous. But this will not prevent the same bourgeoisie from inviting the social traitors into government once more as soon as it has some new 'delicate' errand for them. I repeat, the German bourgeoisie will undoubtedly make this attempt as soon as

the struggle takes a decisive turn.

The mad fury, which was vented by the USPD right at Halle, evoked from us the declaration that in fact the leaders of the USPD right have only one prospect before them - reunion with the Scheidemannists. However much the 'socialist' reactionaries, who have gathered under the wing of Hilferding and Crispian, may wail in loud remonstrance, there is no other alternative left to them. The best proletarian elements will join the Communist Party, and the USPD right will join the so-called 'left' Scheidemannists. Then the situation will be perfectly clear. There is no place for a party of mediocrities at a time of workers' revolution. The events at Halle are of vast importance for the working class of the whole world. This is not a mere struggle of factions within the party. The struggle of the working class for its liberation is taking place in the German party due to the split at Halle. The German working class has at last reached the high road. We feel convinced that the German working class will now free itself from its last intellectual fetters which prevented it from moving forward. The working class is pulling itself together, reforming its ranks, and waking ready for the final battle. The first part of the German working class has pointed out the way to the workers of other countries. The latter will give their hearty thanks to the German worker.

The sally of the Communist International in the West has been crowned with success. The contest between the representatives of communism and the representatives of reformism and semi-reformism has ended in our favour. The Last Mohicans²⁴ of opportunism, who pretended to follow Marx, have been utterly crushed in this battle of ideas. The appearance of the Communist International on the field was, in the words of other comrades, like a bombshell exploding under the very nose of the European bourgeoisie.

The barking of the bourgeois lap-dogs against the Communist International continues in the whole of the European bourgeois reactionary and white guard social democratic press. Let them bark! The Communist International will go on its way and rally the working class of the whole world to its colours.

24. The allusion seems to be to James Fenimore Cooper's novel *Last of the Mohicans*, though there may also be an overtone of "Mohican" as an expression sometimes used for street thieves in Paris.



Grigory Zinoviev: "the longest speech I have ever made"

IV

World revolution and the Third International

Grigory Zinoviev

(The four-hour speech)

Speech of the chairman of the Executive Committee of the Communist International at the congress of the USPD in Halle on October 14 1920 - translated by Ben Lewis

The left greets comrade Zinoviev with stormy cheers for the world revolution.

Party comrades! It is not without a feeling of deep inner stirring and emotion that today I step onto this stage - the stage of the party congress of the class-conscious German proletariat, of that proletariat from which we have learnt so much and from which we will learn even more. Indeed, we have not come here merely to provide you with news of the experiences of our proletarian revolution, but also to learn something from the German proletariat and its great struggles. We will not forget that the German proletariat has gained much experience in the two years of revolution it has been through; that there is not a single town in this country where proletarian blood has not been shed for the proletarian revolution. We will not forget that proletarian fighters like August Bebel, Wilhelm Liebknecht and others have struggled in the ranks of the German proletariat. We will not forget that the German working class includes real heroes of the world revolution: Karl Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg.

It was said here that we are coming with a 'diktat'! Do you really believe that we are so snobbish that we do not want to learn from other proletarians? Who-

ever thinks that is greatly mistaken. We are not that stupid. Various things have been said about the leaders of the Russian Soviet Republic, about the spokespersons of the Communist International, yet nobody has said that we are mere fools. You have to believe us that we closely follow the movements of the working classes of the different countries, that we are prepared to learn from every movement, and that we are not behaving as if we alone are wise and can do everything, whereas the others can do nothing.

I will make an effort to report to you the experience we have gained. I will also make an effort to convey to you what the other parties, who are already part of the Third International, have said to us. They have accorded us the greatest honour by choosing our country to be the headquarters of the ECCI, which in turn has given us the mandate to speak here today.

We are conscious of our responsibility when we speak at such a party congress in the name of the Communist International. And I would like to ask you to spare me from interruptions, as unfortunately I still only have a poor command of the beautiful German language.

Comrades! Today's party congress vividly reminds me, and probably many Russian party comrades, of those party congresses which we - the Bolsheviks - had with the Mensheviks before our organisational split. There are many similar arguments, and a similar atmosphere. Yes comrades, this is further proof of the fact that this fight is not a personal matter - as some comrades think of it - but that it is precisely a fight which the working class must go through, there is no other way. These are international phenomena which we see in different countries.

Just like Bolshevism, Menshevism is an international phenomenon. Around ten years ago, at one of the German party congresses of the old social democracy when it was still united, Fritz Ebert laughed at our Russian grouplets and said: "There are so many grouplets in Russia!" But you see, these were no grouplets. They were great tendencies, which today the working class in different countries must struggle through. You clearly have to choose between Bolshevism and Menshevism. Many rightwing comrades have attempted to avoid this fight, but - as the Russian saying has it - you cannot celebrate your birthday twice a year. Either you are for the Mensheviks or you are for the Bolsheviks. We have to say that loud and clear. Comrades, this party congress of the class-conscious German workers must make a clear decision. We must ask comrades to put aside all that is petty, coincidental and momentary and attempt to come closer to these decisive problems.

Comrades, we are of the opinion - and your discussion has once more convinced me of it - that there are two tendencies present amongst your party, which cannot be united. Not only two - for a while there were even three. We stated this already at the start of the war, after the Second International collapsed so ignominiously. We stated that the whole modern workers' movement will split into three tendencies: the right, the centre and the left, or the communists.

Because of historical developments, you in Germany initially attempted to

unite these three tendencies under one roof in the USPD. But now that the time has come in Germany too, that the decision has to be made, this is no longer possible. This is what both sides feel. You must decide between two tendencies which can be characterised by the short names: reformism or communism. ["Very true!"]

There was talk here of "communists in disguise". What is that supposed to mean? Until now I thought we were all communists, Karl Marx was the founder of communism, was he not? Why then is there a search going on for "communists in disguise"? We are not in disguise, we are openly communists. We are proud of it. If you, the right wing, do not feel like communists, then what business do you have in the Communist International? ["Very good!"] So, comrades, I believe the question is not about communists in disguise, but it should be about those who are openly communist and who stick to the legacy of Marx and Engels.

Menshevism or reformism is an international phenomenon. You see it in Russia, Germany, France, Italy, in America - everywhere. Comrades, it was said here: Well, would it not be better to join together in one front against the bourgeoisie? Certainly, that would be very good and desirable. Yet unfortunately that is still impossible. The situation is the following: the working class is already strong enough that - if we are tightly united and openly fight for communism - we can bring the bourgeoisie to its knees. [Lively applause] If the workers are still slaves, then this is because we still have not stripped off the legacy of rotten ideology within our own ranks. [Stormy applause] When the working class becomes intellectually emancipated, then there is no force in the world which would dare to fight against it.

Look at the rest of the world. Who is saving the bourgeoisie? The so-called social democrats! Who is at the head of the reactionary republic in France? Is it not a certain former socialist by the name of [Alexandre] Millerand? Who is at the head of the Swedish monarchy? Is it not a Menshevik by the name of [Karl] Branting? When the situation got too difficult for the Swedish king, who did he look to, full of hope? Precisely to the social democratic gentlemen. When things went wrong, he said: 'Mr Branting, please come!' It is even said that the King promised that, if everything went well, he himself would join the Social Democratic Party! [Amusement]

And you yourselves have seen how it was in Germany. We know very well who saved the bourgeoisie in Germany. Who saved the bourgeoisie during the Kapp putsch, when all working class parties failed? Was it not the trade union leaders led by Legien? And in Italy, where currently the working class is carrying out a partial revolution, appropriating the factories, just as the Russian workers did a few months before the November revolution, who is saving the bourgeoisie there? Is it not the reformists [Filipo] Turati, [Giuseppe] Modigliani and [Ludovico] D'Aragona?

If the bourgeoisie has received another reprieve, then this is because there are still reformists amongst us, who are trusted by a part of the working class. The same thing is the case in England, you see it everywhere. The question of the

emancipation of the working class, therefore, presents itself as the question of its intellectual orientation. This is why there is so much passion on both sides. It is not a momentary phenomenon, it is the problem of the international revolution. It is even more than that: it is the problem of the liberation of humanity as a whole. All of this depends on the intellectual orientation of our class.

Comrades, it appears that we are agreed on this. Now let's see where the real differences lie. I have listened to the numerous speeches of Crispien and Dittmann in Moscow and I've paid close attention to the presentations here without making a single interjection. I also follow the whole of the German daily press very carefully. I have to tell you that amongst us too there are principled differences of opinion on the decisive questions, ie on the question of the world revolution.

Many things have been said here; yet two words were missing in both of the great speeches of Dittmann and Crispien - the words 'world revolution'. There was no talk of that here. Comrades! It is not a coincidence that the leading minds of the right wing of the USPD are heading in this direction. They say that the revolutionary movement is over, we have seen the peak, and now we must wait a long time before it continues. [Objection from the right]

If that is not the case, then your politics make no sense at all. Your politics are only comprehensible if you at least start from this premise. That is precisely the very same argument that we have been through in Russia. It was even formulated in almost exactly the same words. When in 1905 our revolution suffered a decisive blow, there were Mensheviks who said that, now that the revolution was defeated, we must create a legal, ordinary social democratic party, and we must carry out work for reforms. And their formula was: 1847 or 1849? 1847 refers to the year before the revolutionary wave; 1849 to the year after the wave. This is how their politics were shaped.

The Bolsheviks represented the view that the revolution is not dead, that the revolution will return once more. Of course, we could not know that the counterrevolution would last for eight to ten years. Yet we remained faithful to the idea. We said to the Mensheviks: You do not believe in the working class! And comrades, the revolution came. The beginning of it was 1912, when the Lena movement¹ broke out. And you too find yourselves in such a situation today. It just hasn't yet been verbalised, but the trend is already quite clear to see.

A part of Crispien's speech has already been quoted today. Comrade Crispien was filled with indignation and said that this referred not to the general situation, but the situation of the party. I will quote him again. In his closing speech at your party congress, Crispien said: "Not merely in Germany but in all countries, we currently find ourselves in a situation similar to that following the bourgeois revolution of 1848". I ask you to note this: "not merely in Germany, but in all

1, Refers to the Lena gold miner strikes which saw many workers shot down by the tsarist army. This signalled the beginning of a revival of the workers' movement, which among other things allowed the Bolsheviks to launch the daily *Pravda* and to win all seats in the workers' curia of the duma.

countries". So in his view it is not merely a momentary phenomenon that [Walter] Stöcker and [Ernst] Däumig are bad people, and that the "knout" is coming from Moscow, but about the same tendency in all countries.

Comrade Crispian says that he also refers to the situation of the party - ie, he believes that in all countries the very same problems are now on the agenda as those following 1848. After 1848, there was a long period in which revolution was impossible. Crispian thinks that such another such period is coming today. That is the red thread running through all of the politics of the right wing of the USPD. History will show if you are right. [Heckles]

I am convinced that today a great number of workers are not yet with us, because you have warned them about the "knout from Moscow". The only thing that is missing is the 'cossacks' from Moscow. Well, maybe they are yet to come. I am convinced that this part of the working class does not yet know that they must mistrust your politics as a precondition for their own victory. ["No, they must mistrust yours!"]

We have not heard a single peep about the perspectives for world revolution in your presentations. But the International does not wish to be anything else than an organisation which is the vanguard of the world revolution [Lively applause]. We have been accused of being 'revolutionary romantics'. That comes straight from the dictionary of the right wing of the SPD. Now the very same accusations are coming from the right wing of the USPD.

Comrades, should we really adjust all working class politics to the assumption that the world revolution will not take place in the near future? I am of the opinion that we have absolutely no reason to presume this. I am not saying that we can be assured of complete victory tomorrow or the day after. Only a charlatan would say something like that. We have never demanded of you, and never will demand, that you should make revolution tomorrow. [Hear, hear! Stirring] The only thing we demand of you - and you have the right to demand it of us - is to systematically propagate and prepare for a world revolution, for which all the necessary preconditions are given. These are not phrases of revolutionary romantics. It is necessary to educate the backward layers of the proletariat and the peasantry, to tell them that the hour of the world revolution has come. [Lively applause]

Comrades, I am of course not very well geared up on all of the workings of the USPD, the internal affairs and the intimate things etc. But we know the USPD's propaganda very well. Look at your press, the main tool of your propaganda. I am sure that if you give 100 editions of *Freiheit* to any honest revolutionary from any country, lock him in a room and say: "Sit in there for two weeks, read through that and then tell me: is that an organ that is calling on the working class to make revolution?", then he will answer: "No, that is an organ which is dampening the revolution." [Lively applause]

And comrades, what was said by comrade Crispian about the preconditions for socialism? What is being written about them? Do we not hear, day in and day out, that these preconditions are not yet present? It was said here at this congress,

and you are saying it everywhere: Yes, we are for the socialist revolution, but the preconditions are missing. So, let's examine which preconditions are present and which are missing.

In the whole of Germany, are the economic preconditions present for the proletarian revolution? [Hackle from Crispian: "Yes indeed!"] Ok, so the economic preconditions - ie the main factor - are present. But I ask you: Kautsky and Hilferding always declare that the main factor consists in production remaining undisturbed. [Hackle from Hilferding: "I never said that!"] Yes, you did, even at the congress of factory councils. [Hackle from Hilferding: "No, no."]

That is precisely your fear of the revolution. [Hackle]. We are not dealing with fear in the vulgar sense of the word. I am not saying that some of you personally are fearful, as I know very well that there are old and brave fighters amongst you. But you think that when the revolution comes, then hunger and ruin will come too, and then what we have in Russia will come - which comrade Dittmann did not like. [Amusement]

Yes, it must be clearly stated that this will perhaps be so, although we hope that things will go much more easily for you in Germany. You will not have to fight against the whole world like we do [Contradiction from the floor], but merely against half the world. So I maintain that it is your fear of revolution which runs like a red thread through the whole of your politics. [Ledebour: "That is not true"] It is unfortunately very true. And precisely for this reason we cannot work together.

I repeat. The economic preconditions are present. That is the main factor. Yet has Kautsky not written a thousand times that we should bide our time with the revolution, because how will we be able to organise communism afterwards? Have your representatives not said thousands of times that it is not the socialism of consumers but the socialism of producers, and that initially we should increase production?

But comrades, there the question arises: which production? On which basis is production to be strengthened - a socialist or a capitalist one? Do you first want to put capitalism back onto its feet to then tear it down again? That is the fundamental error of international reformism. Amongst some comrades it arises from quite good desires. They want to protect the working class from hunger, they want to spare them from the great crisis we have in Russia. Yet they are doing it in such a way as to involuntarily reconstruct capitalism, to throw back the working class by ten to twenty years.

The economic preconditions for socialism are here. Admittedly, none of us thought socialism would look the way it does. Of course, we did not think that the bourgeoisie would simply give us everything. We were in a situation where blood had been flowing and where everyone was hungry, where we had already given everything during the war, where the working class had suffered terribly. But still, we thought of socialism differently. Previously we studied socialism in books. We thought it would come about more easily. We had spoken of the concentration of capital, of the development of the productive forces. Everything

would go forwards; electricity, nice houses etc. We thought we could bring the bourgeoisie to its knees with one strike and that everything would fall into our laps. Immediately the workers would breathe a sigh of relief, everybody would feel that things are getting better. We believed it and we often articulated it. Now comrades, it hasn't turned out like this, history is taking other paths. [Heckle]

Even today, socialism doesn't suit many of you. Did not comrade Hilferding correctly write in his *Finance capital* that before the war it would have been sufficient to expropriate the ten main banks and socialism would have arrived? Did not August Bebel say this same thing hundreds of times over? Were they not of the opinion that socialism would happen easily? The war threw a spanner in this calculation. It has happened differently; the war has brought socialism about around 20 years earlier; but in a tortuous form, in such a form where every worker really has to go hungry, where every worker must suffer, where we have to go through a long stage of civil war.

We do not like this either, it is difficult for us all; yet we have to understand that there is no other way. And it is precisely this that you do not want to understand. It has been said that in Russia there is actually no communism; there is a socialist republic and there is no bread, no coal, and the working class has to freeze and go hungry! Yes, comrades! But show us a path that would be easier for the working class and we would be the first to take it. ["Very true!" Applause]

The economic preconditions for the proletarian revolution are here, and that is the main thing. ["Indeed"] Then we shouldn't be called 'revolutionary romantics'. Before the war, when Kautsky was still a revolutionary, he wrote that the revolution, if it happened now, would not be premature. Then the war came, the crisis accentuated terribly; with giant steps we hurried towards socialism. Then the very same Kautsky, the leader of the right wing of the USPD, says: "You want to make the revolution prematurely." So before the war it was not too early, but now it is! [Heckle from Ledebour: "That does not concern us"]

The economic preconditions - I repeat for the tenth time - the economic preconditions for the proletarian revolution and for the Communist Party are here. [Heckle] Of course, a proletarian revolution cannot be made by any other party than a communist party. [Heckle] I am not talking about the historically constituted parties in this or that country. It is possible that in this or that country the communist party is still weak, a sect. Yet as Marx had foreseen, in the international sense it is self-evident that a proletarian revolution can be led by nobody other than a real Marxist Communist Party. ["Very true!"]

The economic preconditions are there. Yet what is missing? What is missing is the intellectual orientation of our own class. ["Very true!"] And why is this? Not by chance, but as a result of development of capitalism. ["Very true!"] Remember what kind of education we get from the bourgeoisie in all countries. Is it not the case that as soon as they turn three, the proletarian children in all countries - even in the French 'democratic' republic - learn to sing a patriotic song? Is Napoleon not being glorified in school?

Our class is being stamped on everywhere and also by our own representa-

tives: a part of our own people has been spoilt, torn away from us and bribed by the bourgeoisie, by the press, by theatre, by all possible means. It really would be a historic miracle if in this historical hour the enslaved working class would immediately stand ready for action. Yet this is impossible, precisely because for decades the bourgeoisie has known how to enslave us, especially intellectually. The bourgeoisie cannot hold power for long merely through naked force, it has to penetrate our own ranks through intellectual confusion. Because of this, the bourgeoisie has unfortunately succeeded in having some of our best fighters killed by the sons of our own class.

Our task is to intellectually orientate the millions of working class people of the world in such a manner that they are no longer subjected to bourgeois influence, that they are intellectually emancipated and that no bourgeois influence is able to penetrate our ranks. We are talking about truly organising ourselves as a class and becoming intellectually tight. Today's struggles are moving us towards achieving this intellectual unity. ["But not through the Spartacus League!"] I shall return to that question.

So we are saying that the economic preconditions for the socialist revolution are present, but that some of our own parties and trade unions around the world are stabbing us in the back, like Turati in Italy or Branting in Sweden. This is the case in Italy, in Germany, all over.

Allow me to make a small diversion. In the resolution which you have passed, there is talk of the Trade Union International. Twice it says in this resolution that the Trade Union International must not be destroyed. God help us! Indeed, the resolution states that the Communist International is making itself impossible due to its demand to smash up the Trade Union International. And secondly, it says that this demand destroys the entire proletarian movement for liberation. [Hackle from the right: "Very true!"] Now let's see whether this is "very true", or whether it is just true. [Amusement]

Now what is the Trade Union International? It is a piece of the collapsed Second International. [Hackle from the left: "Very true!"] The Trade Union International in Amsterdam - that is the Second International. I maintain that the Trade Union International in Amsterdam is the sole bulwark of the bourgeoisie. [Hackle from the left: "Very true!"]

Comrades, today the bourgeoisie cannot struggle against us and win, because the workers have already awoken. But it can only hurt us if the bourgeoisie can base itself on a part of the working masses. Politically the Second International has collapsed - it is present in a trade union sense, but politically it is nothing more than a null, a corpse. Yet the so-called Trade Union International is unfortunately still something, indeed it is the bulwark of the bourgeoisie. [Hackle from the right: "Nonsense!"] Who are the leaders of this so-called International? They are [Carl] Legien. ["No!"] They are [Leon] Jouhaux. And the whole world knows that Legien is an agent of capital, that Jouhaux is an agent of French capital. [Heckles. Unrest]

It is not about people. It is about politics. Comrades and workers who are

sitting on the right today, this Trade Union International is a rope around our necks and around the necks of the working class. [Stormy applause from the left. Cries of "Nonsense!" from the right. Great noise] Around your necks too! [Shout from the left: "Indeed!"] Have you not yet seen enough examples? That is just as true in an international arena as it is of Legien. The international bourgeoisie cannot come to you and say: 'Beware of the revolution!' You would not trust them. Yet the so-called Trade Union International can come to you with exactly the same message.

It has often been said that we want to split from you, from our very own class brothers. [Hackle from the right: You want to!] Yes, we want to - because you do not want to break with the traitors from the Trade Union International. ["Quite right." "Very true." Stormy applause]

Yes comrades, we say (and you have agreed) that the main task of our days, our epoch, our historic hour, consists in intellectually orientating our class. [Hackle from the right: "We've been doing that the whole time!"] That is the only precondition for the victory of the proletarian revolution. But is it possible to do this in a Trade Union International led by yellow agents of international capital, by people who are in the back pocket of the London and Paris stock exchange? [Heckles from the right. A whistle, answered by the left: "You should be ashamed of yourselves"] If you are whistling in reply to that, then you are doing so out of ignorance.

It is plain obvious that the so-called Trade Union International is a weapon of the international bourgeoisie. Indeed it is the sharpest, most dangerous and - I might also add - the only real weapon that the bourgeoisie still possesses against us. [Lively applause from the left. Hackle from the right: "Nonsense"] The vigilante groups, the *Orgesch* in Germany, the white guards - of course, these are not pleasant people, but I have to say that they are a lot less dangerous to us than the leaders of your beloved so-called Trade Union International. ["Bravo!" Stormy applause from the left. Great Unrest] Yes comrades, things are exploding here because that is the truth. [Great noise. Cries of "bravo". Applause on the left. Disagreement on the right]

Comrades! When the war came and the Second International ignominiously collapsed, when we observed that the Second International had become bankrupt and betrayed the workers, a discontent set in amongst the entire working class which was much greater than that here today. I remember how back then comrade [Robert] Grimm did not want to print our party's manifesto in his newspaper because we said that the Second International had ignominiously collapsed and had betrayed the working class. Back then the storm of outrage was much greater than that today. And today - let's be quite open about it - has the Second International not betrayed the working class? Has it not ignominiously collapsed?

When we charge the leaders with this, naturally we do not mean it in a personal manner. I do not know most of these people: some might be quite good and honest people on a personal level and they might really be of the opinion

that this branch of the Second International is the best one. No, comrades, it is the worst, it is precisely the poorest part of the Second International. And you become outraged when I say that it is counterrevolutionary?

Comrades, there is one more thing I would like to add. It is actually something quite new for you to defend the Amsterdam International so keenly. I have to say that in Moscow, neither Crispin nor Dittmann put the question in this way. I do not remember a single speech in which these comrades spoke in this way.

But they did say the opposite. I remember quite well - although I do not recall whether it was merely a private conversation - saying to comrade Crispin that for the time being in the field of trade unions, there would only be a Zimmerwald² - ie, a compendium of all those elements who are against the yellow 'socialists'. In Zimmerwald, we were no coherent group, but it was the starting point for consolidating the proletarian elements. Now we are preparing the same thing in the realm of the trade unions. Perhaps it will be quicker; at least I hope it will not take two years. But anyway, we must have a trade union Zimmerwald as a point of crystallisation against the yellow unions - and this is what comrades Crispin and Dittmann agreed to. [Disagreement and heckles from the right: "It was quite different to that!"]

Let me tell you that [Oskar] Rusch and other trade unionists, who are currently in Russia, are also in favour of creating this crystallisation point. Maybe it will turn out differently to Zimmerwald. After all, at the moment the majority of the trade union leaders are against such political clarity. But comrades, you should not take it as *lèse-majesté* [treason] when I say that this leftover of the Second International is a barrier to the proletarian revolution. We cannot unite our class intellectually by supporting the Amsterdam International, in which the Legiens, the Jouhaux, the Appletons and others rule. [Disagreement and heckles from the right]

With this I will finish my remarks on this point. I am convinced that even a year or six months from now, half of those who take this as *lèse-majesté* will agree with us. [Strong disagreement from the right] They will say that the Amsterdam International is not a tool of the proletarian revolution, but a barrier to it. If you dispute this, then all you do is prove my point about the state of the proletariat's intellectual orientation, which is the precondition for the proletarian revolution.

This party congress in Halle, which also has great international significance, also has to consider the situation in other countries. Why should we be pessimists? Why should we shift the perspectives of world revolution further and

2. The Zimmerwald conference was held from September 5-8 1915 in the Swiss town of Zimmerwald and brought together 38 delegates from all over the world to discuss the outbreak of World War I and the *de facto* dissolution of the Second International. A 'Zimmerwald left' was formed around Lenin, which condemned the imperialistic character of the war, condemned social chauvinism and called on the working class to wage civil war. The right, headed by Robert Grimm, wanted to agree merely to pacifist formulations. In the end, a compromise manifesto was agreed - but, crucially, it marked the beginning of the split of the revolutionaries from the reformists.

further into the distance? Take a look at how things are! Have you not seen that for the past few weeks, Italy is seeing the start of the proletarian revolution? And it will be victorious there - if not today, then tomorrow.

Above all, take a look at the things which you can learn from developments in England and allow me to be a little more detailed on this. With great interest we have all followed the formation of the councils of action in England. This has still not been assessed according to its real significance. When the threat of war came, the whole English working class arose, a class which until now was unfortunately not a revolutionary factor. For the first time in recent human history, we see the English working class as a revolutionary factor, or at least the beginning of one. Until now the English working class has not been a revolutionary factor - that is not an insult, it is a simple fact, and every English revolutionary will have to confirm that. Yet the formation of the councils of action was a beginning. The beginning of a soviet, a second government, a shadow government - which is precisely why the English bourgeoisie is so outraged. The bourgeoisie says: 'We have an English parliament, and now these new councils are interfering in foreign policy and are behaving as a type of government.'

Indeed, comrades, the councils were the seed of a new government, a parallel government, in England as in Russia - dual power. At the start of the Russian Revolution we also had such a dual government. One government was that of the bourgeoisie with the Mensheviks, and the other was that of the Petersburg soviet - later the soviet of the entire country. Comrades, there will be ructions with the bourgeoisie today or tomorrow - a year later or earlier. At any rate, dual power means ructions with the bourgeoisie. This has already happened in England. In the English working class we can observe cataclysms of world historical significance. Who stood at the head of this movement? Well known English reformists. [Disagreement] You cannot dispute this, comrades - they were English reformists. This is why the movement waned again, but objectively did not lose its significance. Yes, in every country the same thing is happening. The English Mensheviks had to spark a Bolshevik movement. This is what the objective situation looks like [Agreement on the left] and comrades, this will also happen in Germany.

You say in one resolution: 'Just as we did in the past, we will continue to show solidarity with Soviet Russia and the struggling Russian proletariat.' ["Naturally!"] Naturally you say? Many thanks! [Amusement on the left, heckles from the right: "Are you trying to mock us?"] I mean this quite sincerely. Just as the help of the English leaders was naturally very welcome to us, we will also embrace and accept your help, wherever it happens to come from. Even if people - to put it mildly - have a Menshevik touch, they ought to support Bolshevism in these circumstances.

And why is that? Because moral right is on the side of our tactics and our outlook. [Applause on the left] The reformists cannot act any differently in the face of their own working class. Clearly, we are going through an epoch - which will later be understood as an episode - where internationally a part of the Menshe-

vik leaders is objectively helping the Bolsheviks to drive the revolution forward. Why? Because this giant, the working class, has awoken, and demands proletarian solidarity with the only proletarian state on earth.

We have the greatest hope in the working class, even in those countries where the Mensheviks still march at its head. In England, the Mensheviks are marching at the head of the working class; the best of them, [Ramsay] Macdonald, is a Menshevik. He is now in Georgia, and after hearing how the Bolsheviks are being railed against, he declared that he is ready to become a Bolshevik. This was a joke of course; but the best of the Hendersons are Mensheviks; they have to support our Bolshevik tactics, and the more time passes, the stronger their support will become. Why? Because otherwise they will be finished in the eyes of the working class within 24 hours. [Applause on the left]

This is why we place the greatest hope in the revolutionary movement in the various countries. In Italy just as much as in the classic country of powerful capitalism, England, where the convulsions of a new order can clearly be felt, and where the beginning of the proletarian revolution can be clearly be seen. I am convinced that in two or three years, it will be said that this was the beginning of a new era. The proletarian revolution has a great chance in England, the bulwark of the international bourgeoisie, and therefore in all other European countries too.

Let's take a country like Austria. You could wake up in Austria tomorrow and read in the morning papers that the soviet government has arrived. Don't be surprised if it happens, it is something quite natural. Take the Balkans: in Bulgaria we have almost won a majority to Bolshevism by legal means alone. In Yugoslavia we have done the same. The Balkans are a ripe fruit for the proletarian revolution. [Heckles from the right: "Fantasy!"] Comrades, fortunately this is nothing fantastical. In several countries in the Balkans, the Communist Party has won the majority by legal means. In Hungary, the reaction will not be able to keep house forever. And allow me to express the hope that the revolution in Germany is not dead either, that here too there will come a struggle and the decisive moment. [Applause]

Therefore we need an international and a set of tactics that are geared towards international world revolution. But this is what is absolutely missing in your tactics. There was no talk of it in your presentations, and you can hardly claim that you forgot or that it was a coincidence. It is as little a coincidence as the majority at this congress. [Cries of "Very good!" from the left and great amusement]

So comrades, for a fruitful debate - which we must have, and which will come and continue even after this congress - we first of all have to give a clear answer to this question. It is certainly no crime for you to arrive at the conclusion that world revolution is now impossible. But you have to say so clearly and honestly. But unfortunately it is a requirement of your tactics to stay silent on this. [Strong disagreement from the right and heckles: "Nonsense!"]

Comrades, I would now like to speak on a second very important question, that of the question of democracy.

Here you also owe us an answer. You have tried to avoid it. Only Dittmann said something. He said that we wish to keep the name of Independent Social Democrats [Heckle from Dittmann: "I did not say that at all!"], because democracy will come after dictatorship. Certainly, dictatorship is a temporary phenomenon. But up until now the whole International knew that the USPD - or at least its leading right wing - stands on the ground of democracy. At least until now. [Disagreement and heckles from the right: "No, no - allegations!"]

All of Kautsky's pamphlets pick up this question. And Kautsky is of course a leading member and theoretician of the USPD. [Disagreement and heckle: "Not true!"] Well, he is a member of the USPD. Today you cry that it is not true, but comrades, tomorrow you will have to draw the consequences, and then the whole world will see: Kautsky is and remains the intellectual leader of the right wing in the USPD. You should show your true colours and clearly say this to the working class. ["That is what we are doing!"] But you just said that Kautsky's influence is as good as none. ["Outrageous!"] These are precisely the decisive questions that divide us.

Now I would like to add something on the question of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

We regularly hear lip service being paid to the dictatorship of the proletariat. But was it not Crispian who asked Lenin in Moscow whether the dictatorship of the proletariat was something new? After all, it was written about in the Erfurt programme. Comrades, what sort of mentality did Crispian display here? The Erfurt programme does not talk of the dictatorship of the proletariat in the contemporary sense of the word. Even the Mensheviks can sign up to that kind of dictatorship. But now we are dealing with the real existing dictatorship of the proletariat. The form that the dictatorship has taken has not been plucked from thin air, but it has been created by the international working class itself - ie, soviets.

Should the German working class create a different form of the dictatorship of the proletariat, then we will gladly welcome it. We have always said that things do not have to be like in Russia, and that the working classes of other countries will perhaps do a better job of it than we did. But until now the soviet government is the historically constituted form of the dictatorship of the proletariat. 'Soviet' is a word which the working class of the whole world has on its lips, which is deeply inscribed in the hearts of the workers. We don't want to hear from you that the dictatorship of the proletariat was already foreseen in the Erfurt programme. But we want you to tell us whether you are for the dictatorship of the proletariat in the actual, real sense - which was already initiated by the German working class back in the January Days³ and by the Hungarian working class.

My impression - and that of the representatives of those parties who have already signed up to the Third International - is that we have differences of opinion with you in these three main questions, particularly around how we conduct

3. The January Days refer to the so-called 'Spartacist uprising' of January 1919 in Berlin.

ourselves on the question of democracy, and also on the question of the dictatorship of the proletariat. These are the three questions which we are fighting over.

It was said here that in Moscow we were initially quite amicable, but then we became strict and made the membership conditions for the Third International much more stringent. Now you are seeking to explain this out of petty motives. But it is very easy to solve this puzzle which you believe to see in front of you. We also had the intention of coming to an agreement. We have thoroughly argued our cases. Yet the more we have argued about these questions which will decide the fate of the proletarian revolution, the more we got the impression that there is absolutely no unity between us and the right wing of the USPD. This was the sole reason and personal considerations had nothing to do with this. What are we supposed to have against individuals like Dittmann and Crispien? And what can they have against us personally? Up until now we did not even know them! No, we are purely dealing with matters of principle. We have weighed each other up and found each other too light.

It appears that a second process of development has taken place simultaneously - one in which Crispien and Dittmann have concluded that we are 'revolutionary romantics'. They thought to have weighed us up and likewise found us too light. For that reason, what will come, will come. But surely both sides have to openly say that we are dealing with these three questions of principle - and not with something personal. Therefore, comrades, until we have achieved clarity on this question, we will not be able to come to an agreement. That's why all members of the executive in Russia have greatly regretted that your debates have sunk to such a low level. [Hackle from the right] I don't want to investigate who is guilty of it. But the congress has made up for it. We have no reason to regret that the debates are so great and comprehensive. That will be of great use for the German working class and for the working class of the entire world.

Up until now we have only spoken about the organisational aspects of the conditions. That is indeed very important and we will speak about them again. But far more important are the theses, the fundamental questions. We are not splitting because you want 18, not 21 conditions. If the split comes about, then it will be because you do not agree with us on the questions of the world revolution, democracy and the dictatorship of the proletariat. That has to be said very clearly. Only then can everything that has been said here be fully understood.

Yesterday Crispien said: "We explained in Moscow that we want to agree on the conditions and then we are prepared to propagate your ideas in Germany." And yet in the same breath, it is being said here that one has to fight back Bolshevism in principle, and that we are revolutionary romantics. Then again, it is being said: 'Well, if there were only 18 conditions on the table as opposed to 21, then we would have reached an agreement.'

And another word on Dittmann, who has been painting a very black picture of Soviet Russia. If so many crimes occur day by day, if we shoot 500 old men and 500 women every day, yes, if we are such criminals, then he should simply declare that it is impossible on principle to be in one organisation with such

people. [Applause] And then he does not need to greet us in the manner that he does. Indeed, why should one greet criminals at all? ["Very true"]

Comrades, we have already said something similar to our Mensheviks, with whom we now speak quite differently than before - much more coldly because the split has already taken place. They have written whole pamphlets about this or that person having stolen the cash box, this or that person being a criminal, this or that person wanting the dictatorship of the proletariat - and in the end the Mensheviks always say that for this reason they do want unity with us! [Amusement] And we said to them: well, if we are such criminals, if we have stolen the cash box, then you ought not to seek unity with us, but fight us to the death.

And comrades, the same thing is true on the international arena. We are saying: either - or. We read in a social democratic newspaper that [Nikolai] Bukharin and I - the exploiters of the Russian working class - are travelling to Germany; we are exploiting the Russian working class and are despots - we are coming to Germany as despots. But if you are really of the opinion that we are exercising a dictatorship over the proletariat and that we are despots, then you cannot have a clear conscience for inviting us, wanting unity with us, no matter whether this is under one condition, two conditions or half a condition.

Where does this confused situation stem from? It stems from the fact that you are still not quite clear on these decisive questions of principle. A whole number of shades of opinion exist in your leadership and the individuals within it. Several of the leading people of the USPD right are for reformism and do not believe in the proletarian revolution. ["Very true!"] And these people are against us when it comes to the three decisive questions. ["Very true!" Disagreement] This is why we say to you in front of congress and in front of the working class of the whole world: it does not even occur to us to come here with a diktat. It does not even occur to us - as you accuse us - to believe that we can simply press a button in Moscow and then the workers would all have to dance to our tune. We are not such idiots. We know very well that you can press the button a thousand times, but if the working class does not wish to make revolution, then it will simply not join in. [Unrest]

It is obvious: the question of joining the Third International belongs in front of your party congress, because this question will not be decided in Moscow, but in Halle, by the representatives of the most advanced part of the working class in Germany. [Great applause] You are still quite a colourful mix, because there is still not sufficient clarity on democracy, dictatorship and world revolution - on all sides. I personally knew almost none of the comrades at this congress; maybe I had come across this or that comrade once or twice. But things have to happen as I have described them, because that is a law. It will turn out that some of you will join the International after all, exactly as it happened amongst our Mensheviks. The best elements of the Menshevik workers, such as Chirkin, Bulkin and many others, are now members of our party. That's why two years ago we told our Mensheviks very calmly: You have signed resolutions against us. And we say to you: Comrades, workers, we are heavily combating each other here, but we

say to you: You are workers too. You might be reformists, but there also is still a lack of clarity.

Half a year, a whole year even, might pass before you will come to communism. That is how it was in Russia and that is how it will be in your case. Therefore we assume responsibility in front of the working class of the entire world: we will throw our weight, the weight of the Third International, onto the scales and say: The Third International declares that it stands here and cannot waver on the question of world revolution and the dictatorship of the proletariat. And I believe the working class is already committed to world revolution, the dictatorship of the proletariat and the Third International. There is no longer any hesitation, and you have to make a decision soon.

Comrades, allow me to respond to the questions of a principled nature which comrade Crispien has touched on, because I can't just brush them aside. He touched on three questions of principle, though in my opinion they were not the important ones. The first question was the agrarian question, then the question of nationalities and thirdly the question of terror. [Heckle from Crispien: "The soviet system!"] Yes, and the soviet system. Those are the four questions of principle, and we have to grapple with who is right.

Firstly we will take a look at the agrarian question. Comrade Crispien declared that the agrarian programme drawn up by the Third International in Moscow can only strengthen the counterrevolution and not help the proletarian revolution. Firstly we have to bear in mind that the agrarian programme is intended for the whole International, not merely for Germany. That is a very important point. And secondly, considering that we are gathered in a German assembly, we also have to check whether the agrarian question in Germany really is as Crispien claims.

I do not know the situation in Germany as well as comrade Crispien and other German comrades, who have been in the movement for decades. But comrades, just look at the example of other countries such as Hungary. This is an important example for us in every respect, because we have seen the unification of different elements in one party. At an important point in time, the Hungarian communists attempted to unite with the elements of the centre. We also bear responsibility for this. We did not oppose it; we thought things might work out better and simpler than they did in Russia, without great struggles. But events in Hungary have shown that this was not true and that lumping working class reformists and revolutionaries together can cause so much damage. This unity has come at a great cost.

But now to the agrarian question. Our Hungarian comrades unfortunately acted in exactly the doctrinaire manner that some amongst you are proposing. They did not want to give anything to the middle peasantry, with the aim of holding onto large land holdings, socialising them and organising large scale production. And comrades, that was a mistake, which comrade Béla Kun has now openly admitted, just like [Eugen] Varga and all other leading brains of the Communist Party in Hungary. And why was it a mistake? Just imagine for a

moment what it was like concretely. In Hungary the working class is only a thin layer of society; it is the peasantry which is decisive there. ["Very true!"] The revolution has arrived. Weeks and weeks go by, even months, and the peasantry in Hungary has not noticed that anything had changed. In the countryside everything remains the same as before. At the head of the revolution stands Béla Kun and the proletarian government. But the peasant has received nothing, and hasn't noticed that anything has changed. And comrades, this was a fateful error. Because of this, the middle layer of the peasantry remained indifferent and turned a deaf ear to the proletarian revolution.

You see what is happening in Italy: the middle and small peasantry have started to confiscate the land. Have they not? ["It's socialist after all!"] And comrades, was this a counterrevolution? No comrades, this was part and parcel of the revolution. ["Very true!"] And comrades, this will also happen in Germany, *mutatis mutandis*. I ask comrade Crispien: how can the dictatorship of the proletariat prevail in Germany without peasants' councils? We too will have to form not merely workers' and soldiers' councils, but peasants' councils too. Isn't that right, comrade Crispien? [Crispian: "No!"]

Up until now we were of the opinion that we absolutely need peasants' councils, in Germany as in other countries. ["Very true!"] Of course, in the first instance we have to think of the rural workers and establish a solid footing amongst them. But we will also have to try to establish a solid footing amongst the peasantry, even if the final decision of course lies with the proletariat in the cities. If that applies to a young country such as Russia, then it is all the more true in a country like Germany. In the long run, there will be no victorious proletarian revolution without the organisation of the small peasantry. Comrades, you are making a fatal error if you do not want to incorporate the peasantry. I have to say, in that case you want to prepare the counterrevolution here. ["Very true!" Great noise] You want to prepare the soil from which the counterrevolution can recruit its armies against the working class. ["Very true!"]

Comrades, allow me to reminisce about our struggles with the Mensheviks. It was the very same question. At the start of the 1905 revolution we said: our whole orientation must be aimed at leading the revolutionary part of the peasantry alongside the working class in the struggle against the bourgeoisie. But the Mensheviks said this was "unmarxist". The Mensheviks did not want any alliance with the peasantry against the bourgeoisie. Instead, they wanted to create a "general national opposition" together with the liberal bourgeoisie. We now find exactly the same train of thought, the same political direction, in the USPD right, albeit under different external circumstances.

We should actually reach out into the countryside and say to the small peasants: If the proletarian revolution comes, you will lose nothing, but will actually gain. We will cancel your debts and recommend that you set up peasants' councils. Because if the revolution is victorious tomorrow, our enemies will be able to get up in the assemblies of the peasant leaders and ask: Well, how come there are workers' councils, but there are no peasants' councils?

Where does comrade Crispien's error stem from? I believe that for him, the perspective of world revolution is not a serious one. This is why he says that the peasants do not belong to us, for they are no socialists. Comrades, we will have many clashes with the peasantry. We've had them in Russia and in many other countries. But the main enemy is not the peasantry, it's the bourgeoisie. What now matters is what past events have taught us. When the revolution comes, we must try to neutralise the middle peasantry or bring them over to our side. Yes comrades, it is very bad when peasants loot goods. It is not good and should be prevented. But it is the smaller evil. It would be worse if the counterrevolution was able to draw its recruits from the peasantry. ["Very true!"] We will never win in any other way, and the proletarian revolution will not be victorious.

In our thesis on the agrarian question we in the commission were careful to listen to all comrades - not due to petty diplomacy, as we have been accused of. We wanted to accommodate the diversity of the social structures in other countries, as in your country too. And we said: there could be situations where it is possible to divide up the latifundia and large land holdings amongst the small peasants. In that context, this was absolutely correct and absolutely possible. [Heckle from Crispien: "That is a step backwards in production - back to the Middle Ages"]

Allow me now to come to the second question. [Heckle from Crispien: "That's a step back to the Middle Ages"] Alright comrades, let's look at this 'step back to the Middle Ages'. We can live with a period of five to ten years where we cannot yet fully establish socialism in the countryside. But if we return to the bourgeoisie, that is a real step back to the Middle Ages. [Movement. "Not true"]

Of course, it will take some time until we have complete communism. But for now the most important question for all countries - apart from Russia - is that we do not support the bourgeoisie, as it is the enemy. And for this we need to have the small peasants on board. Your objections are evidence of the fact that you are still not thinking seriously enough about the world revolution, that you are still coming back to the old Erfurt story: the peasant does not have a socialist brain, he does not belong to us, he belongs to the other side and is our enemy.

Comrades, things will turn out quite differently, just as they did in Russia. Before the revolution, the Mensheviks said the same thing; they played themselves up to be the purely proletarian party, they represented the interests of the proletariat and did not want to make any concessions to the peasantry. Now that there is a real proletarian dictatorship this has all turned out quite differently. Now that we are able to force the rich peasant to give bread to the working class, we are told that we are exploiting the peasants! The Mensheviks completely changed their tune and the same will happen here.

Now the reformists are passing themselves off as a purely proletarian party in order to put off the prospect of the proletarian revolution. But another time will come when they will ask: 'Why do you want to implement such measures against the peasantry?' But we will always stick by it: the urban and the rural proletariat are the bearers of the proletarian world revolution. We have to take whatever is

achievable in the first stage of the revolution and we have to neutralise a part of the peasantry and have to assure them that they will be better off under the soviet republic. ["Very true!"]

Then onto the question of nationalities. But before, a small anecdotal digression. I have to say that comrade Crispien really has been taken in with this Enver Pasha business. Such outrageous flimflam has been written on the question of nationalities. But it is not only in Germany that people are talking of this 'spectre Enver', but in Switzerland too. I just received a letter from the Swiss comrade Rose Bloch, in which she asks: 'Well comrade, tell me, is Enver really your ally? Tell me, is the terrible Enver Pasha your ally?' And I have a pamphlet from Frankfurt, signed by Gütler and Kohl, which cries that Enver Pasha, the executioner of the Armenian people, is admitted into the Third International, but Ledebour the old revolutionary fighter is refused admittance.

Allow me to tell you how things really stand. [Heckles. Unrest] Enver Pasha was present at the Baku congress,⁴ he was not a delegate. He requested that we give him the opportunity to issue a statement. We did not allow him that. ["Hear, Hear!"] Following this, he asked us to take down a written statement - I have brought the protocol with me, which will soon appear as a book in Germany. You will be able to read it. So, we did not allow him to speak, indeed this was at my instigation as president of the congress. Then he asked us to read out a statement. We agreed to that. I have it here, it is three, no four, pages long; I believe that a few passages from it will suffice:

I assure you (the congress) that if contemporary Russia had existed back then, at the beginning of the war, and if the war had been carried out with today's aims, then we would be as energetically on its side as we are today. In order to prove the truth of my thoughts, I want to tell you that we have decided to fight together with Soviet Russia. I would have liked to come to you earlier, but I have been held back by various unfortunate circumstances. I would have come to you back then, in Russia's toughest times, and perhaps I would not have been forced to explain these superfluous things to you. ["That is exactly how General Hoffmann speaks in workers' meetings"]

That was Enver Pasha's statement. [Heckles] How did we respond to him? Did we perhaps welcome him with open arms, did we say to him: 'Yes indeed, you are a sinner who has ruefully returned?' Not at all. We drew up a special resolution against him. [Hackle from Crispien: "The government too or just the party?"] This motion was moved by comrade Béla Kun and me, and was adopted with a great majority - perhaps even unanimously - by the congress. The resolution states:

After listening to Enver Pasha's statement on the Turkish na-

4. Baku, Azerbaijan was the location of the Congress of the Peoples of the east - an extremely important conference that sought to spread the Bolshevik message to the Far and Middle East.

tional movement, the congress adopts the following resolution:

1. The congress expresses its sympathy with the Turkish fighters in their struggle against world imperialism which represses and exploits the peoples of the east and holds the working class of the world in its servitude. And we especially turn on French and English imperialism. We declare, exactly as the 2nd congress of the Third International did, that the peoples of the east support the general revolutionary movement to liberate the east from the yoke of foreign imperialism.

2. The congress asks the Turkish people not to support offhand those who bear responsibility for the war. The congress solemnly establishes that the general national movement is only directed against foreign oppressors, and that its success would still not denote the emancipation of the Turkish peasants and workers from oppression and exploitation.

3. The congress advises the leaders to prove through actions that they are now prepared to serve the working people ["Aha!"] and to make up for the false decisions they have taken in the past. ["Make up for them?"] The congress advises the working masses of Turkey to support the general national revolutionary movement; but it calls on the peasants and workers in Turkey to build their own organisations, to fight for their liberation and to prevent foreign imperialists hindering the struggle for liberation by exploiting their relations with the indigenous rich bureaucrats, big farmers and generals. This is the only way in which the working people of Turkey can achieve liberation from the oppressors and the exploiters. [Unrest and heckles: "Armenian generals!"]

So that is what the Enver Pasha story looks like. [Unrest] Enver Pasha was not a delegate, and there was even a resolution against him. Of course, Enver Pasha was the leading butcher of the Armenians, and we also told him that to his face. But I ask you to remember that the Armenian bourgeoisie was also an ally of Baron Wrangel. I ask you to consider that we too can be set upon by the so-called Armenian democrats at any moment, and that so-called 'independent' Armenia is a vassal of English capitalism against us.

And remember that in Georgia too, where many USPD people currently find themselves - I do hope Kautsky went there - we can see the same story. Georgia also has to be described as an ally against the Russian workers. ["Yes, that is the case!"] Munitions are being transported through Georgia to get to Wrangel, so don't talk to us about Armenian 'democracy'! It is equally a tool of the Entente against the Russian proletarian revolution. And if you think that the Russian Revolution is worth nothing following this link with Enver Pasha, then you might scare off small children with this ghost story, but you are mistaken if you think you can scare off grown adults.

Why? Because you have a reformist attitude to the national question. I will prove that to you immediately. At the USPD's conference, comrade Hilferding spoke contemptibly of the "mullahs of Chiva": The mullahs of Chiva, he said, are

communists! Of course, what he meant was: That is ridiculous - the mullahs of Chiva are precisely not communists.

But we in the Third International are aware that we really have to speak to the workers of the whole world - and not merely from a European point of view. We also have to bring enlightenment to the "mullahs of Chiva" in a manner that corresponds to their country. We want to lead them and to appeal to them to rise up against their oppressors. And that can't be done in any other way. We have explained the standpoint of the Communist International. The Second International was restricted to people with white skin; the Third International does not classify people according to the colour of their skin. If you want a world revolution, if you want to free the proletariat from the chains of capitalism, then you cannot simply think about Europe, you also have to turn your sights to Asia.

Hilferding will contemptibly say: These Asians, Tartars, Kalmyks and Chinese etc! Comrades, I say to you: A world revolution is impossible if we do not help Asia onto its feet, too. Four times as many people live there as in Europe, and like us, these people are being oppressed, exploited and humiliated by capitalism. Do we want to bring them closer to socialism or not? [Stormy applause] When Marx said that a European revolution without England would resemble a mere storm in a teacup,⁵ then we similarly say to you, party comrades in Germany, that a revolution without Asia is not a world revolution!

And that is very important for you. It looks like I also have the honour of being European, as we all do. But Europe is a small part of the world. At the congress in Moscow we could feel something that until then had been missing in the proletarian movement. We sensed what is necessary if the revolution is to come, namely the awakening of the oppressed masses of Asia. Dittmann will probably laugh at me. Yet I confess: when I was in Baku and saw how hundreds of Persians and Turks sang 'The Internationale' with us, I felt tears in my eyes. And there I felt the breeze of world revolution. I will say it again for emphasis: not the European revolution, but the world revolution. That is a movement of the aggrieved peoples of the whole world against the Entente, against capitalism.

Crispien was quite wrong when he said that these are young capitalist states who turn on old capitalist states. [Heckle from Crispien: "In part!"] No, that is not correct. As Ledebour once said on the question of colonial policy, there has to be a time when our thoughts have to shake the whole world. And now we need to follow this up with action and lead the oppressed of all countries against the capitalism of the world's bourgeoisie. This is indeed not yet a storm of the proletarian masses. Yet the storm we are directing against capitalism will become so much greater and become ever more torrential until it liberates the whole world. And once more I say to you, comrades: without this support we cannot make world revolution. At the opening of the congress in Petersburg, comrade Lenin

5. "England dominates the world market. Any upheaval in economic relations in any country of the European continent, in the whole European continent without England, is a storm in a teacup." K Marx 'The revolutionary movement' *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* 184, January 1849: <http://www.marxists.org/archive/marx/works/1849/01/01.htm>.

said: What is the result of the capitalist war? That a quarter of a billion Europeans oppress one and a half billion people in other countries. I am not saying that all of us are oppressors, but that the bourgeoisie of the European countries is the oppressor. And it is imperative that the proletarians of all countries join this movement against the bourgeoisie.

If people mock me for programmatically announcing holy war in Baku, then this is what I said: 'Peoples of the east, much has been said to you about 'holy war'. In 1914, we too were told to fight a 'holy war'. People of the east, it has been a cursed war, but now we propose to you that you start a genuine holy war against the bourgeoisie, against the oppressors of the whole of humanity.' [Stormy, long lasting applause] Comrades! Is there anything religious in that? Anything demagogic? I will quote to you a few more parts of the speech that I gave to these people.

I said in Baku: "Every English capitalist forces not only hundreds of thousands of English workers, but millions of the oppressed of the dependent countries to graft for him. You have to conclude from this that these millions of oppressed people have to unite. Because then there won't be a power on earth that could force you to graft for the English capitalist.

"The organised workers of Europe and America want to fraternally assist the backward working masses of the east. They do not wish to sit in judgement of you thanks to their superiority, but they want to strive to make things better for themselves and for you. The movement, which Kemal Atatürk stands at the head of, wants to free the holy caliph from the hands of the enemies. That is not a communist movement. We have to drive it forward. The European working class, which has united in the Third International, fraternally reaches out its hands to you. And you should support the working class of the world, because then you will liberate yourselves and all of us."

And they have agreed to this, comrades, and this will become reality. I have told them that Marx and Engels preached the word: "Proletarians of all countries, unite!" We pupils of Marx and Engels, we live in an epoch where we have the great fortune of spreading this formulation and of saying to you: "Oppressed peoples of the whole world and proletarians of all countries, unite against your exploiters!" [Thunderous applause on the left]

They agreed with me on this question, and you should not laugh, comrades: You should not scoff at the Baku congress, and you have scoffed at it so much already. I have seen it in all the newspapers, that the Baku communists were written in inverted commas. [Hackle on the right] Party comrades, you have not understood that this was a historic occurrence in world history. You have perceived it, or wanted to perceive it, as if it was a game on behalf of our government.

Party comrades, that was a revolutionary act, an act of hostility against English capital, which the English government even complained about. I do not know how [Georgi] Chicherin responded. But if we have to negotiate with bourgeois governments about such things, then comrades, this is not the fault of the Russian working class, but that of the working class of all other countries. And if

it is not your fault, then it is your weakness. [Great Applause]

This is why I'm saying that what was decided by the Moscow congress on the national question was not a step backwards, but a giant step towards the world revolution. [Lively applause] And Crispian said we had made a mistake! The Communist International, the most advanced revolutionary part of the working class of Europe and America, is now attempting to use all its power to bring about the awakening of Asia. Things will go forward and we will not only have a European revolution, but a world revolution.

In Baku, the council of action was formed - there were 48 members from 28 nations and two representatives of the Communist International. It was unanimously decided to give these two representatives the right of veto. You could say: 'Aha, the Moscow diktat can be found here too!' Comrades, this is something much more than petty 'democracy'! It shows that the best part of the people of the east think it is obvious that the best part of the working class of the world must be its teacher and its leader. You should not laugh at these people and look down on them as the 'mullahs of Chiva'.

People say to us: 'There are so many illiterates!' Comrades! With pride I can tell you that there are hardly any illiterate people in Petersburg anymore, so after three years maybe there wouldn't be so many illiterate people in Asia either. And after all, these illiterates have understood to make two of the greatest revolutions in human history, in 1905 and 1917. [Stormy applause]

The light from the east will come to us and shine on the whole of humanity. I ask every class-conscious worker: is there anything unworthy and unacceptable if the European proletariat brings together the peoples of the east, and that they voluntarily opted to be led by the working class of Europe and America? We must know how to win their trust, and this cannot be done when leading comrades like Hilferding mock them with phrases like 'the mullahs of Chiva'. [Lively agreement on the left]

These poor oppressed peoples have been squeezed, robbed and disgraced so much that they are distrustful of every European. But the Communist International - and this is our great pride - has been received by these oppressed peoples with the greatest faith. And we observe that the most advanced layers of the peoples of Asia are coming to us and not to the old social democracy. So what is our error supposed to consist of? Comrades, I believe the mistake is on your part. The narrowness, the old small-mindedness, the old prejudices of the bourgeoisie which we have absorbed with our mother's milk, do not allow you to win over these peoples and to make the proletarian revolution together with them, precisely because you do not actually possess the sentiment of world revolution; this sentiment does not exist for you at all. [Stormy heckles from the right]

If this were not the case, then it might be considered a mere coincidence that Hilferding laughed at the "mullahs of Chiva". A well-known war leader, the Russian General Suvorov, once said: "You should not always say 'coincidence, coincidence'. The real question is whether you have a brain in your head!" No, it was no coincidence. On these burning issues we should not be scoffing at the peoples

of the east. On the contrary, we should prop them up and help them, for without their help, party comrades, without their help, we will all remain in the hands of the bourgeoisie. [Stormy applause on the left]

In Baku, the influence of Enver over a large part of the Muslim population is so great that people on the streets kiss his hands and feet. Of course, this is regrettable. I will not hide that. But I do not want to hear that the whole Muslim population is totally different compared to us. This is what we must understand. We must be able to respond to and remove such local difficulties which the working class in the Orient always comes across. We also have to deal with the rural preoccupation of this population. And we are also doing this in Europe. Are you not doing this, when you take up religious prejudices? [Heckle from the right: "No, we're not doing that"]

Party comrades, we do not understand how it can happen that in a single day, women in the Orient can become conscious of communism. You will probably consider it to be a trifle when I tell you that during a demonstration of several thousand people, many Muslim women abandoned their veils. An educated socialist like Hilferding will shake his head at this and say: 'Aha - the women and the mullahs of Chiva!' But I say to you that is a world-historic event. We cannot have a world revolution if the women of the east do not understand that they are being oppressed and enslaved, and that they are being trapped in prejudice.

Party comrades! I consider it an honour, and an honour for the whole of humanity that we are carrying out such tremendous educational work. Why is this unacceptable to the German workers? [Stormy applause on the left] I believe, comrades, that what the Third International is about to do is exactly what the working class all over the world should do. [Lively applause]

I now come to the third question of principle which Crispien has touched on - the question of terror. In my opinion that is not the decisive question, but it is still an important one.

Crispien is right on this, there was a time when the Communist Party in Russia advocated freedom of the press. The party said that freedom of the press must be upheld as a principle. It has now given up on this. And that was a good thing; it has taken a step forward.

Now you want to make a distinction between 'violence' and 'terror'. In our opinion that is impossible. Terror is an intensified form of violence, just as civil war is an intensified form of class struggle. Civil war is a function of class struggle, it is the culmination, the high point, of class struggle. Terror is the high point of civil war and violence; that is our point of view.

Crispien has quoted comrade Rosa Luxemburg. He cited the sentence where our deceased teacher said: "The proletarian republic does not need terror; it hates and abhors the murder of humans." But listen to what she further had to say: "It is an idiocy to believe that the capitalists would willingly go along with a socialist verdict of parliament, and that they would peacefully renounce ownership and profit. All resistance of the bourgeoisie must be broken with an iron fist and ruthless energy. The threatening danger of the counterrevolution has to be

opposed by the disarmament of the ruling class, the arming of the people and the concentrated force of the working class. The struggle for socialism is the most violent civil war known in world history, and the proletarian revolution must prepare itself with the munitions necessary in order to fight and win." [Heckle from the right: "Our opinion exactly!"]

It is my opinion too. I really would like to debate Ledebour on this question. [Heckle from Ledebour: "I will gladly speak after you!"] Gladly, comrade Ledebour, but only under the condition that you allow me to speak and do not constantly interrupt me. In Russia, Ledebour's statements on terror were a great embarrassment to us, because we used to hold him in great esteem as an old fighter. [Noise on the right]

What I just read out was also our opinion at the start of the revolution. We knew that as Marxists we cannot disavow terror. We know that on numerous occasions Marx had defined the concept of the violent struggle against the bourgeoisie. Marx was a centralist and a terrorist. At the start and before the revolution, we also were terrorists in theory; but not in practice. In practice we were used to paying homage to the weaknesses of the Paris Commune, of which our late comrade Paul Lafargue said: "The communists were too good-natured fellows." This is also what we were like at the start of the revolution; we were too good-natured fellows! We said that we abhor murder. And that was not just a phrase.

You know of course that on the day of our revolution, General Krasnov - who had fought against us on behalf of Kerensky and the counterrevolution - had stood in front of Petersburg with weapons in hand with which he wanted to butcher the Petersburg workers. When he was caught, what did we do? We said to him: "Give us your word of honour that you will no longer fight against us." He did and we were stupid enough to let him go! The only one who had misgivings was Lenin. We let this officer go! Party comrades! You know that he brought the counterrevolutionary troops together, which has cost us tens of thousands of people. The fact that we were too good-natured towards Krasnov and other counterrevolutionaries cost the lives of tens of thousands of our brothers.

And there is more: on the day of the revolution, several ministers were arrested who had been negotiating on behalf of English diplomacy and had committed many crimes against the working class. And I still remember how Martov put his shoulder to the wheel for these ministers. He came to the meeting - the first meeting of the Council of the People's Commissars [Sovnarkom - BL] - and requested house arrest for these bourgeois gentlemen ministers. And there it was said that they are people after all. Ah well, maybe they should receive house arrest. We were so stupid to release them, we set free the majority of these people. And what they did to us, party comrades, you all know quite well. The whole world knows how they then behaved. Of course I am not saying that it was Martov's fault for standing there and smoking a cigarette. It was our fault; we communists were too good-natured fellows.

And at the beginning, this is how we always acted. ["What did you do then?"]

The whole world knows that we freed these ministers, with the exception of a few who got away, who were agents of the Entente. We were too good-natured fellows. That is an international weakness of the proletariat.

Comrades, remind yourselves of the situation in Finland. I have spoken to several Finnish friends about it. The Finnish workers took power into their own hands. What did they do? They freed all bourgeois ministers and members of parliament, and these people went to Berlin, gathered white guards and came back to Finland. You all know about the butchery of the Finnish workers. And in Hungary something similar happened. And, comrades, in Germany as well.

So comrades, when you say that you are completely in agreement with comrade Luxemburg's opinion - well, so were we before the revolution. It was a rosy, naïve youthful period of our revolution, and we thought that those people would comply. ["Very good!"] And this cost us streams of blood, years of struggles. So, comrade Lebedour, when the soviet government comes in Germany - and we all hope that it will come - and when you are confronted with this question, we ask of you not to repeat our mistakes. After all, as an International we have to learn from each other. ["Very true!"] You should not follow our 'diktat', but learn from Finland, from Hungary, from Latvia and - last but not least - from Germany. ["Very good!"] Applause on the left. Heckle from Ledebour: "All fallacies!"

If you tell us that you do not want to belong to the Third International because in this question you have principled differences with us, you are committing an error. You should not look at it as a question of morality versus immorality. Nobody is comfortable with murder. You can probably imagine that. But where does it come from? From the fact that the revolution was born of war. Since the war, in which 20 million people were butchered, we have all become somewhat brutalised and we do not treasure human life as much as before. The proletarian revolution comes with streams of blood, it has such terrible birth pains, humanity has been brutalised. ["Very true!"] We have become accustomed to going at each other with muskets. It is now a matter of what means we use to defend the revolution for our class, for humanity - what means we use to defend our lives. That is the question. [Heckle from the right: "That depends on the situation!"] Laughter and calls on the left: "Aha!"

It may be that in a doctrinaire or a professorial sense, a difference could be found between violence and terror. Sure, there is difference in a doctrinaire sense, but the matter concerns a political question: the question of the oppressed class which has to defend itself. And on this we ask you not to split hairs. We were so oppressed and so unorganised in the past that we cannot do without terror. Quite the opposite, we have to use it. We have to understand that it is actually a weapon of the working class. If we need to use it then we are in favour of it.

This is why I am saying for the hundredth time that you are still thinking about the revolution in a completely abstract way. You think that it will come in a hundred years. You do not want to deal with concrete circumstances as they are in Germany, where you are already acquainted with the terror of the bourgeoisie.

The names Luxemburg and Liebknecht shine like stars in the sky of the op-

pressed of the whole world. But who killed Luxemburg and Liebknecht? Did they not fall as victims of bourgeois terror? And yet we still have to listen to those things from Ledebour - in Germany of all countries, where there isn't a single street where working class blood has not been shed. How can this ideology emerge, that you are still having doubts?

If it is necessary, then it needs to be done. [Shouts of "very true" on the left] We have never propagated terror when it is not necessary, only when it is. [Hecle from the right: "So you mean not in principle!"] No, we did not do that either. I have shown you historic facts that are very important. I have shown you a whole section of our revolution. Comrades, you know quite well that after we defeated [Anton] Denikin - it should be remembered - we immediately said: now enough of the terror. It was perhaps too early, but we did it. So how can you now use this against us? How can you say to the workers in Germany: 'Well, just take a look at these contemptible terrorists, they use terror as a matter of principle!'

No, if you are serious about proletarian revolution and dictatorship, you have to put up with it. It cannot be any different - not through any fault of our own, but because of the damned bourgeoisie ["Very true!"], which is prepared to butcher another 20 million people, but not to relinquish its privileges. That's how the question of terror should be looked at.

I would like to add one more thing. Perhaps you will say: 'Yes, terror against the bourgeoisie may well perhaps be necessary, but not against so-called socialists.' Allow me to speak for a few more minutes on this question.

In comrade Dittmann's speech to conference - I will quote it, if necessary - he said a lot about a well-known Russian, Victor Chernov. It has been said that the president of the Constituent Assembly is a socialist. If he had come to Halle, he would probably have been gladly greeted by the right wing of the USPD. Allow me to quote a document, from which you will have to see that we are compelled to stand up against such socialists, even with arms in hand, with the means of terror.

I'll quote only one document: A resolution on international politics, which was drafted by the 8th meeting of the party council of the Socialist Revolutionaries in 1918 and then adopted by a party congress, council and conference of this party, of whom Victor Chernov is the leader. This was at a time when the Czechoslovaks and white guards were fighting against us. Try to envision what the situation was like. We did not yet have a Red Army, we only had the beginnings of it, we still had the Brest-Litovsk peace, the Entente was much stronger than it is even now, it fought against us, sent Czechoslovak soldiers against us. We had no bread and were under attack. The situation was very difficult. The congress of the Socialist Revolutionary Party adopted the following resolution, which I will read out word for word:

As the Bolshevik government has - through its policies on Russia - provoked the danger of the complete loss of independence and the splitting up of Russia into the spheres of influence of its strong neighbours, the 8th council of the Party of the Socialist Revolutionaries believes that this

danger can only be removed through the immediate liquidation of the Bolshevik government and if a social democratic government, elected by universal suffrage, takes governmental power. A government, which in this war against Germany recognises the military support of the allies, under conditions and forms that warrant the inviolate character of Russia. The appearance of Allied troops on Russian territory for purely strategic and non-political ends will be acceptable to such a government of organised democracy based on the legislative national assembly, if a formal settlement between Russia and the non-Allied, armed powers guarantees the inner political decisions and the security and inviolate character of Russian territory.

So, the SRs proposed to the Entente that they should send troops to Russia for “strategic”, but not “political” purposes - with the condition that they do not interfere. I do not need to tell you just how the Entente troops interfere; so envision this: at a time when every day hundreds of our comrades fall on the front, when the working class is starving, and when the Entente is prepared to hold a pistol to our head on a daily basis - at such a time a socialist party comes along and decides at its congress to enable the Entente to send troops into the Russian Soviet territory - not for “political”, but for “non-strategic” purposes. I ask you, comrade Ledebour, what would you do if you stood at the head of a proletarian government, if you were in such a situation, and the Entente wanted to send troops against you, and in Germany a socialist party stood up and said: ‘Yes, we ask the Entente to send troops.’ [Hackle from Ledebour: “Of course we will treat them as enemies!”]

How can we deal with these people in any other way than with violence? [“Very true!”] What are these people if they are not class enemies, bourgeois elements? Although they call themselves socialists, they have now dropped out of the Second International, too. [Hackle from Ledebour: “Zimmerwald!”] You have to realise that during the first part of the revolution and partly during the second, Chernov and his party of the Socialist Revolutionaries were the closest possible allies of the Mensheviks. They sat in one single government, made one single policy, their ministers arrested Trotsky, their ministers destroyed our party organisation, their ministers subdued the proletariat of Petersburg - that is what these socialists look like! [Hackle from Ledebour: “counterrevolutionaries!”]

You also have to understand psychology. Initially, a group of my closest co-thinkers and I simply could not believe that these people were counterrevolutionaries. We said to ourselves: how can it be that Chernov - who was alongside us with Ledebour in Zimmerwald, and who even wanted to belong to its left wing for a moment - is a counterrevolutionary? We thought it must be an exaggeration. We wanted to hold off and attempt to reconcile ourselves with these forces.

Yet with an iron logic, the revolution drove us apart. We knew that he might

call himself a socialist, but that he is a bourgeois agent - he is more dangerous to us than any *Orgesch*. And this is precisely what the revolution is like - it cannot be done in a friendly, patient and peace-loving manner. It is about risking one's neck, it's about all or nothing. This is why we had to use terror against a so-called socialist party, just like they used it against us, and just like they badly injured Lenin. That is what the party of the Socialist Revolutionaries did. [Hackle from Martov: "No!" Hackle from Crispian: "Martov protested against it!"] The woman who shot at Lenin was a member of the Socialist Revolutionaries. This woman almost robbed us and the whole working class of Lenin.

This is what the situation was like. We wish from the bottom of our hearts that this won't happen to you and things will turn out better for you. But if we look at the first period of your revolution, and when we once again consider the fate of Rosa Luxemburg and Karl Liebknecht, then this merely remains a wish. You know very well that many of you sitting on the right - like Ledebour for example - are only alive by chance. And I do not need to tell you who carries the moral responsibility for that.

It may be very embarrassing that the proletarian revolution proceeds in such a bloody and difficult manner, but it cannot be changed. That is what I had to say to you on the question of terror. I believe that the working class of the whole world, if it really has learnt the lessons of the Paris Commune - which we proudly stand in the tradition of - if it has learned from the attempts, the experiences of the Finnish, the German, the Russian, the Latvian and the Estonian revolutions, then they really have to say to our inexperienced parties what Lafargue once said: "Comrades, in the struggle for our cause do not be too good-natured. If you have to, use even the accentuated form of violence, which is terror!" ["Very true!" "Bravo!"]

I believe I have dealt with the three points of principle we disagree on and which were touched on by Crispian. [Hackle from Crispian: "soviet system!"] I have been asked to also speak on the soviet system. As far as I was able to understand, there was an argument here about whether one should sign up the yellow workers into the councils. [Hackle from Crispian: "Not just about that!"] I hope at least that I have understood the correct problems and will attempt to answer them.

First, the question of the yellow workforce. If we understand the yellow workers to be the technical staff, the paid technical staff of the bourgeoisie, if we understand them to be a small group of people, then of course we must hunt them out. But if we understand them as reactionary workers' elements in general - Christians, other backward elements etc - then I say that we definitely need to have such elements in the councils. Comrades, we have to organise our class. That is the ABC of our whole activity. It is the curse of our class that some of our brothers are fighting against us. In the soviets we have the opportunity to teach them better. You all agree that the councils of action in England were a very important proletarian movement. Were there not Christian workers present? As many as you want. All workers were there. There was a delegate in every town,

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and unfortunately there are also many Christian and backward workers in England.

In the first meetings of the Petrograd and the Moscow soviets, there were anti-Semitic elements. They were there, some are still there - and it cannot be any different. But if we practically work there for two or three years - like I did for example in Petersburg - then these soviets will become very generous universities for these workers. They would soon get rid of their own prejudices. The concept of the soviets is a great one, it is an idea for the working class of the whole world. It gives us the opportunity to teach our backward brothers, and gives them the opportunity to take part in and master the state apparatus on a daily basis. It will not happen any differently here either, you must have these people in the councils. It is a shame that they are not coming over to us, that the yellow leaders are preventing them from joining the soviets. But the idea of the soviet system is such a powerful magnet that it is attracting the hearts and souls of all workers - those of backward workers, too. We have to make use of this magnet, gather the people around us, and treat them in a comradesly fashion - for these backward workers are the curse of our class. We have to teach them, that's the only way.

Should it come to a vicious struggle, then we have to fight each other, and this has happened, but we have to have those people in the soviets. And if reality presents itself to you like that, you have to react to it. Praxis itself will tell you that you must have these people, and here I would like to remind you of what the late August Bebel said to you on many occasions. We have followed the fate of the German party for decades and have learned from it. We have read everything that such masters of the German party like August Bebel have said. [Hackle from the right: "He would say something quite different today!"] When you were discussing the question of the trade unions, how many times did he say: 'Yes, we must be careful and tolerant in the face of Christian workers organised in trade unions and we precisely have to get these people on our side.' [Disagreement from the right. Hackle from Crispian: "The Amsterdam trade union!"] The Amsterdam trade union! The Third International has decided to take part in all congresses of the union, to re-educate the workers there. But of course we have to fight against the leaders - or rather the misleaders. The deceased August Bebel did not say that you should be soft on the Christian leaders! ["Very true!"] We have not been soft on those people - but our attitude to the workers, our class comrades, is quite different.

Therefore comrades - and perhaps it will be different for you - we do not have to offer any protection to these people, we are not some sort of schoolmaster. We have accepted the backward elements. We are also accepting those who are not party members. Sometimes those are the very same backward elements, the very same Christians. And comrades, in my capacity I speak far more often with those who are without a party than our own party comrades. Sometimes there is a joke made about me: yes, Zinoviev is "not in a party"! Why? Because it is precisely these people who are not in a party that we must have with us in order to re-educate them. [Hackle from the right: "That is purgation!"]

Now onto the second issue of dispute on the question of councils. As far as I can see, you have argued about whether the party must be leading in the workers' councils. And we are absolutely of the opinion that it must be leading.

There was a time when we had only two to eight percent of members of the Petrograd soviet, which is the most advanced soviet in the whole country. I remember when it was decided to form a coalition government for the first time, when Chernov, [Irakly] Tsereteli and other ministers arrived. What jubilation there was amongst the workers in the Petrograd soviet - they now had a socialist minister. But when Trotsky wanted to speak there, and when I wanted to move a motion, they did not even want to listen to me. They said: 'Go to hell, we have a coalition, we have socialist ministers, we do not need civil war or terror.'

Now this was a very bitter hour for us, but later it all turned out very differently. So the party was in a small minority. Yet we knew how to carry on working, to show the working class on a daily basis that our party is right. And the party won the soviets, carried them further and will continue to do so. I doubt whether it will be different for you. Maybe a different regroupment of forces will occur here. Maybe it will happen differently, but we should take to heart the experiences of the Russian Revolution, which are actually worth something. In our experience, there must be a united party, which continues the soviets and also leads them.

I think I have also dealt sufficiently with this question. I cannot digress too far and it is difficult for me to speak and you are probably tired, but I think I actually have the duty to discuss one further question here, and you have to grant me a little bit more time...[Hackle: "We have still not heard the conditions!"] First I wish you to allow me to speak about Russia...[Hackle from Ledebour: "What about the centralisation of the International?!"] I intend to speak on that.

But first comrades, allow me two words on Russia. You know very well how comrade Dittmann has turned on the Bolsheviks [Disagreement. Hackle: "Not true!"] Actually, it is quite laughable to dispute this. So I would like to propose to comrade Dittmann that he if so disposed and if it is possible, then we should debate the question of Russian affairs in a great public assembly of workers in Berlin or elsewhere. Somebody has played an evil joke on the comrade: he was given outrageous material and he passed it on. When he declares that 315,000 members of our party are soviet officials and not workers, and only eleven percent of our party are workers, and when he audaciously claims that these are data and figures published by the central committee, then this is a legend and a fable with which I am at a loss.

How can a man like Dittmann, who is such a tried and tested politician, publish something like this without checking it first? So I am prepared to spar with Dittmann and Crispin in a public discussion. But I would like to say one thing: It really is looking bad in Russia. We do not deny that at all. There is not enough bread - now there is more than before, though there are not enough other food-stuffs. In the cities, the heating and housing situation is bad. There is much that we do not have, but we ask you to consider the kind of struggles we have fought through in these three years. [Dittmann: "I mentioned all of that!"]

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A comrade of ours attempted to put together a summary of the governments we have to fight against. There are at least 18 of them: England, France, America, Japan, previously Germany, Austria, Hungary, Romania, Poland and Czechoslovakia and many others. I am not even talking about our internal enemies, the counterrevolution, the officers and the white guards. So 20 governments, almost the whole world, with a few exceptions, have fought against us, with weapons, money, spies, leaders and everything possible, and that is no exaggeration. We must fight against a whole world, and unfortunately the working class of Europe was so badly organised that it could not help us immediately.

Indeed, we were in an argument with almost the entire bourgeois world. And now comrades, take a look at this picture and imagine what it is like. [Heckle from the right: "We know all of that already!"] Imagine this: the workers strike for two months, three months, even four. They have no help, they are being persecuted, they have nothing to eat, their children are running around barefooted, things look very bad in their houses, and now a worker from another town or district takes a look at the situation and says: 'I do not like this at all'. [Heckle from the left: "Very good!"]

Comrades, this was what comrade Dittmann's action was like, too. [Heckle from the left: "Very true!"] You can imagine what sort of feelings this aroused amongst the Russian working class. I do not need to say what sort of feelings these are, and I know full well that this action was not endorsed by the German working class either. [Stormy applause and clapping on the left. Disagreement on the right. Dittmann cries: "Because you are not reading it out loud, I have written on it"] I think you all know these articles of comrade Dittmann. I don't want to read them out. I have been informed that the Anti-Bolshevik League has used one of them for a placard. [Heckle from the right: "You too!"]

I would like to request one small thing, namely that you make this placard available to me for our revolutionary museum in Petersburg. We will put it in a lovely frame and always think of it. [Renewed heckles from the right: "Lenin!"] Comrades, Lenin was quoted today and it was said: 'Lenin, he's quite a clever fellow'. This is my view, too, I am in agreement; what he wrote on the infantile disorder of the revolution is very good. The manner in which he criticises our party is also not bad. But this is not what Dittmann wrote on the situation in Russia - not by a long stretch. [Agreement from the left]

And now allow me to speak about my own criticisms about my party, which Dittmann read out today. Dittmann thinks that it speaks against me and my party. No, comrades! It speaks precisely *for* my party and for me as a member of the party. Yes, it is true that comrade [Yevgeny] Preobrazhensky wrote what has been quoted today ["Hear, Hear" from the right], although of course it was cut out of context.

It is true that a few weeks ago, at a shortened party congress in Moscow, I myself gave a talk in which I raised the sharpest criticism about several problems of our party. ["Hear, hear" on the right] It is true that I even spoke about the inequality in the living conditions within our party. I would like to ask you: is there

no inequality in your party, and is everything here in best order? ["That is not what this is about"] It is true that I said that and that I raised much sharper criticisms. But you have to know that for the last 25 years, we have always spoken out openly in our party. It is for this reason - in spite of a few weaknesses - that in the eyes of the working class of Russia and the whole world, we have become - and I say this with pride - the greatest, most esteemed, disciplined party, and the one best equipped for action. We have done this for 25 years, and will continue to do so. Comrades, at different times our party has suffered from different illnesses, which can well be described as seasonal illnesses, just like any other party has. But we have criticised them, we have cured them, and we will continue to do so.

The moment we took power into our hands, a range of new illnesses befell us. Illnesses that we previously did not have, because we did not hold power. Today's seasonal illness consists of the fact that many shady elements have joined the party, some dodgy types, who are not exactly very pleasant. I wish that things would be better in this regard. Yet I don't know whether this wish will be fulfilled. Indeed, in Hungary it was precisely the same - a whole number of dodgy and shady types forced their way into the party.

But just consider our situation. Consider the fact that we have lost at least 300,000 of our best people on the front. According to statistical surveys we lost 280,000 workers in the first year of the revolution, who for the most part fell in the army and on the front. We had to note that the old guard has almost completely disappeared. Yes, this is bad, but it cannot be any different. It was precisely our most tried and tested comrades who had acted as soviet officials and who had to be thrown at the most dangerous places and situations. This is how we suffered every day the loss of some of our best and most tried and tested comrades. So the layer of the tried and tested old workers became too thin.

Not only this - even those who we did not lose often became ill and exhausted. We can see that they are ill and that we ought to let them recover. But it happened that when we wanted to send a comrade into a sanatorium - a comrade that I have known for 14 years - he said that he did not want to and that he would rather work with us and die with us here.

But even those who stayed alive had to go through such terrible things during these three years, had to carry such enormous burdens on their shoulders that many of them lost their strength and had become terribly nervous. This is a phenomenon that we still have to deal with at the front today. I said in my report that at the front there are people who do not act as communists; but immediately after this I added that this was dwindling minority and that the great majority were tried and tested. Recently, Trotsky gave a report to the Central Committee - ie, in a rather intimate setting - about his trip to the Polish front. He said that the most terrible thing was that our workers from Petersburg and Moscow looked like ghosts. They work so terribly and suffer so terribly and have so little that they can barely stand up. A simple soldier will requisition the last goose and eat it, but a communist will not do so. He will content himself with his ration, and no matter how weak he is, he will be found on the frontline.

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This is what the situation is like, because we have to fight against a world of enemies. But you cannot forget: the proletarian revolution cannot be had cheaply, and whoever doesn't want to pay the price should not even start it. Of course, there are illnesses within our party. There are people that have become communists overnight, have then become soviet officials and claim the greatest privileges for themselves, and who merely want to bureaucratised and many more things. It is precisely for this reason that we reprimanded these people in the name of the central committee, in the name of the working class, and said: this is not on, the party will not tolerate this. The party demands of you that you do not become proletarian bureaucrats, the party does not wish to have such inequalities. That is what we said. And you are seriously mistaken if you believe that we did not know and predict that Dittmann would quote this against us.

We knew that very well, and I would make it my duty to say so in every mass meeting. Comrades and brothers, this is what it is like in Russia, we have these seasonal illnesses. But is it wrong if we speak out openly about what we should do to overcome them? Do you have a right to rail against it? Is that the 'diktat' people are telling us about? I would like to meet the person from the right of the USPD who stands up and has the courage to say something like this publicly. [Stormy applause on the left]

Yes comrades, we have learned about openness from you, at least from some of you, admittedly not from Dittmann! ["Very good!" Amusement on the left] But allow me to say who we have learnt it from: Bebel. He used to hold such open speeches at the party congresses. That was the most beautiful period of the German working class, when it had such a leader, when it had nothing to fear, and when its leader dared to speak out. So I ask: was the person who spoke in the name of our central committee, was he a coward, a hypocrite, an ultra-centralist? Was he a dictator? [Heckle from the left: "No, no!"]

I therefore say, comrades: What Dittmann quoted against me speaks *for* our party, *for* our working class. Yes, we do not want to conceal the fact that not everything is good, that many things are bad. But, comrades, we will heal ourselves, and therefore we tell each other what is going on. But for the main part we are a workers' party, and at its core this workers' party is healthy, which is why it can take criticism. And, above all else, from this criticism it can draw the conclusions about what has to be done for things to get better. A commission has been elected to this end, in order to overcome this as quickly as possible. Therefore, comrades, we will print and distribute this speech. We do not fear that our brothers in Germany or in other countries will say: 'Yes, look there, they have gone bankrupt!' Well comrades, I can only hope that the workers' parties of all countries suffer such bankruptcy! [Applause on the left]

An article has come to my attention, which, if I am not mistaken, was written by comrade Breitscheid, in which she writes: "I understand our Russian brothers quite well. They have to carry out a difficult fight, they are hungry, they would like to get help quickly, and therefore they demand that we should make revolution immediately - and hence the Moscow diktat". In a good-natured fashion,

this probably very good comrade says: "Yes, we have sympathy with you, but we will not go along with this Moscow diktat." I would like to say to our dear comrade and others: comrade, do not help us, help yourselves! [Stormy applause and clapping on the left lasting for minutes. Laughter on the right]

Of course we need your help, and I believe we have the right to this help. Of course, we should and must have the help that the working class of other countries can give us. And things were certainly very difficult for us. But the most difficult part is over. Yes, the most difficult part is over and the civil war will be over. We can then turn to peaceful work. We have a rich country which makes up a sixth of the globe, we have a working class which is heroically-minded, and which is on our side in life and death. We can already say that we have survived the most difficult period. So comrades, in the first instance, take care of the working classes of your own countries. [Applause on the left]

An article by comrade Kaminski has appeared in *Rote Fahne*, in which he expresses the opinion that one should not make revolutions with foreign weapons. But at our conference, a representative of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Poland turned up, saying that the party is completely in agreement with the Russian party. We believe that we must exercise as much solidarity as the international bourgeoisie. When the international bourgeoisie seeks help from other countries, it does not say: 'Those are not my weapons,' but it says: 'We, the bourgeoisie, are a class, and we have the duty to support each other.' We should also think and act like this.

When you are in power and you have the opportunity to help the French working class, then this is not merely your right, it is your duty. [Hackle from the right: "Of course!"] You see then, this has also become an international question. Until now we have only led one offensive in the area of internationalism: we have demanded neutrality. But now the proletarian revolution is stepping into a new phase and we are arriving in a new epoch, where the working class internationally must go from the defensive to the offensive. Today it is not enough to be on the neutral and pacifist defensive. The working class, if it wants to help in this fight, has to understand that we have to prepare the offensive with the bayonet and with all other possible means. That is what I have to say on this problem.

Now allow me to move on to the conditions. [Ironic heckles on the right: "About time!"] Finally, you say. I beg forgiveness for speaking so diffusely, but you yourselves asked me to speak on a few questions, and I had to answer other questions - not just before this party congress, but also from this high stage, which today is an international one. [Applause on the left]

Comrades, I think the first question is this: why have these conditions actually come about? It is not an absolute necessity to put up conditions. Up until now it was the case that, both in our own party and in the Second International, we always said: 'The more people the better.' So why the conditions? If there hadn't been such great confusion, such a terrible crisis in the international working class movement, then we really would not have needed any conditions. Everybody would simply join the party he wanted to. But our party is not a corpora-

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tion, it is an association of the forces of the working class in struggle. So we could simply say: 'All fraternal parties can come in and that is the end of it.' Where have these conditions come from then?

Because since 1914, and even earlier, the working class has gone through a terrible crisis, which we should not forget. Sometimes we already begin to forget that we had an imperialist war, and that as a result we had this massacre and this terrible crisis. We had an International in which some 10 million workers were organised, and the working class of the entire world had placed its best hopes in it.

Then the war came and everything was lost. Many of our workers buried their hopes and comrade Luxemburg was absolutely right when she said: "The strangest thing following this terrible collapse is that we stayed alive and did not commit suicide." But many comrades did exactly this. Is all of that already over? Not at all! The working class was in the darkness, and in the darkness of those times we shot at each other. Thousands and hundreds of thousands of us killed each other. Now the war is over, but our crisis isn't yet. We still haven't united, there still is a smorgasbord of different tendencies.

Therefore, we first have to carry out a re-evaluation of all values. This is why the conditions have to come first, this is why we need such a litmus test, which has to prove who actually belongs to us and who does not, who is still a reformist and who wants to be revolutionary. That is the reason for the conditions. They were not born out of viciousness or of a longing for 'diktat', but precisely out of the crisis of the international workers' movement. If we want to build the International now, then we have to proceed in this way and have to advance conditions. [Heckle from the right: "But not these kinds of conditions"]

Well, what kind of conditions? The first condition states: "The whole of our propaganda and agitation has to bear a genuinely communist character and correspond to the programmes and decisions of the Third International." Comrades, I have to say that this one sentence would actually be completely sufficient for us ["Very true!"], if we could be sure that these were not just words. Crispien just heckled me with "So what?" But the very same Crispien told us yesterday that it was the greatest crime that there were communists "in disguise" here. [Heckle from the right: "In disguise?"] Right, but you have no objections to comrades being openly communist? ["Very good!" Laughter on the left]

If our differences of opinion merely hinge upon us not wanting communists to be in disguise, then we are of the same opinion. But you know very well that this is not the case. It was precisely said that comrades who openly behave as communists are not welcome. Only today it was said here that it wouldn't work: "This here is not the KPD, but the USPD. If tomorrow the workers see that accepting the conditions means 'Now all into the Communist Party!' and that they are no longer allowed to call themselves USPD, but have to call themselves KPD, then we are lost."

Comrade Crispien also challenged me on the Polish question. He said that Zinoviev had explained in Moscow that the Polish working class was bad. I have

to speak on that, because it has international significance. The Polish working class was so subdued, so many of them had been arrested and struck down that they really could not give us sufficient help. But we are in absolute solidarity with the Polish working class.

I don't think this is particularly scary. Comrades, hand on heart, it is quite clear that you are neither communists in disguise nor open communists. And you don't want to be. This is why in your case the first condition is not sufficient. After this terrible crisis, after the collapse of the Second International, we have the duty of mistrust, the duty, comrades, to understand that words are not enough. And the course of this conference has proven this.

You said that we initiated such unrest here. What else could we do? Yesterday, Crispien said that the executive was speaking with its fraternal parties in the same manner as bourgeois governments are speaking with each other. [Heckle from the right: "Much worse!"] The same Crispien later quoted a note by [Viktor] Kopp saying that this, compared to us, was polite. Comrades, we speak differently with the governments than with fraternal parties. We sometimes have a coarse, very brutal language - perhaps sometimes it is too brutal. But it is not the 'tone' that is important. The question is whether we are on a common path and whether we want to continue on it.

We have to work out such conditions step by step, so that everybody has to profess in advance where they stand. Everybody can be happy with the first condition. But you want to take a big hat and cover everybody, even the Second International. You want to render homage to Amsterdam. Which is why we have to be more detailed with our conditions; and the ECCI has been given full authority to do so.

Where we see that we are dealing merely with formalities, we have the ECCI's authority to exercise the greatest tolerance towards genuinely proletarian elements. [Heckle: "You say that now!"] We want to walk along the same path, but not with those elements who do not want to do that and who have taken up another path. [Heckle from the right: "Are those conditions or not?"] Comrades, I just said that this is a question of individuals, the executive has the right to make exceptions. [Heckles on the right: "To demand something like that of us?"] No worker will read a *lèse-majesté* out of that, only professional leaders will. [Heckles] [**The bell rings.**]

This is not a diktat of the Russians, but of the other nations. Crispien is right: initially we did not want conditions 2 and 7; but the congress compelled us to accept them. ["(Karl) Radek said he had the congress in the bag!"] I do not know whether Radek was able to say such a thing.

But everybody who has was at the congress will be able to confirm that condition 21 was moved by the Italian comrade [Amadeo] Bordiga. We have accepted it, but we believe that comrade Bordiga is wrong on the question of parliamentarism. Yet when it comes to the struggle against reformist elements, he is completely correct and he has done well: the majority of congress accepted the conditions. If we needed proof, then the best possible proof is this congress.

[Applause on the left]

Comrades, there was talk here of an accidental majority - I think we can equally say there is an accidental and significant minority here. [Applause] Comrades, we have accused you of calling this party congress too quickly. Maybe now you share this opinion? ["No"] Neither do I, actually. But I know that the more detailed and longer the debate goes on, the more workers come over to our side. ["Very true!"]

There has been a significant number of workers in your ranks, because you have pushed discussion solely onto organisational issues. ["Very true!"] Therefore, comrades, we say that Bordiga and the Italian comrades are correct. It is clear that this classic split will also happen in other parties. And the good thing is that the German working class has been the first to recover from the crisis, by mustering such a majority here. [Cries of "Bravo!"] For example, here I have a letter from a worker on the left of the USPD, which states: "I am for Moscow, can you not formulate the 21 conditions differently for us?" Following the battle with those who oppose us on principle, we will exercise the greatest tolerance towards those workers who are really in favour of the future proletarian revolution. [Applause on the left. Heckles on the right: "Everybody does what they can"]

I have to carry out one more mandate of the ECCI ["Paragraph 21"] I have to ask the congress - that part of the congress to whom our conditions are unacceptable - that it may be so good as to tell us quite formally: what do you desire, what would be acceptable to you? Which theses, which conditions do you accept? [Disagreement. Heckle on the right: "Why did you not tell us that three weeks ago?"] I raised this very same objection yesterday when comrade Longuet was speaking. He immediately told me what conditions were unacceptable to him. ["Retract!"] Great unrest. "Why not before?" Heckle from Crispien: "Opportunistic spin!"

Crispien thinks our request is based on fear of the conditions. I have no reason to be dissatisfied with the conditions. I think it is actually an international duty to listen to our request and our appeal. [Heckle from the right: "You could have done that a long time ago, why did you not come three weeks ago?"] The document is well-known to you. As this representative body, you should be able to formulate which theses you are in favour of and under which conditions. [Unrest on the right. Heckle from Crispien: "That is too strong." "You are comen!"]. [**The bell rings.**]

I believe, comrades, that we are not particularly challenging on this point. If the Swiss party decides it would like to negotiate with us once again, then this would indeed be funny, as the Swiss have changed their decision six times already. But comrades, it is the duty of the ECCI to negotiate once more. And that is what we will do. [Heckles on the right. Heckles on the left] Comrades, I already said so to you before ... [Heckle from (Fritz) Radtke: "You are worse than a horse trader"]⁶

6. Radtke actually said: "You are worse than *Schimmeljuden*". This expression "mouldy Jews" refers

Otto Brass (in the chair): "I ask you to let the speaker continue. [Great unrest on the left. Heckle from Radtke] If you cannot listen, then go outside!" ["Bravo!" "As chair you are unable to accuse us of such a thing. What fool's play!"]

Brass: "I told comrade Radtke that if he does not want to listen then he should make his way outside". ["Very true!" Applause. Heckle on the left]

Zinoviev continues:

Comrades, it is my duty to pass on the executive's proposal to you. Of course it is fully within your rights to reject it if you want. But you will hopefully understand that I have to pass it on. This is what I have done, and I hope that you will not take offence in me doing so.

Now I come to the conclusion. I still wish to say something on the composition of the ECCI and on relations to the German party. You always say that you are under the 'Russian diktat'. There was even an article today with the headline: 'The knout of Moscow'. Considering that our countries had been at war for four years, we should in my opinion be somewhat more careful with the term 'knout'. It is nothing less than the awakening of nationalist instincts.

I have to finally declare that the ECCI is composed of five members of the Russian party and 18 members of other parties. You know that comrade [Clara] Zetkin is a representative in Moscow and I hope that a large part of the working class will say that she does well as the representative of the German working class. ["Very true!"]

Remember when the Second International was based in Brussels and you wanted to be part of it. Comrade Crispin even went to Lucerne.⁷ [Heckle from Crispin: "Untrue! We just wanted to listen to it, I already ascertained that in Moscow, that is an untruth." Lively unrest] It is a fact that official representatives of your party took part in the meetings of the Second International even after the war. ["Very true!"] How was it there? In Brussels the Belgians - a small party, remember - actually took care of your business. The ISB of the Second International rarely met. Only when important questions arose was an effort made not to leave those to the executive. Why did you do that? Because the opportunists in Germany, France and Russia said that it was irrelevant whether the Belgian opportunists or other opportunists do it.

Initially we only wanted ten parties, now there are 13 on the Executive Committee. After the congress, three other parties joined. The executive now consists of 16 representatives. It was proposed that the Russians should take over things and carry lone responsibility. Although this was of course a great honour for us, we rejected it. We rejected it precisely because we needed to have a different International, because above all else we needed to have a connection with the other countries. Crispin will confirm that sometimes other comrades led the discussions in Moscow. If you want to relocate the executive to Germany or Paris, then we will be the first to agree happily. That is what we said! ["Hear,

to Jews who used to trade horses.

7. Lucerne refers to the congress of the remnants of the Second International, the Labour and Socialist International. It took place from August 1-9 1919.

Hear!” Applause on the left] This is what we said, comrades, they were not mere words. Today we know full well how much responsibility lies on our shoulders. I ask you, where are the other countries, the other parties, who are always asking to be given ‘trust’? We want to discuss this.

Soon we will celebrate the 50th anniversary of the Paris Commune. We will be happy when the French workers have soviet power and form a great party - then we can relocate the executive to Paris. [Hackle on the right: “Bawler!”] As I have said, this is not about any dictators. Comrades, just think about what blame you are trying to lay on us. What do we need dictators for? Do you really think we are stupid enough to believe that when we press a button, the people will start dancing?

It has been said that we want to hunt our German brothers into a war with France. [Hackle on the right: “Yes!”] That is outrageous - absolutely outrageous. [“Very true!”] In Lenin’s pamphlet and in thousands of documents we have explained that when the German working class takes power, it must perhaps grit its teeth, but it must tolerate the Treaty of Versailles for a while. [“Hear, Hear!”] Is that pushing the Germans into war? [Disagreement] Comrades, in Moscow we told comrades Crispian and Dittmann that they made a mistake on the peace question. [“What mistake was that?”] The mistake of not having made the revolution immediately. If at that moment power had landed in the hands of the working class, then perhaps they would have to sign a new Brest Treaty.

But power was in the hands of the Scheidemanns - ie, in the hands of the bourgeoisie, who wanted to make peace anyway, and had it in the bag. At the last minute the clever fox Scheidemann pretended he was against it. He wanted to save his honour. Right up until the last minute you worked flat out and made it easy for Scheidemann to sign the peace treaty. Why did you take such responsibility? You were not able to make revolution, but you should have declared - as we did in 1915 - that if we have the opportunity, we will lead revolutionary proletarian war. But if we don’t have the opportunity, then we will have to be patient, obey, agree peace with the imperialists and thus make a compromise.

But you did not have power in your hands. Power was rather in the hands of the bourgeoisie. So comrades, you overlooked this small difference. Never did we dare to say to you: “make war”. We know what war means. [Applause on the left] We know that war is not a walk in the park, that it brings great difficulties for the working class, and we also know how the working class suffers.

We say that initially we must have power in our hands. And how long we have to tolerate the Treaty of Versailles will depend on the International in Europe and the whole world, with the French working class quickly coming to our aid. This is how things are. [Disagreement] We have never demanded that the Germans should make war. [Hackle from the right: “*Rote Fahne* says that every day!”] No way. I have to say that I read a historical document put together by the KPD on the question of peace. It is a terrific document, scientific and proletarian through and through. It says that we do not take responsibility for wars. Initially we have another task, namely to unite the workers against the bourgeoisie.

We do not want to demand of you that you start the new war or that you carry out the revolution tomorrow, but merely that you engage in day-to-day preparation, systematic propaganda - not against communism but for communism; not against the revolution but for revolution. That is the only condition.

This composition of our ECCI is a guarantee that things will work out. Comrades, I already said so in my first letter. There are not only Russians, but 16 other parties represented there. We were told that these are all our pupils. Was that polite, proletarian? [Disagreement] Today I proudly say: it is now possible for us to materially support many of our fraternal parties. ["Bravo!" on the left] Of course, we feel rather differently reading Dittmann's propaganda today than we did when you - the German working class - helped us back in 1905 and also afterwards. That is quite clear.

When the proletarian government of Hungary sent a sum of money to their Italian brothers, the Italian comrades were very proud of the Hungarians - and so were we. Comrades, I am convinced that when you have a proletarian government - and with it a state treasury - then you will also do your duty and help others. Clearly, the ECCI is precisely the kind of organisation that we never had in the Second International. We have 17 parties working together day by day, collectively discussing every appeal, building an international of action. You are always talking of the 'international of action'! What does that mean? Centralisation without discipline: what kind of action is that? Those are merely words.

I gave a speech in Moscow on the role of the centralisation of the party. Crispin and Dittmann actually congratulated me, saying that it was a good speech - a USPD speech. [Hackle from Crispin: "I said it was a USPD right speech!"] I immediately asked other comrades whether I had really talked that much opportunistic stuff? I was assured: the speech was not bad. I read it later on and I have to say that it wasn't bad.

In this USPD speech I already mentioned centralism and the unification. If the USPD is like that, then I am a USPD man. Why not? [Amusement] Why are you now saying the opposite? Why are you now coming with this story of the knout? You will see how dangerous such talk is if I quote you a passage from a French imperialist newspaper, *Le Temps* - ie, the cleverest organ of the French bourgeoisie, the organ of [Georges] Clemenceau. There we find an article published on September 30 [he quotes a French text].⁸

Now it was also said that the USPD shouldn't be destroyed and that we are trying to kill the party. Why such terrible excitement? There is no destruction or killing going on. We are merely asking you not to hang on to those elements who are not communist and don't want to be communist. You should shake them off and transform yourselves into a genuine communist party. In the past, our party called itself a socialist party. We also destroyed and killed ourselves. And it wasn't easy for us either.

And now we are accused of demanding that 'You should abdicate and step

8. This quote was not recorded in the congress record.

down from the stage'. Nobody needs to do that. But we are talking about the need to draw conclusions from the last two years of class struggle. You are always talking of a 'Moscow diktat'. But this is not what this is about. Even back in Leipzig [the 1919 USPD congress - BL] it was suspected that many of you did not want to join the International - so it is not the 'Moscow diktat' which is the cause of your split, but the nationalist German tendencies. [Great applause] And now it is time to draw the conclusions and you should not come here and say that the Moscow conditions are to blame. The blame lies somewhere quite different. Dittmann says we should not call ourselves the Communist Party. I hope that the German workers are already sufficiently enlightened not to be ashamed of the name of a party which was founded by Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg. [Lively applause]

What we are proposing now is the unification of all communist elements in Germany: The USPD, the KPD, and - in the spirit of a mandate from the executive - I would also like to say the KAPD, which has members in many towns. There are good proletarian elements in many cities, who, I am firmly convinced, want to belong to us and participate in a communist party. A fundamental revolution of the party system in German is about to take place. A regroupment of historical significance for the entire working class. I am convinced that what is happening today - combining all communist elements in the framework of a communist party which will form one part of an international - is an event of enormous importance for the working class.

Therefore allow me to finish and to say to you from the bottom of my heart: Long live the United Communist Party which unites all elements in all countries of the world who are determined to fight the revolutionary fight! Long live the Communist Party in all these countries and long live the proletarian International, the Third International of the proletariat of the whole world. [Stormy applause lasting for minutes]

Otto Brass (in the chair): "Today's business is finished, we will continue with business tomorrow. Congress is adjourned".

Close 19:20

The delegates slowly leave the venue while singing 'The Internationale'. Zinoviev shouts: "Long live the German proletariat!" Cheers in the crowd.



From left to right: Pavel Axelrod, Julius Martov and Alexander Martinov

Mensheviks in exile (Berlin, 1923)

V

Martov in Halle

Lars T Lih

The following speech by Jules Martov, given on October 15 1920, was translated from the text given in a recent publication of Martov's writings (Martov, *Izbranoe* Moscow, 2000). This text is provided with an archival reference, but it seems to be the same as the one published in Russian in Berlin in 1923. The text includes descriptions of audience reactions, but these are obviously one-sided and record only the reactions favourable to Martov. Section headings have been added for this translation.

Martov himself was in poor voice and his speech was read aloud for him. His main opponent, Grigory Zinoviev, had already given his famous four-hour speech at the Halle congress and many of Martov's remarks are aimed at this speech. Zinoviev gave his counterblast to Martov in the 'Closing Words' translated further on in this volume.

Martov's speech is organised in a straightforward fashion. His central thesis is that the Third International as presently constituted cannot provide the European proletariat with the 'international of action' that is needed. The Third International is dominated by a Bolshevik Russia that is increasingly mired in its own contradictions. Its actions both at home and abroad are becoming ever more desperate and risky, yet the Third International - a collection of weak and sectarian left wing splinter groups - has proven utterly unable to subject the policies of the Bolshevik party to even nominal control. The Bolsheviks, aware that their dominance in the International will be threatened if powerful European parties join, are seeking to perpetuate their leadership position by imposing the grotesque 21 conditions that mandate unquestioning subordination. Therefore, the only force that

can create a genuine ‘international of action’ - a socialist international that rejects both discredited reformism and bankrupt Bolshevism - is the Marxist ‘centre’, as exemplified by the German Independents, with whom Martov expressed political solidarity from their foundation in 1917.

Martov’s speech was given on October 15 1920, only a few months before the Bolsheviks made what seemed to be a radical turn-around. In March 1921, the so-called New Economic Policy or NEP legalised the private market in grain, and this opening move was followed by many other concessions to capitalist methods. Martov’s assertion that “the Russian revolution is sick and cannot be cured by its own means” was dramatically vindicated.

In the first section of the speech, Martov disputes the way Zinoviev framed the central issue. According to Zinoviev, the basic conflict was between reformist opportunism and revolutionary Marxism. The ‘centre’ represented by the German Independents was at best terminally wishy-washy and at worst crypto-opportunist. In either case, the centre fudged the real issues and thus was in many ways more dangerous than the out-and-out reformists. An even less nuanced version of this way of framing the basic conflict is still dominant today.

In response, Martov insisted that the ‘Marxist centre’ also rejected reformism root and branch. Reformism was dead, killed off by its wartime betrayal of socialism. Martov was able to point to his own record as someone who had written the obituary of reformism as soon as the war broke out. Martov was the leader of the internationalist wing of the Mensheviks, or, as Martov calls his party in his speech, the Russian Social Democratic Worker Party. At the end of 1917 - after a bout of coalition-mongering that Martov strongly opposed - the Mensheviks officially adopted Martov’s line.

But (continued Martov) the Marxist centre not only rejected reformism, it also rejected the utopian ‘revolutionism’ that had sprung up as a chaotic and elemental (*stikhiinyi*) reaction to the failure of the pre-war socialist parties. Bolshevism was an expression of this passionate but unreasoning reaction and as such was more than a purely Russian phenomenon (as Martov argued at greater length in his 1919 treatise *World Bolshevism*). After its victory in Russia, Bolshevism aspired to leadership of the international proletarian movement. Given its adventurist nature as well as the rapidly growing internal contradictions of the Russian Revolution, Bolshevik leadership of the international movement promised only disillusion, thus paradoxically giving reformism another lease of life. While the truly revolutionary Marxists of the centre would always strongly oppose imperialist attempts to crush the Russian Revolution, they would also throw the cold water of Marxist criticism on Bolshevik utopianism.

Having set up this framework, the rest of Martov’s speech is devoted to describing the dead end that (as he saw it) the Bolsheviks had reached by the end of 1920. Up to now, the Bolsheviks had easily dominated the Third International, so any claim that this organisation stood above national parties was a joke. The new International’s 2nd congress that had met in Moscow a few months before Martov’s speech gave ample proof of its own irrelevancy. The congress had

busied itself with minor questions about the personnel and tactics of small left wing groups, yet studiously avoided issues with enormous implications for the international revolution, because these issues had been unilaterally decided by the Bolshevik party. Among these issues were Bolshevik diplomacy during the Polish war (going on at the very time of the 2nd congress), Bolshevik attempts to mobilise Eastern peoples against the Entente, and the economic 'militarisation' policies of 1920.

The most important failing of the Bolsheviks was their reliance on terror as the foundation of the political system. Martov eloquently describes Bolshevik terror: the mass executions, the hostage-taking, and the disappearance of elementary political freedoms. The Bolsheviks resorted to terror because they were convinced that the survival of their own revolution was essential for international socialism. They therefore increasingly resorted to risky and dubious methods, "with no regard for how this or that method reflects on the development of the entire international revolution".

The disillusioned masses in Europe and elsewhere who looked to Bolshevism as a saviour needed to understand that the social soil on which Bolshevism triumphed in Russia was entirely different from "the soil on which the revolution is developing in the West". Just for this reason (and this is the main moral of his speech), "for the good of both the Russian and the international revolution, the task of re-establishing the International, the task of unifying the revolutionary forces of the entire world proletariat, must necessarily be taken into the hands of the Marxist elements of the worker parties of the Western countries". Martov concludes with a wish for the long life of the German Independent party - a party that was just on the verge of falling apart into reformist and 'revolutionist' camps.

Readers can judge for themselves how well Martov's indictment stands up against Zinoviev's defence and counter-charges. In the rest of these introductory remarks, I will examine Martov's underlying analysis of Bolshevism from a historiographical point of view.

In this speech as well as in other post-revolutionary writings, Martov explains the momentary success of Bolshevism in this way: the privations caused by the war, the brutalisation caused by years of militarist psychosis, have created elemental movements of despair among the suffering masses and a quasi-religious longing for a utopian leap to social liberation. The Marxist enlightenment brought to the proletariat for decades by the socialist parties has gone into temporary eclipse. Martov stresses again and again that the new revolutionary mood among the workers is 'unaware' or 'unconscious' - that is, based on feelings and not on reason.

The prominent Bolshevik leaders have gone through 'the Marxist school' and so, at some level, they know better. But they have now been 'corrupted' [*razvrashchennyi*] by the whole atmosphere of social radicalism created by the war and as a result they have lost their Marxist bearings. In 1917, they took advantage of a momentary confluence of circumstances to gain state power and promptly used that power in an attempt to carry out accelerated social transformation. In this, the Bolshevik leaders are symptomatic of the outlook of a wide social stratum of

radical proletarian activists.

Despite all their hopes and all their energy, the Bolsheviks and their sympathisers cannot overcome the old Marxist truth about objective circumstances. In the West, Bolshevik-style activism has led only to failure. In Russia itself, the original drive for accelerated socialist transformation has led to the utter collapse of the economy and to the adoption of increasingly desperate, discreditable and deeply anti-socialist methods. The temporary prestige of the Bolsheviks arises from their exploitation of mass despair, but this prestige cannot long survive their economic and moral collapse.

Thus Martov. Like the standard academic textbook interpretation, Martov's account is deeply anti-Bolshevik. There are nevertheless a number of very substantial differences between Martov's account and the textbook interpretation - despite the widespread opinion that mainstream academic interpretations are themselves derived from Menshevik leaders such as Martov.

The textbook interpretation goes something like this: the original sin of Bolshevism is its fear of spontaneity or *stikhiinost'*, as expressed in Lenin's 1902 book *What Is to Be Done?* Because he was so worried about the non-revolutionary reformism of the workers, Lenin staked everything on 'consciousness' or 'class awareness', as embodied in an elitist party of professional revolutionaries. In 1917, this elitist party took power by conspiratorial methods. The resulting civil war caused the Bolsheviks to become euphoric about the possibility of 'short-cuts to communism', as embodied in 1920 by the policies of 'war communism'.

On almost every point, Martov's analysis differs from this standard academic interpretation. As Martov's Halle speech shows, he himself was terrified by the *stikhiinost* of the masses (in my translation of his speech, *stikhiinyi* is translated as 'elemental' rather than 'spontaneous'). Martov constantly emphasises that the elemental despair of the masses is based on feelings rather than 'awareness'. The job of the 'Marxist centre' is to bring awareness in order to dissipate this irrational utopianism. (This fear of *stikhiinost* is a continuing thread in Martov's writings from the 1890s on.)

The crime of the Bolsheviks is not their condescending or hostile attitude toward 'spontaneity', but rather the way in which they pander to this *stikhiinost* rather than insisting on awareness. Martov stresses that the Bolshevik leaders are perfectly sincere - they themselves have been carried away and 'corrupted' by the social atmosphere of wartime desperation. They truly believe that the survival of the revolution in Russia is necessary for the world revolution. Thus, Martov does *not* trace Bolshevism back to any original sin, he does *not* in any way use pre-war Russian Bolshevism to explain the 'world Bolshevism' of 1917-1920. His entire explanatory emphasis is on the corrupting atmosphere of wartime desperation.

Martov's failure to use this sort of explanation is all the more remarkable because, unlike the majority of those confronted with Bolshevism after 1917, he knew pre-war Bolshevism intimately. Indeed, in 1918 he wrote a party history in which he specifically condemned *What Is to Be Done?* along the lines of Menshevik polemics in 1903-4. His analysis of Lenin's book has been highly influen-

tial - yet no one has pointed out that Martov did not think it necessary to even mention this book or its message when trying to explain post-1917 Bolshevism. On the contrary, in the Halle speech and elsewhere, he emphasised that the most prominent Bolshevik leaders had once been good Marxists.

The standard academic view says that the Bolsheviks started off acting pragmatically in 1917-18 and then got more and more radically optimistic as they went along. In his speech, Martov says the opposite: the Bolsheviks started off with hopes of an accelerated social transformation and were then pushed by objective circumstances to anti-socialist measures. In this assessment, Martov agrees with most other informed observers of the Soviet economy who wrote in 1920 and early 1921, that is, prior to NEP.

Martov pictures post-1917 'world Bolshevism' as a *mass* phenomenon, arising directly out of a wide stratum of impatient proletarian activists and indirectly out of the elemental despair of the masses and their rejection of a thoroughly and properly discredited reformism. The Bolsheviks exploited these social moods, but they also reflected and shared them.

We might also note that Martov's analysis overlaps to a considerable degree with various interpretive arguments from the Trotskyist tradition, although with the value signs changed from plus to minus. The two interpretations share the following themes: Because of the betrayal of socialist reformism and the consequent failure of the international revolution, the revolution in Russia itself is doomed to degenerate owing to its internal contradictions, and in particular by the 'declassing' of the proletariat and the preponderance of the peasantry. A leadership not subject to democratic controls tries to fight its way out of the corner into which it painted itself by increasingly adventurist methods that discredit socialism. To sum up, in Martov's words: "The Russian revolution is sick and cannot be cured by its own means."

The differences between the two interpretations mainly concern timing. Martov dates the beginning of the 'declassing' process from the beginning of the World War, not the civil war. This dating implies that the October revolution itself is partly a product of these processes of degeneration. Furthermore, Martov did not date the beginning of undemocratic adventurism from the departure from the Soviet government of a certain member of the Politburo in 1923-4. As he saw it, the Bolsheviks were already using methods that severely damaged the international revolution by 1920. And of course Martov did not blame what he called 'the Marxist centre' for the failure of revolution in Western Europe - in fact, he called on this centre to continue to lead the revolution. For all these reasons, we might call Martov a 'premature Trotskyist': he uses similar explanatory strategies as later Trotskyists but applies these strategies to events and processes that the Trotskyist tradition treats in a more admiring way.

Martov died in April 1923. Almost simultaneously, his great rival Lenin suffered the stroke that ended his political career. Martov's speech of October 1920 is a hallmark of an era that was rapidly moving into the past.



Julius Martov: Hamlet of the Russian Revolution

VI

May the USPD be preserved

Julius Martov

Speech given at the congress of the USPD (Independent Social Democratic Party of Germany) on October 15 1920 - translated by **Lars T Lih**

Comrades! The question that occupies the present congress and which now excites the socialist proletariat in various countries is one that is much wider than the question of the 21 conditions, or, in other words, the question of the organisational foundations of a genuinely revolutionary international. The real question is rather: what basic principles should guide the worker movement in a revolutionary epoch? What should be the basic tactics of revolutionary socialist parties? But this question must not be viewed in the way that the chairman of the Third International, Zinoviev, tries to portray the matter when he pictures the struggle between Bolsheviks and left-socialist parties in Russia and other countries as a struggle between revolutionary socialism and reformism.

Neither reformism nor revolutionism

Socialist reformism - faith in the possibility of socialist emancipation of the proletariat by means of the gradual improvement of its economic position within the framework of capitalism as well as a gradual participation by the proletariat in political power that nevertheless remains in the hands of the bourgeoisie - this faith is dead, discredited and destroyed by the world war and its consequences. And if it has not entirely disappeared from the worker movement, if in this or that country there are reformist parties with a comparatively broad worker base, this is due only to the primitive and contagious reaction against reformism that

has swept across Europe - a reaction of the wide masses against a reformism gone bankrupt, a reaction based on feelings, not awareness. This reaction has carried chaos, demoralisation and disorganisation into the entire worker movement and in this way it has temporarily thrown the remaining section of the workers back into the embrace of the crafty politicians and wheeler-dealers of the reformist camp.

Communist Bolshevism attempts in demagogic fashion to take advantage of the masses' feelings of despair and their elemental indignation (one not enlightened by awareness) in order to arrive at social revolution at top speed. If the reformist faith, although knocked to pieces by the experience of the war, manages to be reborn among the worker masses of Europe and America, due to a series of heavy defeats for the proletariat - for example, Finland, Hungary, Bavaria - the entire historical responsibility will be borne by Bolshevism.

The so-called 'centrist' parties stand for thorough-going class struggle in the present time of troubles, in this time of confusion in the worker movement and of organisational fragmentation within the working class. The reason for being of these parties is the following: to bring together the proletarian masses who have been thrown into the pit of despair by their disenchantment with social-patriotic reformism, to deepen the class consciousness that has been obscured by years of war psychosis, to protect them from the influence of anarchistic demagogy and revolutionary romanticism, and, in this way and only in this way, to create the strength necessary to fight in a purposive and rational way for the conquest of political power during the oncoming period of revolutionary shocks - to fight for the expropriation of the bourgeoisie and for socialism.

The people who stand at the head of the Third International consider themselves to be revolutionary Marxists, and the most prominent among them have gone through the Marxist school. Nevertheless, their outlook has been corrupted by the whole atmosphere of the present era, when the broad masses have become disoriented; the masses long with an almost religious fervour for immediate victory, for an immediate end to age-old sufferings. The Bolshevik leaders, who once had a real Marxist education, are now deliberately taking advantage of the prevailing psychology of the masses; they convinced themselves that all they have to do is grab state power by means of a sudden eruption of elemental dissatisfaction and then retain this state power in their hands by using all the resources of state coercion - and the social revolution has been accomplished, regardless of the degree of the economic maturity of each separate country: in Korea as in England, in Bulgaria as in France, regardless of the global economic situation at any given moment.

Thus there are two world-outlooks in the worker movement: the revolutionary Marxism of the centre vs Bolshevism. The more the masses outlive the illusions of bankrupt reformism, the more intensely will the struggle between these two outlooks flare up. And the Bolshevik leaders are right, from their point of view, when they see their main opponent precisely in the parties of the centre, in the Marxists who stand on the ground of social revolution but who nevertheless

do not break with the most valuable traditions of previous socialist development. The Bolshevik leaders correctly see the centre parties as the main obstacle to using the ruins of the reformist illusions of the proletariat in order to establish their own domination in the worker movement. For clearly, from their point of view, reformers like Noske, [Leonida] Bissolati, and Albert Thomas are working, in this revolutionary era, for them, the Bolsheviks. At the same time, the revolutionary Marxists are using their influence on the worker masses to put a brake on the spread of putschist Bolshevism that aims at taking advantage of elemental movements. One can understand why the German Independents will always be Bolshevism's most dangerous enemy. Indeed, just recently Lenin announced in print, in the Communist International, that the Independents were even more dangerous than 'Scheidemann and co.' ["Hear, hear!"]

One can understand why the Bolsheviks in Russia consider that the rightwing socialists and the semi-socialists are less dangerous than myself - someone who has remained a consistent revolutionary Marxist over the last five years and who continues to be one, someone who has always energetically rejected any class collaboration and who, from the first day of the war, took an uncompromising attitude against patriotism and who asserted that August 1 1914 was the day that the civilised world entered the era of social revolution.

One can understand why I and those who think like me (who represent a majority in the Russian Social Democratic Worker Party since the end of 1917) appear in the campaigns of Russian, German, Dutch and, no doubt, Persian and Korean Bolsheviks as the very model of the most dangerous, and most malicious 'traitors to the revolution,' since we remain true to the legacy of our teacher Karl Marx and throw the cold water of criticism on blind faith in social miracles.

But, if the Bolsheviks are correct from their point of view, then three times correct are all those genuinely revolutionary Marxist elements in the proletariat who, in their turn, will understand that, besides the opportunist and nationalist reformism that has not yet completely departed the scene, the main obstacle on the path leading to a victorious social revolution is Bolshevik revolutionism that aims at taking advantage of the naïve religious faith of the unaware masses.

Today, here in Halle, for the first time on the soil of Western Europe, the political battle between these two world-outlooks is starting to develop - the first in a series of battles which the West European worker movement must face. Zinoviev is right: this struggle must take place, one cannot shy away from it, and I am profoundly convinced that its outcome will be the triumph of revolutionary Marxism, and therefore, the restoration of a worker movement that has been knocked apart into separate streams and is therefore losing all its revolutionary strength.

Why do the Bolsheviks insist on the 21 conditions?

The question of the 21 conditions must be viewed in the light of this larger struggle. No matter how grotesque these conditions may appear at first glance, they are logically necessary and make complete sense from the point of view of the

Third International.

The Third International was formed in an effort to unify a series of communist parties and sects around the Russian Soviet state.

One side consists for the most part of weak grouplets of various revolutionary elements that have not yet broken out of their sectarian shell, the other side consists of a mighty state power that disposes of the lives of hundreds of millions of the country's inhabitants and controls huge material resources. Between these two sides there can be no union of partners with equal rights.

Up to now, the crushing superiority in strength of an entire state apparatus vis-à-vis these weak sects and small-time parties has excluded any possibility that these organisations will have the right to participate in the determination of the policies of the Third International. The Russian government makes the decisions and gives the instructions, while all the rest affix their signature.

But this cannot continue for long. The broad organisations of the worker masses of Europe long for international unity. They strive to adhere to a single centre that stands on the ground of social revolution, so that together they can determine the international policies of socialism. The International realises that its organisation will be filled up with mass parties that are accustomed to self-government. This new situation will make it impossible to continue with internal relations that remind one of a patriarchal peasant farm. Not for nothing has the Italian party - the single large-scale communist party that entered the Third International from the very beginning - occupied in actuality a special position in the International; it has not allowed any excessively bumptious interference of Moscow in its internal affairs. Not for nothing did the Norwegian communist Jakob Friis and the Swedish communist [Otto] Grimlund announce in an interview published in the Estonian *Social democrat* after the Strasbourg and Leipzig congresses that, in their view, the German Independents and the French Socialist Party must join the Third International in order to "put an end to the dictatorship of Moscow" - those are their exact words.

Bolshevism thus stands before the danger of the transformation of the Third International into the socialist 'parliament' it so despises: a 'parliament' where individual organisations fight on an equal basis in an open clash of opinions.

The previous state of affairs therefore had to be reinforced juridically by creating an impassable barrier for elements that are willing and able to demand a right of participation in decision-making. From this arose the 21 conditions. As someone accurately expressed it, these conditions are a creation of the same diplomatic school that made such a name for itself with the Austrian ultimatum to Serbia in 1914.

Comintern and Soviet foreign policy

The 21 conditions are meant to preserve for eternity the organisational relations that were so clearly expressed in all the work of the International's 2nd congress. Conscious proletarians of all countries were so shocked by the 21 conditions that they did not pay attention to what happened at the congress itself and which

explains best of all why the 21 conditions are necessary.

Just think about it: the congress gathered at a moment of heightened struggle between Soviet Russia and the Entente, when the fate of the Russian Revolution stood at the centre of European political life. The congress took up whatever issue you please. It decided whether the Austrian communists should participate in parliamentary elections, whether the British communists should enter the Labour Party or whether the German communists should enter the trade unions; it gave a great deal of mental effort to the question of which veteran leaders of the German or Italian movement should be retained in the ranks of the respective parties, or whether it was possible for the French party to retain the social-patriot Renaudel or whether it was possible to be satisfied with [Marcel] Déat alone. Time was found for all these highly important questions, solemn decisions were taken to resolve them, while at the same time the Russian Red Army was approaching the gates of Warsaw; the organised workers of England and other countries (who remembered the oft-repeated and solemn promise of the Soviet government to conclude peace with Poland as soon as Poland renounced its aggressive plans) tried with great energy to compel the Entente to refuse help to Poland and thus to force Poland to make peace offers. They failed to achieve their aim.

But the Red Army continued to advance to Warsaw, crossed the Visla, occupied Soldau. Meanwhile, Soviet diplomacy was very obviously dragging out the beginning of talks. When the talks finally began, the Soviet government presented demands that were equivalent to the abdication of the Polish government from power - in other words, they were meant to be unacceptable. And all of this took place after a solemn sitting of the Petersburg Soviet (of which Zinoviev is the chairman) adopted and published the following resolution: "no peace with Poland, until the bourgeoisie is overthrown and a soviet republic is established".

And not only that: a revolutionary committee of Polish emigrants was formed in the wake of the Red Army, a committee that took upon itself the role of provisional government of Poland - imported from Russia.

It would seem that the first thing to be decided by a congress of the International should be whether a continuation of Soviet Russia's war with Poland and the Entente was in the interest of world revolution. Did the attempt to artificially incite revolution in Poland, to inflame international tensions and to call on the peoples of Germany and Austria for support of the aggressive revolutionary war of Soviet Russia against the Entente - did any of this serve the interests of world revolution? The Russian proletariat, to whom the promise was continually made of a quick peace with Poland and the Entente, was not asked for its opinion on the matter.

Nor was the Third International consulted. The Soviet government made the decision and then attempted to present the proletariat of all countries with a *fait accompli*. It demanded that the other communist and non-communist parties mount an uncomplaining defence of this adventurist and irresponsible policy (as shown by the entire absence of a revolutionary uprising in occupied Poland and

the resulting defeat of the Red Army, leading to the burdensome peace of Riga).

Zinoviev said here that the Bolsheviks did not try to draw Germany into a war with the Entente. Untrue. None other than Trotsky said, in one of his speeches made at the height of Russian victories: "We will give battle to the Entente on the Rhine". In Soldau, the officers and commissars of the Red Army made speeches to demonstrations by German nationalists and announced that Russia would return Western Prussia to the German fatherland. [Laughter and shouting - "Hear, hear!"] To strengthen further this touching alliance between the German nationalists and the Bolsheviks, the head of the army made a soothing public announcement: in view of the agrarian character of this province, soviets would not be introduced. ["Hear, hear!"]

Since *Rote Fahne* and the orators of the communist party agitated during this period for war and for using the Red Army (at that time approaching the borders of Germany) in order to nullify the Versailles Treaty, you yourselves are perfectly aware of the facts. This policy might be a very bad one, as I think, or it might be a devilishly clever one, as Lenin no doubt thinks - but the fact remains that, despite its vast significance for the fate of the proletarian movement in all countries, it was decided 'autonomously', or rather 'autocratically', by the Russian Bolsheviks, who presented the entire proletariat with a *fait accompli*. Where is the genuine International that stands above the separate national parties and subordinates the partial interests of individual units of the socialist army to the general interests of the revolution?

But, comrades, the psychology of the Bolshevik party is explained by its inclination to view the Russian Revolution as an end in itself.

It conquered state power in a country with a proletariat that was numerically insignificant, a country with an insignificant productivity of labour, with a complete lack of the basic economic and cultural preconditions for the organisation of socialist production - and these objective conditions presented the Bolsheviks with an insurmountable obstacle for the realisation of their ideals. After three years of civil war, the revolution is drowning in blood, the population is dying of hunger ["Hear, hear!"] and meanwhile the development of the revolution in the West - as publicly acknowledged by Radek and Lenin - is not going as quickly as the Bolshevik party had reckoned when it obtained state power through a fortunate confluence of circumstances and then used this power in an attempt to turn Russia into a socialist country by a radically accelerated path.

Radek and Lenin have admitted that the revolution in the West is developing slowly - not at all (as Zinoviev claimed yesterday) because the revolutionary will of the proletariat is paralysed by 'traitors' such as Kautsky, Hilferding, Ledebour, Crispin, [Robert] Smilie, [Victor] Adler, Longuet or Morenheim - but rather because objective circumstances have not yet created a fully revolutionary situation, especially in the countries of the Entente. ["Very good!"]

One can understand why the Bolsheviks, finding themselves in this position, fighting to preserve their state power and seeing in this preservation the guarantee for the success of the international revolution, are willing to try anything

and everything: the riskiest and the most dubious methods, if only somehow to continue the fight of the Russian Revolution to remain in existence, with no regard for how this or that method reflects on the development of the entire international revolution. And from this flows the extreme danger of the privileged position that the Bolshevik party has arrogated to itself by removing its policies from the control of international socialism.

Unconditional and thorough-going support for the Bolsheviks when they defend the Russian Revolution against imperialism and its agents can only be more successful if it is accompanied by frank proletarian criticism of these internal contradictions and weaknesses of the Russian revolution. If these are not overcome, the revolution will inevitably perish from its internal helplessness.

For the Russian Revolution is sick. The German workers who set off to work in Russia realised how sick it is economically. Zinoviev's article that was read yesterday will help you realise how sick it is politically.

The Russian Revolution is sick and cannot be cured by its own means. It needs the salutary influence of the organised socialist proletariat. Only under this influence will the Russian proletariat find an exit from the blind alley in which it finds itself.

In its Eastern policy, the Bolshevik government has not submitted to the control even of its own Communist International. At the 2nd congress were heard the voices of Indian and other Eastern socialists who could not understand how a communist government could unite with its immediate class enemies, with the local progressive bourgeoisie, against which honest proletarians have begun to struggle. These protests [at the 2nd congress] were smothered, however, by the efforts of the leaders, and the question of whether the Eastern policy of Soviet Russia corresponded to the interests of socialism was not discussed.

But, in fact, this is a question of enormous importance. In my view, the revolutionary awakening of the peoples of the east under the influence of the Russian Revolution is a fact of colossal historical significance. But this fact of colossal importance presents a whole series of complicated problems that the world proletariat has a great interest in seeing correctly solved. The solution of these problems by Russian Bolshevism without any control is pregnant with vast dangers, because the temptation to view the peoples of the east as chess pieces in the diplomatic struggle with the Entente is too enticing.

How many times has Soviet diplomacy already announced to England that if England recognised the Soviet government, the latter was ready to renounce its propaganda in the east - "we'll have to sell out the Persian and the Turk" - as one influential Soviet diplomat said in private conversation.

The temptation is too enticing to seize on elemental movements and blow them out of proportion, playing with the words 'holy war' and giving the mullahs and Pashas the possibility of justifying the traditional 'holy' extermination of opposing armies as a weapon against the Entente, against which Lenin has declared 'holy war'. Not for nothing did *Irach*, the official newspaper of the Persian government, announce on the day of the entry of the Red Army into Tehran that

a close examination reveals much in common between the spirit of the Koran and the spirit of Bolshevism - even the legalisation of easily obtained civil divorce in Soviet Russia can be viewed as an approximation of Muslim polygamy. [Laughter and loud applause].

This is more ridiculous than tragic, but the document read to us by Zinoviev about the relations between the Bolsheviks and Enver Pasha is more tragic than ridiculous. These oh-so-strict judges of European proletarians and their leaders now promise to Enver Pasha (that past master at organising pogroms) that they will restore their confidence in him when he makes up for the wrong steps of the past. A small trifle such as the murder of a million Armenians can be more easily forgiven than the fearsome counterrevolutionary crimes of Robert Smilie, or [Alphonse] Merrheim, or [Ludovico] d'Aragona. [Loud applause]

At the present time, the peoples of the east see socialism - and Russian Bolshevism as its representative - as their guide and emancipator. But if even socialist governments are capable of using them like pawns, in the manner of the imperialist governments, if the Eastern policy of Russia is today inciting enmity between the Muslims and the Armenians in the Caucasus, and tomorrow, perhaps, between the Brahmins and the Muslims in India - then the awakening peoples of the east will turn away in disgust from European socialism.

Indeed, the absence of international control over its policies is enticing the Bolshevik party to make some very audacious experiments. Do the German and other communists know, for example, that their Russian colleagues sometimes allow in the east the very same policy of coalitions that they subject to such withering criticism in the West? Meanwhile, this has already been going on for several months in the so-called 'Far-Eastern Siberian Republic' (Vladivostok), an independent state that was formed after the liberation from Kolchak. In this republic, governed on the basis of universal suffrage, ["Hear, hear!"] all the parties, from the bourgeois parties to the communist inclusively, formed a national bloc for the struggle against the Japanese occupation. This government contains two Kadets (in fact, former ministers under Kolchak), several rightwing socialists and two communists. ["Hear, hear!"] All this was published in *Izvestia*¹ by one of the communist

1. *Izvestia* (News) was a daily of the Petrograd Soviet of Workers' and Soldiers' Deputies. It began to appear on February 28 (March 13), 1917. After the 1st All-Russia congress of soviets when the Central Executive Committee of the Soviets of Workers' and Soldiers' Deputies (CEO) was elected, the newspaper became the organ of the CEO, and from August 1917 (beginning with No 132) it appeared under the name of *Izvestia* of the Central Executive Committee and the Petrograd Soviet of Workers' and Soldiers' Deputies. Throughout this time the newspaper was controlled by the Mensheviks and Socialist-Revolutionaries. It often attacked the Bolshevik party. Beginning with October 27 (November 9) 1917, after the 2nd All-Russia congress of soviets, *Izvestia* became the official organ of the Soviet government. With the transfer to Moscow of the All-Russia Central Executive Committee and the Council of People's Commissars, the newspaper was published in Moscow.

ministers, comrade Kushnarev.

Comintern and Bolshevik terror

If the Third International at its congress did not touch on the issue of the foreign policy of Bolshevism - an issue that has an immediate impact on all proletarians - then, naturally, the internal policy of Bolshevism is decided in just as sovereign a fashion. By militarising labour, the Soviet government has ended the self-administration of factory workers via factory committees and replaced it with a dictatorship of engineers. Foreign communists at the 2nd congress, who deliberated in such detail about which leaders should be excluded from the ranks of the German Independents, did not find the time to deliberate about the extent to which such an organisation of labour corresponded to the principles of socialism.

In exactly the same way, without any discussion or sanction of the Third International, the Bolshevik party in Russia turned all-embracing terror into the basis of the whole system of revolutionary government. The Third International passed over in silence the issue of the expediency and the permissibility of such a system. All socialist parties must take upon themselves the responsibility of one or another answer to this question. Yesterday's speech by Zinoviev gave an excellent picture of the nature of the terror in Russia and its origins; Zinoviev reveals, precisely on the issue of terror, that he is no more than 'a petty bourgeois driven to desperation'. The question is not whether repression by the Soviet government is a response to the counterrevolutionary actions by its enemies. Rather, the question is this: is it permissible for a socialist party to apply terror, that is, a policy of inspiring fear into enemy classes and parties by the indiscriminate murder of guilty and innocent? In response to the murder of [Moisei] Uritsky and the attempt on Lenin - two deeds committed by individuals, perhaps with the help of several others - eight hundred previously arrested people were shot in Zinoviev's Petersburg, for the most part officers who had nothing at all to do with these crimes and who were arrested, not for counterrevolutionary actions, but rather as a way of isolating forces hostile to the revolution. [Passionate excitement, shouts are addressed to Zinoviev: "Hangman, thug!"] A list of those who were shot was printed in *Izvestia*, and Zinoviev cannot deny the fact. A member of our party was by accident included among those who were shot - a young metalworker named Krakovsky. [Shouts of indignation and protest] Zinoviev also cannot deny that similar hecatombs were created in all cities of Russia at the instigation of the central government (the circular of the Commissar of Internal Affairs [Grigory] Petrovsky).

Here I have to correct a small, let us say, inexactitude of Zinoviev. In his justification of mass terror he said that the attempt on Lenin was organised by the central committee of the Socialist-Revolutionary Party and that hundreds of members of this party were shot only because of this fact. This is untrue. And when Zinoviev attempts to back up his assertion with the admission of [Boris]

Savinkov in *Le Matin*² that he organised Dora Kaplan's attack on Lenin, he forgets to add that this crime took place in August 1918, while a year before that - when Kerensky's government was still in power - the Socialist Revolutionary Party made a public announcement of the exclusion of Savinkov from its ranks. ["Hear, hear!"] You see, comrades, when the chairman of the Third International refers to 'facts', we shouldn't take that term too literally. [Loud applause]

The brutalisation, the embitterment caused by the war are responsible for the Russian terror, Zinoviev tells us. True enough. But when Zinoviev, Trotsky and the journalists of the Bolshevik press preach terror to the masses against all enemies of Bolshevism without any discrimination - right down to socialists who are carrying out peaceful propaganda - then these leaders are guilty of encouraging the atrocities and the demoralisation sown by the war. The wives of political opponents (granted, sometimes counterrevolutionaries) or their sons are taken as hostage; these hostages are often shot in revenge for the actions of their fathers and husbands. This fact alone is an indication of the limits to which the terror has gone. [In the hall there is a passionate murmur, shouts directed at the left side of the hall: "These are your future comrades in the Third International, hangmen, beasts"]. Zinoviev was prepared to claim here that the death penalty ceased in Russia after the victory over [Anton] Denikin. He forgot to mention that this was only for a short time and that very quickly, despite solemn promises, the death penalty was re-established and is once more being applied to a horrifying extent. In July, the military courts alone had 800 persons shot, according to a report published in *Izvestia*. ["Hear, hear!"]

But the system of terror is not defined just by executions. Mass arrests, the prohibition of any press and any assembly, imprisonment with hard labour without any trial, daily punishment for strikes or just for collective demands, forbidding the workers to elect representatives of certain parties to the soviets, and finally, as Zinoviev himself admits in his article, sending party members, workers, to the front for attempting to criticise the leaders - this is the terror the Third International acknowledges as permissible for a socialist system of government. [Shouts of indignation and protest]

We, the Russian Social Democrats, energetically protest against attempts by those who reject such a terror in Europe to justify it as necessary for backward and uncivilised Russia. No, we demand that the international proletariat acknowledge that Bolshevik terrorism is impermissible and has a corrupting influence wherever it is applied. By so doing, the international proletariat will help the Russian proletariat escape from the terror. For in backward Russia, terror can establish itself only as a struggle of terrorism against the best and the most class-conscious elements of the Russian proletariat.

Comrades, nothing wounds me so painfully in my feelings of pride for the Russian Revolution as the question that is constantly addressed to me here by my German comrades: if you polemicise here with Zinoviev, won't this have an effect on what happens to you when you return to Russia? Shame for my father-

2. A French daily between 1883 and 1944.

land overwhelms me when I think that 20 years of heroic struggle and three revolutions were needed by the Russian proletariat, so that foreign comrades would have the right - the full right - to ask me this question, a question that I have no other way to answer but this: without any doubt, for every word that I say publicly here against the Bolshevik party and its policy, already at this time, before I return to Russia, my comrades, hundreds of whom languish already in Bolshevik prisons, will feel, in one way or the other, the revenge of the Bolshevik authorities, who have lost their moral compass because of systematic terror and corruption. [Protests and indignation]

When the Bolsheviks did not succeed in arresting Chernov, leader of the Socialist Revolutionaries, did they not take as hostage his wife, who is known personally to many of the prominent Bolshevik leaders as a person who has never been involved in politics? They arrested her and her three daughters, one of whom was a girl of eleven years. They held this girl for a week in prison and she was released only after the insistence of some of the decent people among the Bolsheviks. Chernov's wife, though - a sick woman - has already been imprisoned for six months in horrifying conditions; her only sin is that she is the wife of a fearsome opponent of the Bolsheviks. [Further shouts of protest and indignation] My party has very great differences with the party of Socialist Revolutionaries and we fight against their policies, but we protest in the most energetic way possible against this sort of baseness in Russia. These are deeds that shame the revolution as a whole in a revolutionary country.

I state this in complete openness: on the question of the defence of the Russian Revolution, I have received full authority from my party to condemn imperialist intrigues in no uncertain terms, despite the fact that the capitalist governments will label me a 'semi-Bolshevik'. But, at the same time, I am authorised to tell the European proletariat with the same energy about the internal contradictions and the weakness of the Russian Revolution, about the essence of Bolshevism and its state policies, without paying any regard to the revenge that will come to me personally or to my party. Some day the time will come when it will be acknowledged that the highest glory of the Russian proletariat is the fact that, in a time when a utopian psychosis of a completely religious type dominates the socially backward masses, when anyone who dares a word of criticism risks lynching, when so many professional politicians, of the sort well known to you, bravely keep their mouths shut, either from fear of losing popularity or fear of repression from the powers that be, or who dash in a single twenty-four-hour period from the extreme right wing to the extreme left wing - in a word, in a time when genuine civil courage has disappeared, there will still be found in Russia simple workers who have gone through years in tsarist prisons, who are fathers of families, who, despite everything, despite the unheard-of measures of repression, will use Marxist methods to counter-balance the utopian madness and who have one answer to the terrorist threats: such is my conviction and I can do no other. Because such proletarian elements remain in Russia, we do not lose hope that the Russian revolution will again emerge from the blind alley into which it

has been confined by the backwardness of the country and the ideological backwardness of Bolshevism.

The necessity of a new international

Comrades, the proletariat of the whole world longs for the creation of an international that will unify it and thus bring into being a mighty revolutionary force. The awareness of the necessity of this kind of an international of action is a giant step forward in the history of the world movement of the proletariat. And it is not surprising that, after the profound moral and political bankruptcy of the old social democratic parties, after all the most glorious traditions of international socialism have been besmirched, after the cheeks of veteran leaders burn with the shameful mark of the Judas kiss that sealed the *Burgfrieden* [civil peace - LTL] with bourgeois politicians - it is not surprising that, after this crisis, the revolutionary worker masses, turning with distrust away from their old central institutions, are turning toward the single country in which the revolution has triumphed and that they are willing to entrust leadership of their movement to the socialists of this country. They do not understand the extent to which the social soil on which the revolution in Russia has triumphed is distinct from the soil on which the revolution is developing in the West - in Western Europe.

Thus the moment has come of which Mikhail Bakunin dreamt half a century ago - Bakunin, a veritable John the Baptist who foretold the present day Moscow Tempter. The moment has come when the impoverished and despairing masses of Europe are ready to blindly follow a revolution that reveals at least some influence of proletarian socialism, even though basically it is a peasant revolution. The moment has finally arrived when the apostles of the messiah foretold by Bakunin are able to distribute, in all countries and in 12 times 12 languages, new editions of the Bakunist gospel, successfully weeding out any traces of the schooling over many long years in the spirit of the Marxist socialism that was so hateful to Bakunin. All this under the flag of super-Marxism.

Perhaps for a short time yet, the propaganda of this new gospel will be successful among the European peoples who are devastated materially and morally by militarism. But there are two things that it will not achieve under any circumstances. It will not lead the international proletariat to victory - believe me, in moments of reflection Lenin already asks himself, as he looks at his 12 times 12 apostles, who will be the first to deny him when the inevitable sobering-up arrives? Who first among the fierce revolutionaries will cross over to the camp of the most moderate reformists? And this Bakunist propaganda will also never create an 'international of action'. Such an international can and will emerge in the process of the struggle of the proletariat to defend a Russian Revolution threatened by imperialism - but it can emerge only when it is freed from the spiritual guidance of revolutionaries who cannot help reflect, in their world outlook and their tactics, the social basis of their revolution, with all its internal contradictions and reactionary tendencies.

Therefore - for the good of both the Russian and the international revolution

May the USPD be preserved

- the task of re-establishing the International, the task of unifying the revolutionary forces of the entire world proletariat, must necessarily be taken into the hands of the Marxist elements of the worker parties of the Western countries.

Because of this, I end my speech with a wish, one that all the social democratic proletarians of Russia share with me: in the interests of the international revolution, in the interests of the Russian Revolution, may the genuinely independent Social Democratic Party be preserved, may this party stand firmly at the head of the advanced German proletariat. [Loud applause from the Independents, whistles and shouts from the communists].



David Irving, Victor Gollancz, Compton

An 'old Bolshevik' victim of Stalin's Great Terror

A secret police mugshot of Zinoviev from the Moscow Show Trials of 1936, where Zinoviev was the chief defendant. The trial, ridiculously called the 'Trial of the Trotskyist-Zinovievist terrorist centre', was described by Leon Trotsky as "the greatest frame-up in history"

VII

Closing words

Grigory Zinoviev

Grigory Zinoviev's closing words at the Halle congress of the USPD on October 16 1920 - translated by **Ben Lewis**

Comrades! I have had the misfortune of contracting a cold and am therefore not in a position to be able to speak to you today. You will understand how sorry I am, but I have no other option than to write down these lines and request that my closing words are read out.

We can now draw the conclusion from the whole discussion at the party's congress in Halle. What is this conclusion? The discussion has shown very blatantly that it is impossible for the rightwing leaders of the USPD to be members of the Third International. Not because we have laid out not 18 but 21 conditions, but because the sole important condition is absent, namely that the right wing of the USPD do not take the fight for communism and the proletarian revolution seriously. This precondition is absent, and it is for this reason, and this reason alone, that we cannot belong to each other. The leaders of the USPD right do not want to belong to the Communist International. And the Communist International does not want these rightwing leaders in its midst either.

The Communist International sent me here to arrive at a principled programmatic discussion. We have to force the leaders of the USPD right not to remain within the parameters of small organisational questions, but to show their true colours on the important questions of the world revolution. That was also the aim of our friends, the comrades from the left of the USPD, and we have achieved this aim.

Yesterday the right wing of the congress enthusiastically cheered the programmatic speech of the Menshevik Martov. Martov's speech consisted of two parts. One was a charge against the Soviet government, the second part was a charge against the "naïve, religious belief of the masses in the immediate victory of socialism", as Martov put it - ie, an accusation against the mass movement of the revolutionary communist proletariat of the entire world. I will later discuss the first part of the speech, which was supposed to be a bomb aimed at the Russian proletarian government.

But first I will speak about the second part, which is much more important. In this part of his speech Martov said pretty much the same as the representative of the right wing of the USPD, Rudolf Hilferding, did in his speech directed against me. We accused the right wing of the USPD of not understanding how to be with the masses and of dampening their revolutionary struggle. Rudolf Hilferding calls that "dirty competition in radicalism". The big problem of what we have to do in order to lead the masses in their hard, passionate struggle is - in the eyes of a rightwing USPD leader like Hilferding - merely a petty competition in radicalism. What does that prove? It proves that Hilferding - just like Martov - does not understand the struggle of the masses, that they do not breathe the same air as the working masses, that they are not leading the masses - but rather attempting to push them backwards.

Martov spoke many times of the naïve religious belief of the masses. In this he saw the greatest misfortune of the movement - that the working masses are now, as he believes, fanaticised under the influence of Bolshevism, hoping that socialism can soon be fulfilled. Comrades! How can a real socialist complain that this is what the masses believe? We should not complain about it! We should not regret it, but on the contrary - we should be pleased about it.

The so-called naïve religious belief of the masses is indeed the most important and revolutionary factor of world history. Without this so-called naïve religious belief and without this so-called Bolshevik fervour of the masses, the proletarian revolution is impossible. This so-called fervour of the masses is the soul of our entire proletarian movement, it is the most important impetus of the world revolution. We should not complain about this phenomenon, we should embrace it. How can Martov and Hilferding think of this any differently? How can we achieve a world historical overthrow of society, how can we achieve a victory of the proletariat across the whole world, if the masses do not enthusiastically step into struggle with their whole soul and with unshakeable confidence of victory?

Comrades, I already pointed out in my first speech what the late August Bebel told the German proletarian masses many times. You old fighters in the German movement should remember this. What made August Bebel so dearly loved by the working masses of Germany and the whole world? What brought him the rousing support of the working masses of Germany and the whole world? It was precisely his glowing, 'fanatical' belief in the speedy victory of socialism, his passionate and naïve and - as Martov would perhaps put it - religious confidence that the final hour of the bourgeoisie would soon strike, that the working masses

will be victorious over the bourgeoisie.

Comrades! Remember the historical moment when a deeply moved August Bebel declared at a party congress in his old days: "I am convinced that all of us here in this room will yet experience the victory of socialism." Remember how such declarations from Bebel always triggered the greatest enthusiasm of the best proletarian elements in the German party! Now, comrades, Bebel said that a few years before the imperialist war. Then came the war, then came the terrible economic crisis, then came the *Götterdämmerung* [twilight of the gods - BL] of bourgeois society, as the very same August Bebel cared to put it. And now that the *Götterdämmerung* of bourgeois society is here, now that an electric shock of communist enthusiasm has gone through the masses, now we have leaders such as Martov and Hilferding who want to put the so-called fanaticised proletarian masses in a cold shower. Now we are being told that this so-called religious fervour is a reactionary phenomenon!

How do Martov and Hilferding understand the proletarian revolution? Do you really think it is sufficient that one day the good old leaders adopt a resolution at a party congress? Or that they write a number of thick volumes of so-called scientific works on scientific socialism? Or that there is a vote in a national assembly - and then socialism is here? No comrades, only reformists who do not at all understand the deepest feelings of the proletarian masses can speak in the way that Martov and Hilferding have.

No, we need not complain about the 'naïve' fanatical belief of the masses in the imminent victory of the socialist revolution, but on the contrary, we should embrace it. We should build on it, we should place ourselves at the head of this so-called fanaticised mass. Because comrades, in reality there is nothing naïve, nothing religious, about this confidence. On the contrary. Naïve are those who think that the proletarian revolution will be possible without the blazing enthusiasm of the broad proletarian troops. Naïve are those who think that we can get rid of capitalism without civil war. Naïve and reformist are those who think that the revolution can be made with social-pacifist means. Naïve and bourgeois-religious are those who think that we can make revolution with the so-called tried and tested tactics and the phrases of the Erfurt programme.

Martov and Hilferding and the rightwing leaders of all countries generally accuse the masses of having too much fanatical belief in the victory of the proletarian revolution. Well comrades, I think that it would be far more correct if the working masses were to turn this accusation on its head and say to all the rightwing leaders: "Listen here, leaders, why do you have too little belief, too little fanatical confidence in the victory of our holy fight, in our proletarian struggle, in our final goal, in our dictatorship, in our imminent and final victory?"

The rightwing leaders have no belief in the proletarian revolution. I attempted to prove this in my first speech. Now comrades, were not the entire speeches of Martov and Hilferding shining examples of this claim of mine? Have Hilferding and Martov not proven that they really do not share this belief?

In England, there is a very interesting group of reformist intellectuals that

can to a certain extent be seen as the classic example of reformist leaders. That is the Fabian group. They are ideologues of reformism who mock the so-called religious fervour of the masses, because they want to march slowly and quietly - but in reality, they march backwards like crabs. These Fabians are scientifically educated people. They believe that the revolution might come in 50 years or so. They do not want the masses to march quite so fast either.

Now comrades, in his time in exile in London, Friedrich Engels got to know this species of reformism well. I am not claiming that the rightwing USPD members are all Fabians. I have to admit that there are different shades within the right wing of the USPD - revolutionary ones too. But the theoreticians with Kautsky at their head are now quite close to the Fabians' ideology. Social-pacifism is indeed the same thing as Fabianism. Allow me to quote the following lines from Friedrich Engels. In a letter to [Friedrich] Sorge, written in London on December 31 1892,¹ Engels says:

The Fabians are an ambitious group in London [Engels put it more coarsely - GZ] who have enough brains to realise the inevitability of the social revolution, but who could not possibly entrust this gigantic task to the rough proletariat alone and therefore have the habit to set themselves at the head. Fear of the revolution is their fundamental principle. They are the 'educated' *par excellence*.

"With great diligence they have published - amid all sorts of rubbish - some good propagandist writings, which are the best the English have produced. But as soon as they get on to their specific tactics of hushing up the class struggle, it all turns putrid. Hence too their fanatical hatred of Marx and all of us - because of the class struggle.

Those, comrades, are the words of Friedrich Engels. I don't want to apply everything that Engels said about the Fabians to today's reformists. Today there may perhaps be people amongst the reformists who cannot be as pitilessly characterised as Engels did. And yet, if we attentively and closely take a look at the hate of many rightwing leaders against the communist movement, then we must repeat: *Fear of the revolution really is the fundamental principle of many opportunist intellectuals.*

Yes, comrades, what could be heard in Martov's speech other than his terrible fear of the great, sometimes terrible, but nevertheless liberating revolution? And could this very same fear not be heard in Hilferding's speech? And comrades, one more thing. It is not only the scholars, the intellectuals, who have elevated this fear of revolution to their fundamental principle. No, there is also a small section of the workers who have elevated this very same fear to their fundamental principle. That is the labour aristocracy, the numerically small, yet politically very important part of the working class, which, as described by Marx and En-

1. It seems that Zinoviev gets the date wrong - the correspondence is from January 18 1893: (http://www.marxists.org/archive/marx/works/1893/letters/93_01_18.htm).

gels, is in the process of becoming the main reactionary factor in our movement for liberation.

And with this I come to the second important question in our discussion - the trade union question. Comrades, it is no coincidence that things exploded most strongly during both decisive days of our discussion when we came to speak on the so-called Trade Union International. That is now the vital question for the whole movement. I have already emphasised that in Moscow neither Crispien nor Dittmann said a single word about us attacking the Trade Union International. Now things have turned out differently and it is clear - this is not a coincidence. The labour aristocracy finds refuge precisely in the old reformist trade unions: the Jouhauxs, Legiens, W A Appletons, [Jan] Oudegeests and the Gompers - these figures are precisely the ideologues of this labour aristocracy. More than anybody else, this labour aristocracy now elevates fear of the revolution to its fundamental principle. All failed leaders of the bourgeoisie have grasped this quite well. This is why they are supporting the aristocratic elements in the workers' movement with all their strength. This is why they see the old reformist trade unions as their breeding ground.

In order to avoid misunderstandings we shall explain what we have already explained hundreds of times in the Communist International: we are not saying that all of those trade unions who have joined the Amsterdam Trade Union International are yellow unions. Not at all! We know very well that hundreds of thousands, millions of workers organised in this International are not yellow workers, but working proletarians who are merely not yet conscious of their historical role. We have therefore raised the slogan not of leaving the unions, but staying within them. We need to carry out political and propaganda work day to day, make systematic propaganda against reformism and so liberate the trade unions from the yoke of bourgeois ideology, of reformism, of the labour aristocracy. We will do this whatever may happen.

But comrades, we also have to note that the leaders of the labour aristocracy are already starting to exclude communists from the trade unions. The Labour Party in England, which essentially is a trade union movement, has decided not to accept communists into the Labour Party. In Germany, tendencies are emerging who want to exclude communists from the unions, because 'they intend to build communist cells within them'. May they try to exclude us! In doing so, the reformists will break their own neck. If Legien or Jouhaux and their like-minded friends want to exclude communists because they are forming communist cells, then we will continue to do so anyway. If necessary, we will do it illegally, not merely in the face of the bourgeoisie, but also in the face of Jouhaux and Legien. Sooner or later the masses of trade union members - those masses that Martov says are possessed with religious fervour and naïve belief - will finally belong to us.

In the realm of trade unionism, the Amsterdam Trade Union International is what the Brussels or Geneva Second International was in the realm of politics. The Amsterdam International is a piece of the Second International, formed un-

der different conditions and perhaps operating with somewhat different means, but for the most part we have to apply the same methods towards this International as we did towards the Second International. In the realm of politics, we have already freed the vanguard [*Kerntruppe*] of the working masses from reformism in almost every country. We will do the same in the realm of economics.

If you in Germany seriously and consistently want to support the Amsterdam International, then there needs be a type of workers' party in Germany - ie, a blurry, half-political, half-trade union, half-parliamentary, half economically-reformist unification, which pursues the politics of the labour aristocracy and not those of the proletarian masses. There will be great battles in the realm of German trade unionism. We look towards these 'struggles for direction' with certainty and confidence. These struggles will not smash the workers' movement, but consolidate it. They will lead to the liberation of the trade union movement from reformism and from the ideology of the labour aristocracy.

Now allow me to address what has been said here against the Soviet government.

In its motion to congress, the right wing of the USPD declared that it was determined to continue to support the Soviet government. At the same time though, it enthusiastically agreed with all the accusations against the Soviet government outlined by Martov, the leader of the Mensheviks. Comrades, it is your right to be Mensheviks. But then you needn't deny it here. You can openly say so. The accusations outlined by Martov can only be understood if you briefly listen to what Menshevism was in Russia. Allow me to quite briefly sketch out the political career of Menshevism.

Comrades, the Mensheviks already betrayed the revolution of 1905 at its very beginning. Even during the first revolution of 1905 they united with the Russian liberal bourgeoisie, the so-called Kadets, against the Bolsheviks, against the working class. Then the counterrevolution came and the Mensheviks really did betray the revolutionary movement in Russia. They proposed to liquidate our illegal party. They openly demanded that we should become a reformist party.

Then the war came. With a few exceptions, the hardened cadre of Menshevism [*Kerntruppe*] in Russia (Martov was in exile) came out in favour of this imperialist war, they even supported the tsarist government which led this war, and attempted to contaminate the Russian working class with vulgar chauvinism.

Then the March revolution of 1917 came. Immediately, reformism allied with the bourgeoisie against Bolshevism, against the working class. The Mensheviks demanded the continuation of imperialist war. They carried out exactly the same politics as Scheidemann and Noske did in Germany. Together with the SRs they prepared the famous June Offensive of 1917 on the German front - which cost us the lives of tens of thousands of Russian workers and peasants. The Mensheviks formed the so-called coalition government with the bourgeoisie, with the land owners, with financiers such as minister [Mikhail] Tereshchenko and with the SRs.

Together with the bourgeoisie the Mensheviks suppressed our papers, banned *Pravda* and drove our organisations apart. During the July Days of 1917 it was the Menshevik coalition government which organised pogroms against the Bolsheviks. Menshevik ministers like Tsereteli (amongst others) bear responsibility for what the coalition government did in 1917. Together with the SRs, the Mensheviks prepared the disarmament of the Petrograd and Moscow proletariat. In the July Days of 1917, the Menshevik coalition government attempted to portray comrades Lenin, Trotsky, [Alexandre] Kollontai, [Anatoly] Lunacharsky, myself and others as spies and agents of the German monarchist government of Wilhelm II. They tried to incite the masses against us. Trotsky, [Lev] Kamenev and others were arrested. The Mensheviks sabotaged the proletarian October Revolution with every means at their disposal.

Following the October Revolution, a large section of the Mensheviks - the so-called 'activists' fraction' - took up weapons to fight against the proletarian revolution. [Ivan] Maisky, a member of the central committee of the Menshevik party, indeed became labour minister of the counterrevolutionary government in Samara.² The Mensheviks thus took part in the counterrevolutionary government, which was formed during the Czechoslovakian uprising of the white guards.

In short, that is Menshevism's political career. It is the same as the Scheidemann party's career in Germany: the SPD is equal to the SPR [Social Democratic Party of Russia].³ And this is why Menshevism in Russia has outlived itself. Martov can trigger great applause amongst the right wing of the USPD in Halle, but he cannot trigger any applause in a proletarian assembly in Russia. The Russian workers know quite well that the Mensheviks in Russia have done the same things as Scheidemann and Noske in Germany.

Yes, we have had to use repression against the Mensheviks. But if Menshevism in Russia is destroyed, then this happened not merely through repression. During the first period of our revolution, the most violent repression was used against the Bolsheviks, but they were not able to eradicate Bolshevism. On the contrary, the more repression was used, the stronger Bolshevism became. It was the opposite with the Mensheviks, because the workers in Russia knew and hated their counterrevolutionary politics.

Now you will understand Martov's complaints. In Russia, his party is finished for the working class, which is why here he comes out so fanatically against us. Martov forgot to inform you that in spite of everything, he received a passport to attend this conference, although our government knew full well what he would

2. Samara was the headquarters of the government formed on the basis of the Constituent Assembly (Komuch), mainly consisting of SRs and Kadets. Admiral Alexander Kolchak overthrew it in a military coup. Zinoviev does not mention that Maisky was expelled from the Mensheviks (now led by Martov) for taking up his post.

3. Reference by Zinoviev for the sake of an equals sign between the SPR and the German SPD to the party which actually called itself the Russian Social Democratic Workers' Party (ie the Mensheviks).

say. We do not fear the accusations that he brings against us. Let the Polish bourgeois papers print what he has said against us - and they surely will. In fact, let all the anti-Bolshevik papers of the whole world print the accusations Martov has made. But the working class will understand that it has to mistrust these as much as it mistrusts the accusations which Scheidemann makes against the German revolutionary workers.

Martov claimed that the 2nd congress of the Communist International did not deal with the Russian-Polish war. That is false, just like many other things that Martov said. In fact, the first manifesto the congress issued to the workers of the whole world was dedicated to the Russian-Polish war. The congress may have done this without any discussion, but only because for socialists it was and is clear: this is a defensive war of the Russian workers against the Polish capitalists and the working class of the whole world should support Soviet Russia.

Martov and Hilferding, Crispian and Dittmann have claimed that we, the communists, want to drive the German workers into a new war. Once again I declare: That is not true and it has not been proven by the speakers I have mentioned. But comrades, today I received a French social-patriotic newspaper called *La Vie Socialiste* of October 9. There it can be read: "Belonging to the Third International means preparing a new war." Who said this? Monsieur Renaudel - the French twin-brother of Herr Scheidemann.

That really is something. The right wing of the USPD declares that it would like to continue supporting the Russian Soviet government. And at the same time, *Freiheit* yesterday published an appeal with the title: 'The new tyrant, an appeal for help from the Armenian socialists.' Who are the Armenian socialists? They are the very same as Scheidemann, the very same as the Polish social-patriots under the leadership of [Ignacy] Daszyński.

The Armenian social traitors write - I quote: "The Central Committee of the Armenian Workers' Party is submitting the previously mentioned facts to the International Socialist Bureau." Comrades, what is the so-called International Socialist Bureau? It is the bureau of the Second International! The Armenian social-patriots find themselves in the Second International. And that is quite logical. They are members of the Second International because they are Noske-ites, because they are the same as the Polish Daszyńskis.

You say that you want to support the Soviet government, but you are printing this appeal against the Russian proletarian government as the first item. We can quite easily do without such 'support' for the Soviet government. The so-called Armenian democracy and the so-called Armenian Workers' Party are tools of the Entente. They are now attempting to support *Freiheit*.

Yesterday, *Freiheit* wrote the following in an article entitled 'The decisive picture': "Yet in his (ie, my) submissions on the necessity of awakening the oppressed peoples of the east and their struggle against English-French imperialism, he indeed shows (ie, I show) a very good understanding for the psychology of the Asiatic peoples as well as for the practical necessity of the Soviet policies, which needs the liberation movement of the Islamic people in order to be able to

exert pressure on the English government?"

I have quoted literally from *Freiheit*. Now I ask you comrades, is it true that only the Soviet government needs the liberation movement of the Islamic peoples? And the German working class, the working class of the whole world, does it not need such a liberation movement against the Entente, against the bourgeoisie of the whole world? So comrades, this is the way in which *Freiheit* is willing to support the Soviet government. We refuse to tolerate such support and we say quite clearly, if *Freiheit* prints appeals which turn to the Second International, then this is proof that *Freiheit* is beginning to become an organ of the Second International, an *anti-Bolshevik organ*. To this we quite calmly say: there are already hundreds of anti-Bolshevik newspapers in the world, may there be another anti-Bolshevik newspaper in Berlin which calls itself *Freiheit*. It will perhaps not remain in the hands of the reformists forever.

I now come to my conclusion, to the question of the conditions. The written declaration, which Hilferding submitted in the name of the right wing, has proven to us for the 100th time that it is not the conditions that matter to the rightwing leaders - but rather the programmatic question of the dictatorship of the proletariat, the world revolution, the trade unions, etc. There is absolutely no point in discussing with the right wing of the USPD about individual points after it has openly avowed itself to Menshevism.

In his speech, Hilferding quoted what comrade Rosa Luxemburg said in 1904,⁴ 16 years ago, when the difference between Menshevism and Bolshevism was still quite unclear. Such quotes have absolutely no value. Hilferding would perhaps be more justified in quoting what Trotsky said against us in 1916.⁵ Yes, once upon a time there was a situation where it was still not clear that Menshevism equates to reformism. There was a time when revolutionaries were wrong about the character of Menshevism. But now, during the revolution, hundreds of the best Mensheviks come over to us on a daily basis.

I owe it to the memory of our champion and teacher Rosa Luxemburg to correct Hilferding. There is a document by Rosa Luxemburg, not from 1904 - but from 1916. In other words, when the Second International had collapsed and the crisis was clear for all to see. In a supplement to the *Junius* pamphlet,⁶ Rosa Luxemburg published the 'Theses on the tasks of international social democracy'. There she writes:

3. The centre of gravity of the organisation of the proletariat as a class is the International. The International decides in time of peace the tactics to

4. The reference seems likely to be to Rosa Luxemburg's 1904 'Organisational questions of the Russian social democracy': <http://marxists.org/archive/luxemburg/1904/questions-rsd/index.htm>.

5. During 1916, Trotsky and the Bolsheviks traded barbs that were cause for some embarrassment on both sides in the early 1920s. For a full discussion see the chapter entitled 'Lenin and the Bolsheviks' in I Thatcher *Leon Trotsky and World War One: August 1914 to February 1917* London 2000.

6. The official title of the pamphlet was 'The crisis in the German social democracy'. But as Rosa Luxemburg published it in 1917 under the name of 'Junius', it was commonly known as the *Junius-broschüre* (*Junius pamphlet*).

be adopted by the national sections on the questions of militarism, colonial policy, commercial policy, the question of May Day and finally, the collective tactic to be followed in the event of war.

4. The obligation to carry out the decisions of the International takes precedence over all else. National sections which do not conform with this place themselves outside the International.⁷

Comrades, that is clear and obvious. Comrade Rosa Luxemburg was not against the 21 conditions, but for them - just as we are.

The rightwing section of the congress is wrong when it says that, according to paragraph 17 of the conditions, the leftwing USPD comrades are obliged to simply join the Spartacist League. That is not true. That is neither the opinion of the Communist International, nor the opinion of the Spartacist League. We want to carry out the fraternal unification of all communist elements into one party - and not a simple defection. And the rightwing USPD leaders can be sure that this fraternal unification will be carried out in a comradely manner without any interruption, any spats, without any rivalry.

The 21 conditions are there. The whole course of this congress has proven that the 21 points are achieving what they were aimed at. They help us to separate the wheat from the chaff, they help us to unite all genuine communist elements. If we get rid of the reformist opportunists, the half-bourgeois labour-aristocratic elements, if we are amongst ourselves, then we will quite easily come to an agreement about which of the 21 points should perhaps be changed in praxis. But now we stand in a tightly-knit front, on the basis of 21 theses of the Communist International, which have been formulated by the best section of the international working class.

And now that the pure separation is coming - whether you like it or not - there is unification coming in Germany, too. Unification of all the opportunist elements on the one hand and of all communist elements on the other.

This congress was hastily convened by the right wing of the party, in a situation where 45 newspapers are in the hands of the right wing, where they have deflected the whole debate onto purely organisational questions, where they attempted to misrepresent the 21 conditions. When in such conditions the communist part of the USPD achieves a great majority of congress, then this is great proof that an overwhelming majority of the workers and members of the USPD is on our side.

In Germany a great unified Communist Party will now be built, and that is the greatest historical event of our times. Therefore I say once more: Long live the unified Communist Party, the United Communist Party of Germany and the unified section of the Communist International.

Comrades, friends, brothers! Welcome to the Communist International!

7. Quoted in: R Luxemburg *The Junius Pamphlet, The crisis in the German social democracy* 3rd Sri Lankan edition, Colombo 1992, p116.

David King Collection, London



Poster marking Comintern's 2nd congress, where the 21 conditions were adopted

VIII

The 21 terms and conditions of affiliation to the Communist International

1. All propaganda and agitation must bear a genuinely communist character and correspond to the programme and decisions of the Communist International. All the party's press organs must be run by reliable communists who have proved their devotion to the cause of the proletariat. The dictatorship of the proletariat must not be treated simply as a current formula learnt off by heart. Propaganda for it must be carried out in such a way that its necessity is comprehensible to every simple worker, every woman worker, every soldier and peasant from the facts of their daily lives, which must be observed systematically by our press and used day by day.

The periodical and other press and all the party's publishing institutions must be subordinated to the party leadership, regardless of whether, at any given moment, the party as a whole is legal or illegal. The publishing houses must not be allowed to abuse their independence and pursue policies that do not entirely correspond to the policies of the party.

In the columns of the press, at public meetings, in the trades unions, in the co-operatives - wherever the members of the Communist International can gain admittance - it is necessary to brand not only the bourgeoisie but also its helpers, the reformists of every shade, systematically and pitilessly.

2. Every organisation that wishes to affiliate to the Communist International must regularly and methodically remove reformists and centrists from every responsible post in the labour movement (party organisations, editorial boards,

trades unions, parliamentary factions, co-operatives, local government) and replace them with tested communists, without worrying unduly about the fact that, particularly at first, ordinary workers from the masses will be replacing 'experienced' opportunists.

3. In almost every country in Europe and America the class struggle is entering the phase of civil war. Under such conditions the communists can place no trust in bourgeois legality. They have the obligation of setting up a parallel organisational apparatus which, at the decisive moment, can assist the party to do its duty to the revolution. In every country where a state of siege or emergency laws deprive the communists of the opportunity of carrying on all their work legally, it is absolutely necessary to combine legal and illegal activity.

4. The duty of propagating communist ideas includes the special obligation of forceful and systematic propaganda in the army. Where this agitation is interrupted by emergency laws it must be continued illegally. Refusal to carry out such work would be tantamount to a betrayal of revolutionary duty and would be incompatible with membership of the Communist International.

5. Systematic and methodical agitation is necessary in the countryside. The working class will not be able to win if it does not have the backing of the rural proletariat and at least a part of the poorest peasants, and if it does not secure the neutrality of at least a part of the rest of the rural population through its policies. Communist work in the countryside is taking on enormous importance at the moment. It must be carried out principally with the help of revolutionary communist workers of the town and country who have connections with the countryside. To refuse to carry this work out, or to entrust it to unreliable, semi-reformist hands, is tantamount to renouncing the proletarian revolution.

6. Every party that wishes to belong to the Communist International has the obligation to unmask not only open social-patriotism but also the insincerity and hypocrisy of social-pacifism, to show the workers systematically that, without the revolutionary overthrow of capitalism, no international court of arbitration, no agreement on the limitation of armaments, no 'democratic' reorganisation of the League of Nations will be able to prevent new imperialist wars.

7. The parties that wish to belong to the Communist International have the obligation of recognising the necessity of a complete break with reformism and 'centrist' politics and of spreading this break among the widest possible circles of their party members. Consistent communist politics are impossible without this. The Communist International unconditionally and categorically demands the carrying out of this break in the shortest possible time. The Communist International cannot tolerate a situation where notorious opportunists, as represented by Turati, Modigliani, Kautsky, Hilferding, [Morris] Hillquit, Longuet, Macdonald, etc, have the right to pass as members of the Communist International. This could only lead to the Communist International becoming something very similar to the wreck of the Second International.

8. A particularly marked and clear attitude on the question of the colonies and oppressed nations is necessary on the part of the communist parties of those

countries whose bourgeoisies are in possession of colonies and oppress other nations. Every party that wishes to belong to the Communist International has the obligation of exposing the dodges of its 'own' imperialists in the colonies, of supporting every liberation movement in the colonies not only in words but in deeds, of demanding that their imperialist compatriots should be thrown out of the colonies, of cultivating in the hearts of the workers in their own country a truly fraternal relationship to the working population in the colonies and to the oppressed nations, and of carrying out systematic propaganda among their own country's troops against any oppression of colonial peoples.

9. Every party that wishes to belong to the Communist International must systematically and persistently develop communist activities within the trades unions, workers' and works councils, the consumer co-operatives and other mass workers' organisations. Within these organisations it is necessary to organise communist cells which are to win the trades unions etc for the cause of communism by incessant and persistent work. In their daily work the cells have the obligation to expose everywhere the treachery of the social patriots and the vacillations of the 'centrists'. The communist cells must be completely subordinate to the party as a whole.

10. Every party belonging to the Communist International has the obligation to wage a stubborn struggle against the Amsterdam 'International' of yellow trade union organisations. It must expound as forcefully as possible among trade unionists the idea of the necessity of the break with the yellow Amsterdam International. It must support the International Association of Red Trades Unions affiliated to the Communist International, at present in the process of formation, with every means at its disposal.

11. Parties that wish to belong to the Communist International have the obligation to subject the personal composition of their parliamentary factions to review, to remove all unreliable elements from them and to subordinate these factions to the party leadership, not only in words but also in deeds, by calling on every individual communist member of parliament to subordinate the whole of his activity to the interests of really revolutionary propaganda and agitation.

12. The parties belonging to the Communist International must be built on the basis of the principle of democratic centralism. In the present epoch of acute civil war the Communist Party will only be able to fulfil its duty if it is organised in as centralist a manner as possible, if iron discipline reigns within it and if the party centre, sustained by the confidence of the party membership, is endowed with the fullest rights and authority and the most far-reaching powers.

13. The communist parties of those countries in which the communists can carry out their work legally must from time to time undertake purges (re-registration) of the membership of their party organisations in order to cleanse the party systematically of the petty bourgeois elements within it.

14. Every party that wishes to belong to the Communist International has the obligation to give unconditional support to every soviet republic in its struggle against the forces of counterrevolution. The communist parties must carry out

clear propaganda to prevent the transport of war material to the enemies of the soviet republics. They must also carry out legal or illegal propaganda, etc, with every means at their disposal among troops sent to stifle workers' republics.

15. Parties that have still retained their old social democratic programmes have the obligation of changing those programmes as quickly as possible and working out a new communist programme corresponding to the particular conditions in the country and in accordance with the decisions of the Communist International.

As a rule the programme of every party belonging to the Communist International must be ratified by a regular congress of the Communist International or by the Executive Committee. Should the Executive Committee of the Communist International reject a party's programme, the party in question has the right of appeal to the congress of the Communist International.

16. All decisions of the congresses of the Communist International and decisions of its Executive Committee are binding on all parties belonging to the Communist International. The Communist International, acting under conditions of the most acute civil war, must be built in a far more centralist manner than was the case with the Second International. In the process the Communist International and its Executive Committee must, of course, in the whole of its activity, take into account the differing conditions under which the individual parties have to fight and work, and only take generally binding decisions in cases where such decisions are possible.

17. In this connection all those parties that wish to belong to the Communist International must change their names. Every party that wishes to belong to the Communist International must bear the name Communist Party of this or that country (Section of the Communist International). The question of the name is not formal, but a highly political question of great importance. The Communist International has declared war on the whole bourgeois world and on all yellow social democratic parties. The difference between the communist parties and the old official 'social democratic' or 'socialist' parties that have betrayed the banner of the working class must be clear to every simple toiler.

18. All the leading press organs of the parties in every country have the duty of printing all the important official documents of the Executive Committee of the Communist International.

19. All parties that belong to the Communist International or have submitted an application for membership have the duty of calling a special congress as soon as possible and in no case later than four months after the 2nd congress of the Communist International, in order to check all these conditions. In this connection all party centres must see that the decisions of the 2nd congress are known to all their local organisations.

20. Those parties that now wish to enter the Communist International but have not yet radically altered their previous tactics must, before they join the Communist International, see to it that no less than two-thirds of the central committee and of all their most important central institutions consist of comrades

who even before the 2nd congress of the Communist International spoke out unambiguously in public in favour of the entry of the party into the Communist International. Exceptions may be permitted with the agreement of the Executive Committee of the Communist International. The Executive Committee of the Communist International also has the right to make exceptions in relation to the representatives of the centrist tendency mentioned in paragraph 7.

21. Those party members who fundamentally reject the conditions and theses laid down by the Communist International are to be expelled from the party.

Glossary

Atatürk, Mustafa Kemal (1881-1938)

A Turkish army officer, statesman and writer. Founder of the Republic of Turkey, as well as the first Turkish President.

Bakunin, Mikhail Alexandrovich (1814-1876)

Bakunin's first known political effort was made at the age of 22 (1836), when he translated Hegel's "Gymnasial Lectures" into Russian - marking the first time Hegel had been translated into Russian.

Bakunin first met Marx and Proudhon in Paris, 1844. Shortly thereafter Marx, Feuerbach, Ruge and Bakunin founded the newspaper *Deutsch-Französische Jahrbücher*.

In 1849, after years of revolutionary efforts throughout Europe, Bakunin was arrested. Incarcerated in Chemnitz, Bakunin was sentenced to death in Saxony, but his sentence was commuted to life imprisonment. In 1850, Bakunin was extradited to Russia, where he spent the next 11 years in various prisons and, finally, in Siberian exile. In June 1861 Bakunin escaped Siberia, and travelled through Japan and North America to London.

In 1868, Bakunin joined the Geneva section of the International, in which he remained very active until he was expelled by Karl Marx and his followers at the Hague congress in 1872.

In 1870 Bakunin led a failed uprising in Lyon, calling for a general uprising in response to the collapse of the French government during the Franco-Prussian war, seeking to transform an imperialist conflict into social revolution. In his Letters to 'A Frenchman on the present crisis', he argued for a revolutionary alliance between the working class and the peasantry and set forth his formulation of what was later to become known as 'propaganda of the deed'.

Bakunin was a strong supporter of the Paris Commune of 1871, which was brutally suppressed by the French government. He saw the Commune as above

all a “rebellion against the state,” and commended the communards for rejecting not only the state but also revolutionary dictatorship.

His disagreements with Marx, which led to Bakunin’s expulsion from the International in 1872 after being outvoted by the Marx party at the Hague congress, illustrated the growing divergence between the ‘anti-authoritarian’ sections of the International, which advocated the direct revolutionary action and organisation of the workers in order to abolish the state and capitalism, and the social democratic sections allied with Marx, which advocated the conquest of political power by the working class.

Bakunin criticized ‘authoritarian socialism’ (which he associated with Marxism) and the concept of dictatorship of the proletariat, which he adamantly refused.

Barth, Emil (1879-1941)

A metalworker and social democrat. A member of USPD, he replaced Richard Müller at head of group of revolutionary delegates after the big strike of January 1918. He was a member of the Executive of Councils and a people’s commissar between November and December 1918. Chairman of factory councils in 1921, he remained in USPD following the Halle congress, returning to the SPD in 1922.

Bauer, Otto (1881-1938)

Prominent leader of Austrian social democracy. A centrist during World War I, he was the minister of foreign affairs in the coalition government set up after the overthrow of the Hapsburgs. Together with Friedrich Adler and others, Bauer participated both in creating the 2½ International and in burying it in 1923 through a fusion with the Second International.

Ben-Gurion, David (1886-1973)

An ardent Labour Zionist. In 1904 he joined *Poale Zion* (Workers of Zion) as a student at the University of Warsaw. In 1918 he joined the British Army as part of the 38th battalion of the Jewish Legion. Following the Ottoman Empire’s capture by the British, he and his family settled in Palestine. In 1919 he led the right wing of the split in *Poale Zion* with his friend Berl Katznelson. This faction formed Ahdut HaAvoda (Labour Unity) with Ben-Gurion as its leader in 1919. In 1920 he assisted in the formation and subsequently became general secretary of the Histadrut, the Zionist Labour Federation in Palestine. Active in a number of Labour Zionist groups, as well as a pivotal member of the World Jewish Congress, he became the first prime minister of Israel in 1948.

Bordiga, Amadeo (1889-1970)

One of the top leaders of the Italian CP, was the best known figure of the Italian Left Faction, which was also known as the Prometeo group, after its journal

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Prometeo (Prometheus). He was arrested by the Mussolini led-government in 1926, and was still unable to play a direct role in his group in 1929, when the Comintern expelled him on charges of Trotskyism. The Bordigists were the first Italian group to adhere to the Left Opposition, but separated at the end of 1932.

Branting, Karl Hjalmar (1860-1925)

Pivotal to the formation of the Swedish Social Democratic Labour Party in 1889, serving as its president from 1907 until his death. He was elected to the lower chamber of parliament in 1896 from a workers' constituency in Stockholm. Although he was initially the sole representative of the party, by 1917 the social democrats were a strong third party in what had traditionally been a two-party system. In that year the Social Democrats joined the Liberals in a coalition government, with Branting as minister of finance.

Brass, Otto (1875-1960)

A co-founder of the USPD. In 1919, chairman of the council of workers and soldiers in Remscheid. A USPD deputy in Weimar. He organised the strike in the Ruhr in 1919 and the struggle against Kapp in 1920, which led to him being charged with high treason. Elected to the leadership of the new United Communist Party after Halle, he resigned at same time as Levi and Däumig in February 1921. As a minority delegate in Moscow immediately after the 'March Action', he publicly supported Levi for months following his expulsion, and organised a new right opposition. He was expelled from the Communist Party in January 1922, then returned to the USPD and then to the SPD.

Breitscheid, Rudolf (1874-1944)

A leading member of the SPD and a delegate to the Reichstag during the Weimar Republic. He joined the USPD in 1917. During World War I he was the SPD faction's spokesman for foreign policy, as well as member of the German delegation to the League of Nations.

Budyonny, (or Budyenny) Semyon Mikhailovich (1883-1973)

A sergeant in the tsarist cavalry during World War I, he became a commander in the Red Army during the civil war. He joined the Bolshevik Party in 1919. He was the leader of the First Cavalry Army and a supporter of Stalin from the beginning. He sat on the military tribunal which passed death sentences on Red Army commanders massacred by Stalin in the 'purge of the generals'. In 1940 Stalin appointed him first deputy people's commissar of defence.

Bukharin, Nikolai (1888-1938)

Bolshevik 'party favourite' and leading theoretician. He was close to Lenin before the war, although he had disputes with him during the war period. Co-author with Evgeny Preobrazhensky of *The ABC of communism*. He was a leading member of the 'left communist' faction which opposed signing the Brest-Litovsk

peace in 1917 in favour of a revolutionary war. He was supposed to accompany Zinoviev as a delegate to the Halle congress, but could not obtain a visa from the German authorities. He formed a right bloc with Zinoviev, Kamenev and Stalin in 1923 against Trotsky, and was the major spokesperson for the turn to the rich peasants during the latter part of the New Economic Policy. He remained with Stalin after Zinoviev and Kalinin joined the Left Opposition. He was the editor of *Pravda* from 1918-1929 and head of Comintern from 1926-1929. After Stalin's left turn in 1928, he led the Right Opposition. Expelled from the party in 1929, recanting soon afterwards. Executed after the Third Moscow Trial in 1938.

Chicherin, Georgy (1872-1936)

A diplomat in the tsarist ministry, he supported the Socialist Revolutionaries in the 1905 revolution and was forced to emigrate. Returning to Russia in January 1918, he became a Bolshevik, succeeding Trotsky as Commissar of Foreign Affairs in 1918 and serving in this post until 1930.

Chkheidze, Nikolay Semyonovich (1864-1926)

A Georgian Menshevik who helped to introduce Marxism to Georgia in the 1890s. In 1917 Chkheidze became chairman of the Petrograd soviet. Although he refused a post in the Russian provisional government, he supported its policies. When in October 1917 the Bolsheviks seized power in Russia, Chkheidze was on holiday, visiting his native Georgia. Remaining in Georgia, he became leader of the Transcaucasian Sejm on February 23 1918 and in May was elected a chairman of the constituent assembly of the newly-proclaimed Democratic Republic of Georgia. As its representative during the 1919 Versailles conference, he tried to gain Entente recognition for the new Georgian republic, but was unsuccessful. Chkheidze was one of the authors of the republic's first constitution in early 1921, but was forced into exile when the Bolsheviks took control of the country in March. He escaped to France, where he lived until committing suicide on June 13 1926.

Crispien, Arthur (1875-1946)

A leader of the USPD following his arrest and conscription in 1915. He was a people's commissar in December 1918. As a leader of the USPD right, he stayed with it in spite of the vote at the Halle congress. Rejoined the SPD 1922, becoming its co-chairman. Exiled after 1933.

Dan, Fyodor (1871-1947)

Pseudonym of F Gurvich, Russian Menshevik, writer and physician. A member of the Emancipation of Labour and *Iskra* groups, he was arrested and exiled in 1902, but escaped in 1903. He joined the Menshevik faction. He was arrested and mobilised in World War I, during which he took a social-chauvinist stance. After the February Revolution of 1917 he became a member of the Executive Committee of the Petrograd soviet, supporting the provisional government. A strong

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opponent of Lenin and later the RSFSR, he was expelled from Russia in 1922 for inciting counterrevolution.

Daszyński, Ignacy (1866-1936)

Galician social democrat and Polish nationalist in the Austrian social democracy; co-founder of the Polish Socialist Party as reconstructed after World War I. Briefly Polish prime minister in 1918. He supported Pilsudski's 1926 coup but later went into opposition.

Däumig, Ernst (1868-1922)

Joined the SPD long before the war, working as a journalist on *Vorwärts* in 1911. Joined the opposition in 1914. Co-founder of the USPD and chief editor of *Freiheit* in 1917-18. Co-opted in 1918 into a nucleus of revolutionary delegates to undertake military preparations for the insurrection of November 1918. A member of the Executive of Councils in November, he opposed the formation of the KPD(S) and unsuccessfully opposed putschist elements in January 1919. He secured a rejection of Legien's proposals for a 'workers' government' following the Kapp putsch. A supporter of Comintern's 21 conditions, he was later elected as a delegate to Comintern's 3rd congress. Elected joint chairman of the new united KPD with Levi in December 1920, and stepped down from this position alongside Levi. He joined the Communist Workers' Group (KAG) and refused to surrender his mandate as KPD deputy. He died soon after Levi and the KAG joined the USPD.

Denikin, Anton (1872-1947)

Russian General. A career officer from 1892, Denikin was already a major-general in 1914. Served as Chief of Staff to the several commanders-in-chief in 1917; supported Kornilov's *coup* in August and was imprisoned. He escaped after October and became leader of the White Volunteer Army operating in southern Russia and Ukraine. After severe defeats he resigned in April 1920 in favour of Wrangel and went into exile.

Dissmann, Robert (1878-1926)

Leader of the metalworkers' union in Barmen-Elberfeld at the age of 22. A left opposition candidate for the SPD executive in 1911, he joined the anti-war opposition in 1914 and was a member of USPD from its foundation. Chairman of metalworkers' union in October 1919 and leader of the trade union left opposition, he broke with the USPD left on the question of trade union independence, opposing USPD affiliation to Comintern before and during the Halle congress. He stayed with the rump USPD and in 1922, in alliance with Levi, unsuccessfully opposed a return to the SPD. In 1923 he organised the left opposition with Levi in the SPD.

Dittmann, Wilhelm (1874-1954)

In origin a cabinet maker, member of the SPD from 1898, a journalist in 1899

and an SPD deputy in 1912. In opposition during World War I, he attacked censorship in particular. He was a USPD co-founder. He was sentenced to five years' imprisonment in a fortress after the January 1918 strike against the war. Amnestied in October, he became a people's commissar in November and December. A leader of the USPD right, he returned to the SPD in 1922. Emigrated to Switzerland in 1933.

Falkenhayn, Erich von (1861-1922)

A German soldier and Chief of the General Staff during World War I. In February 1918, Falkenhayn became commander of the 10th Army in Belarus, in which capacity he witnessed the end of the war. In 1919, he retired from the Army and withdrew to his estate, where he wrote several books on war, strategy, and his autobiography.

Geyer, Curt (1891-1967)

The son of SPD member of parliament Friedrich Geyer, he was born into the strong workers' movement of Leipzig. In 1914 he became editor of one of the SPD's most influential dailies, the *Leipziger Volkszeitung*. He became a USPD member in 1917 and chair of the Leipzig workers' and soldiers' council in 1919. Between 1919 and 1924 he was a member of the national assembly and the Reichstag. In 1921 he was sent to Comintern's 3rd congress in Moscow as a USPD representative. He was later expelled from the KPD for backing Paul Levi's criticisms of Comintern policy in the 'March Action' of 1921. Returning to the SPD, he then became editor of *Vorwärts*. He later renounced Marxism and was extremely critical of his earlier years. His never fully completed autobiography, *Die revolutionäre Illusion* [*The revolutionary illusion*] is tainted by this perspective, but provides a unique insight into the USPD left's history - especially the Halle episode. Like far too many other excellent snapshots of revolutionary history, it is yet to be translated.

Friis, Jakob Johan Sigfrid (1883-1956)

Represented the Norwegian Labour Party at the 2nd and 3rd congresses of Comintern and also a member of the Comintern Executive Committee from 1920 to 1921. He joined the Norwegian Communist Party in 1928. In 1933 he left, rejoining the Labour Party in 1936.

Gompers, Samuel (1850-1924)

Founded the American Federation of Labor (AFL) in 1886. For much of his time as president, he fought against communists and socialists in the ranks of the AFL and argued against immigration as it would lower wages. During World War I, Gompers and the AFL worked with the government to avoid strikes and boost morale.

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Gramsci, Antonio (1891-1937)

A founder of the Communist Party of Italy in 1921. He wrote extensively while in prison under Mussolini from 1926 until his death. Gramsci is accredited with the development of the idea of hegemony and the need for the proletariat to establish “intellectual and moral leadership” of the masses, for criticising overly deterministic conceptions of historical development, for emphasising the role of the party in the formation of a class rather than simply representing a class, likening the role of a political party to that of Machiavelli’s prince, and thus for emphasising the ideological aspects of political struggle.

Grumbach, Salomon (1884-1952)

Referred to by Zinoviev as “Mr Grumbach” in his speech, he was a politician and journalist from Alsace who was a member of both the SPD, and later on, the French section of the Workers’ International. At the French equivalent of the Halle congress in Tours on Christmas Day 1920 he supported the minority who opposed joining Comintern.

Guchkov, Alexander Ivanovich (1862-1936)

Moscow landowner and industrialist, organiser and leader of the Octobrist party (moderate conservatives supportive of Pyotor Stolypin’s reforms in the aftermath of the 1905 revolution), Guchkov was a chauvinist during World War I. He was president of the third duma. Following the February Revolution of 1917, Guchkov was first minister of the army and navy in the provisional government. He resigned on May 31 1917. In August, 1917, he supported general Kornilov’s attempted coup against the provisional government. After the October Revolution, Guchkov fought against the Soviet government, and later became a white emigré in Berlin.

Haase, Hugo (1863-1919)

Of Jewish origin, from Königsberg in East Prussia. Nicknamed ‘the poor people’s lawyer’, he was an SPD deputy in 1897 and became party chairman in 1911. He opposed voting for war credits on August 4 1914, but submitted in the interests of party discipline. From 1916 he became the spokesman for the centrist minority. He was the USPD leader from its foundation and a people’s commissar in November-December 1918. A leading member of the USPD right, he was assassinated by a nationalist on the steps of the Reichstag in 1919.

Hilferding, Rudolph (1877-1941)

Leader and teacher in the SPD prior to World War I and author of the book *Finance capital*, published in 1910, one of the most original Marxist studies of the period. He took a pacifist position during the war, which led him to the USPD. He later returned to the SPD and became finance minister in the Stresemann cabinet in 1923 and the Müller cabinet from 1928-30. He fled to France when the Nazis came to power, but the Pétain regime turned him over to the

Gestapo in 1940. He died in a German prison.

Hillquit, Morris (1869-1963)

A founder and leader of the Socialist Party of America, as well as a prominent labour lawyer in New York City's lower east side during the early 20th century. He wrote critical but informed studies of the Bolshevik Revolution.

Hölz, Max (1889-1933)

Became politicised during his service in World War I, and joined the USPD in 1918 and the KPD in 1919. Against the wishes of the KPD leadership, Hölz set up armed fighting formations, which later initiated the German 'March battles' of 1921. He was expelled from the KPD as a result. He then joined the Communist Workers' Party of Germany (KAPD) and stayed in the organisation until the mid-1920s. He emigrated to the Soviet Union in 1929 at Joseph Stalin's request. He drowned under rather suspicious circumstances in 1933.

Hoffmann, Adolph (1858-1930)

Was in the SPD when the anti-socialist laws were in force. He was a journalist and then publisher for the SPD in 1893. In 1900 he was a deputy to the Prussian state parliament and in the Reichstag in 1904. A pacifist in 1914, he opposed both the majority and the revolutionaries. A member of the USPD in 1917, he played an important role in the January 1918 strikes. He was minister of education in November 1918. On the USPD left, he then joined the new united KPD and was a member of its leadership in 1920. He supported Levi, following him into the USPD, but not into the SPD. Up to his death he remained in the USPD fragment which maintained its independence.

Hoffmann, Max (1869-1927)

A German officer and military strategist during World War I. He is widely regarded as one of the finest staff officers of the imperial period. He spent five years in the Russian section of the General Staff where he became a specialist in Russian affairs and was tasked with trying to determine Russia's plan of attack in the eventuality of war between Germany and Russia. At the outbreak of World War I he was the deputy chief of staff of the German Eighth Army stationed in East Prussia. During the opening months of the war the Eighth Army was the only German military unit defending East Prussia from a Russian attack.

Following the February Revolution the new Russian government under Alexander Kerensky attempted to reinvigorate Russian support for the war by attacking along a broad front. Hoffman withdrew for sixty miles, all the while urging Ludendorff, his former superior during the Tannenberg campaign and now Quartermaster-General, to shift men from the Western Front, claiming he could knock Russia out of the war. In mid-July 1917 six divisions were sent by train from Flanders; using these reinforcements, Hoffmann counter-attacked

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along the entire front and within a fortnight was entering Riga. This rout fatally weakened Kerensky. In December 1918 he withdrew his forces from the Ober-Ost former frontline to Germany, thus involuntarily preparing the stage for the Polish-Soviet war.

Huysmans, Jean Joseph Camille (1871-1968)

Joined the Belgian Workers' Party, predecessor of the Belgian Socialist Party, at a young age. He became a journalist for many socialist periodicals until 1904 and was thereafter active in the labour unions. Taking a chauvinist stance in the war, he was secretary of the Second International between 1905 and 1922.

Ionov (1870-1923)

Ionov was the cadre name of F M Koigen. Before 1917 he was a Bundist of internationalist persuasion, and joined the Bolsheviks after the October Revolution.

Kamenev, Lev (1883-1936)

An old friend of Lenin, a founding member of the RSDLP and, after the split, a Bolshevik. He returned from exile in 1914 to edit *Pravda* but was arrested. Released by the 1917 February Revolution, he was elected to the Bolshevik Central Committee. Together with Zinoviev, he opposed the plans for the October Revolution. Their opposition was defeated in a vote by the majority of the party, to which they responded on October 18 by writing for *Novaya Zhizn* (a Menshevik daily) of the Bolshevik plan for an uprising against the government, and expressed their opinion that it was doomed. On the day after the revolution, Kamenev was elected chairman of the central executive committee by the 2nd congress of soviets, and later was one of the first members of the politburo in 1919. In 1923 he joined Stalin and Zinoviev in forming the triumvirate (*troika*) against Trotskyism. Three years later he (and Zinoviev) formed a bloc with Trotsky against Stalinism, due to its excessive bureaucratism, in the 'United Opposition', 1926-27. As a result, Kamenev was expelled from the Communist Party in 1927. He pleaded to be allowed back into the party and was readmitted in 1928. Expelled again in 1932, he again pleaded with Stalin, and was readmitted. Three years later, he was sentenced to 10 years' imprisonment for conspiracy to assassinate Stalin. During the beginning of the Moscow trials in 1936, Kamenev was again tried, now for treason against the Soviet state, and was shot.

Kaminsky, Grigory (1895-1938)

Soviet politician, the second First Secretary of the Communist Party of Azerbaijan, and one of founders of the healthcare system in the Soviet Union. In 1930, he was appointed the secretary of the Moscow state committee of the Communist Party. In 1934-1936, he served as the people's commissar of health of the Russian Soviet Federative Socialist Republic (RSFSR) and chief sanitary inspector, and in

1936-1937 as people's commissar of healthcare of the Soviet Union. He is credited with extensive work in establishing the production of medicine, preparation of medical personnel, fighting malaria in the Soviet Union and promotion of medical science in the education system. He was executed by firing squad.

Kaplan, Dora (Fanya) (1890-1918)

Left Socialist-Revolutionary activist who attempted to assassinate Lenin in Moscow August 30 1918, leading to the launch of a mass 'red terror' campaign against the SRs.

Kaplansky, Shlomo (1884-1950)

Labour Zionist politician, who served as the Secretary of the World Union of *Poalei Zion* (Workers of Zion). In the summer of 1920 *Poalei Zion* sent Kaplansky to London in order to conduct propaganda efforts within the British labour movement. By that year the affiliation of *Poalei Zion* to the British Labour Party had ceased, and *Poalei Zion* had started to function as an independent party in the country. Along with David Ben-Gurion he had contacts with both Labour and the Independent Labour Party. He collaborated with the Independent Labour Party in setting up the Vienna ('two and a half') International.

Kerensky, Alexander (1882-1970)

Before 1917 a member of the Trudovik or 'Labour' group in the дума associated with the Socialist Revolutionaries but to their right, in February 1917 Kerensky became vice-chairman of the Petrograd soviet. He became minister of justice in the newly formed provisional government; by the tumultuous July events he had accepted the seat of prime minister. In October 1917 he went into exile in the United States and worked as a professor.

Könen, Wilhelm (1886-1963)

A member of the SPD who immediately joined the USPD at the time of the split in 1917. After the Halle split he sat on the leadership of the KPD. Initially on its left wing, he later joined up with the grouping around Ernst Thälmann, who was KPD chair from 1925-1931.

Kohn, Albert (1857-1926)

Doctor and member of the SPD/USPD who led the struggle for health insurance in Germany.

Kollontai, Alexandra (1872-1952)

Non-faction social democrat in the immediate aftermath of the 1903 congress; Zimmerwald participant; associated with the 'imperialist-economist' trend in the Bolsheviks in 1916 and collaborated with Bukharin on the New York *Nowy Mir*. Commissar for social welfare after October, she joined the left communist faction in 1918, and remained an oppositionist in the early 1920s with the Work-

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ers' Opposition. From 1923 she escaped from Soviet politics into the diplomatic service, holding several diplomatic appointments before becoming ambassador to Sweden in 1930, where she remained until retirement in 1945.

Krakovsky (?-1918)

Krakovsky was a Menshevik worker who was shot during the 'Red Terror', according to Samuel Gompers' *Out of their own mouths*: "Just after the above-mentioned attempts on the lives of Lenin and other Bolsheviks, the Social-Revolutionary [sic!] party stated officially that it had nothing to do with these assassinations; but this statement did not prevent the Bolsheviks shooting down like dogs members of the Social-Revolutionary party. The terrorist madness of the Bolsheviks, once let loose, ignored the difference between the different sections of their political opponents. In Petrograd they shot the metalworker Krakovsky, a member of the Social Democratic Labour Party; three members of the same party in Ribinsk, leaders of local trade unions (Ramin, Sokoloff and Levin); and in Nijni-Novgorod the secretary of the local party committee, Comrade Ridnik." Gompers' book was really written by William Walling.)

Krasnov, Pyotr Nikolayevich (1869-1947)

Lieutenant general of the Russian army when the revolution broke out in October 1917, Krasnov attempted, with Kerensky's backing, to overthrow the new regime. Paroled by the Soviet government, he broke parole to escape to the lower Don region where he became Ataman of the Don Cossack host. Defeated in 1918, the Entente in January 1919 required him to accept subordination to Denikin; he preferred exile.

Krupskaya, Nadezhda Konstantinovna (1869-1939)

RSDLP activist, married to Lenin from 1896, deputy commissar for education after October; CC member from 1924; supported the several majorities against the various oppositions between 1924 and 1939, when she was (according to NKVD files reported by Khrushchev) murdered by a poisoned birthday cake sent by Stalin.

Kun, Béla (1886-1937)

Hungarian office worker who became a social democrat in 1902. He first worked as a journalist and then as a full-timer. A prisoner of war in Russia, he joined the Bolshevik Party in 1917. At the end of 1918 he founded the Communist Party of Hungary. A few months later he headed the short-lived Soviet Republic of Hungary in 1919. Taking refuge in Moscow, he became a political commissar in the Red Army. He joined Comintern's small bureau in 1921, arriving in Germany just before the March Action, for which he is generally seen to be responsible. A functionary in the Comintern apparatus, he was arrested in 1937 and executed without trial.

Kushnarev, I G (-1926)

As a Russian migrant worker in Australia, Kushnarev was an activist in the Australian Socialist Party ('internationalist'). He returned to Russia at some point before 1917 and became a leader of the Far Eastern Republic towards the end of the Civil War.

Laufenberg, Heinrich (1872-1932)

A leading German communist, who is said to be a forerunner of 'National Bolshevism'. During the German revolution he was elected president of the Council of the Workmen and Soldiers of Hamburg. Involved in the Hamburg branch of the Communist Party of Germany, he began to call for a *national communism*, with close collaboration between the working class and the middle classes and a peaceful transition to socialism, which was to be led by the proletariat. In close alliance with the Soviet Union, Germany would then rebuild itself militarily and wage war on the allied powers in order to restore its prestige. Laufenberg was immediately condemned by Karl Radek as a *national Bolshevik*. Vladimir Lenin joined in the condemnation in 1920 when he accused Laufenberg of seeking a war coalition with the German bourgeoisie. Laufenberg went on to become a founding member of the Communist Workers Party of Germany (KAPD). Although his nationalist ideas were condemned at the party's founding conference in Heidelberg, neither he nor his close comrade Fritz Wolfheim were expelled. They were simply asked to leave, which they did.

Ledebour, Georg (1850-1947)

A teacher, actor and then journalist. A Reichstag deputy for Pankow, he was well-known for his interruptions in parliament. He was a pre-war radical, a centrist during the war, and hostile to the Bolsheviks and the Spartacists. He was a member of the USPD in 1917 and its Berlin organisation in 1918, leading the circle of revolutionary shop stewards. He was the co-chair of the revolutionary committee in January 1919 and charged with high treason. He broke with the USPD left in 1920 on the question of joining Comintern. He stayed in the USPD, returning to the SPD in 1922. Emigrated to Switzerland in 1933 and died there after World War II.

Legien, Carl (1861-1920)

SPD rightist, chairman of the German Federation of Trade Unions and editor of its journal. He saw the SPD and the party as "equally important". On top of his post in the General Commission he held a number of posts such as a Reichstag deputy (1893-98) and secretary of the International Bureau of Socialist Trade Unions (1920). Following Ignaz Auer in viewing the general strike as "general nonsense", he even saw the discussion of the political strike as dangerous. A big fan of Samuel Gompers, Legien was the embodiment of 'practical' revisionism, ie the outlook of the trade union bureaucracy.

Levi, Paul (1886-1930)

German lawyer and member of the SPD. A long time friend and occasional lawyer of Rosa Luxemburg. After the murder of Luxemburg and Liebknecht, Levi took the helm of the KPD and put pressure on the authorities until the soldiers who murdered them were eventually convicted of the crime. However, he soon developed differences with the leadership of the Communist International on various organisational and political issues. His differences came to a head over the KPD's disastrous 'March Action' of 1921. Expelled from the KPD, Levi returned to the SPD and remained a Reichstag deputy until his death, representing the Social Democratic Party (SPD), whose left wing he led. Levi fell to his death on 9 February 1930. The circumstances were never clarified.

Liebknecht, Theodor (1870-1948)

Born in Leipzig in 1870 as the son of Wilhelm Liebknecht and the brother of Karl Liebknecht, Theodor Liebknecht studied law and worked as a lawyer in Berlin from 1899 on, becoming politically active after his brother's murder in January 1919. He was a member of the USPD, opposed the merger with the KPD and to joining Comintern, but also opposed the reunification of the USPD with the SPD. He continued the USPD as an independent party with Georg Ledebour until its merger into the *Sozialistische Arbeiterpartei Deutschlands* (SAPD – the Socialist Worker's Party of Germany) in 1931. In 1924, he was involved in the split of the *Sozialistischer Bund* together with Georg Ledebour. Following the Nazi rise to power, he emigrated to Basel, Switzerland and was later employed by the International Institute of Social History in Amsterdam from 1936 to 1939.

Lipinsky, Richard (1867-1936)

A German trade unionist, politician and writer, he was an editor of the *Leipziger Volkszeitung* between 1894 and 1901. Between 1907 and 1917 he was the chairman of the SPD's Leipzig section. Between 1917 and 1922 he was also a member of the party's central *Beirat* (advisory committee). In December 1918 he was a delegate at the congress of workers' councils. Between 1919 and 1920 he was a deputy to the Saxony Landtag and chair of the USPD fraction. From December 1920 to February 1923 he was minister of the interior. He rejoined the SPD in 1922.

Lloyd George, David (1863-1945)

The last liberal prime minister of Britain, heading the wartime coalition government from 1916-1922.

Longuet, Jean (1876-1938)

French Socialist, grandson of Karl Marx. Though formally a pacifist, he voted for war credits as a deputy during World War I and supported the minority against the communists at the Tours Congress and thereafter the French Sec-

tion of the Workers' International (SFIO).

Lozovsky, Solomon (1878-1952)

A prominent Bolshevik revolutionary, a high official in various parts of the Soviet government, including as a presidium member of the all-union central council of Soviet trade unions, a CPSU central committee member, a member of the supreme soviet, a deputy people's commissar for foreign affairs and the head of the Soviet information bureau (*Sovinformburo*). He was also chair of the department of international relations at the higher party school. He was twice expelled from the Bolshevik Party (in 1914 and 1917-18), but readmitted. His second expulsion was related to his stance in support of independent trade unions following the October Revolution.

Lozovsky was general secretary of the Red International of Labour Unions (Profintern) (1921-1937). He was arrested (at the age of 70) and tortured during the Soviet anti-Semitic campaign of the late 1940s and early 1950s. Despite incredible pressure, Lozovsky never admitted his guilt nor accused other people. The closed trial lasted for two and a half months. Another month was spent on death row awaiting execution. Lozovsky was executed on August 12 1952.

Ludendorff, Erich Friedrich Wilhelm (1865-1937)

A German army officer who ran Germany's war effort alongside Paul von Hindenburg from August 1916 to his resignation in October 1918.

Maisky, Ivan (1884-1975)

RSDLP member and Menshevik before 1917, he returned from exile in 1918 only to join the Komuch government in Samara. He joined the Communist Party in 1921 and served as a Soviet diplomat from 1922 to 1943, when he became deputy commissar for foreign affairs, retiring in 1945 to become a historian. Jailed for espionage in 1953, he was released and rehabilitated in 1955.

Meyer, Ernst (1887-1930)

Journalist for *Vorwärts* and an SPD oppositionist in 1914, Meyer was elected to the KPD(S) leadership at its founding congress in 1919, and became chief editor of *Die Rote Fahne*.

Millerand, Alexandre (1859-1943)

Expelled from the Second International at the turn of the 20th century for taking up a post in the French government. This sparked the famous debate within the Second International around participation in bourgeois governments. Alongside him in the cabinet sat Marquis de Gallifet, who had directed the bloody repression of the Paris Commune of 1871. Millerand was later prime minister of France from January to September 1920 and president from 1920-1924.

Milyukov, Pavel Nikolayevich (1859-1943)

Professor of history at Moscow university, Milyukov was an organiser and leader of the Cadet Party and a member of the 3rd and 4th dumas. An imperialist during World War I, he sent a letter on behalf of the provisional government to the allied governments, saying that Russia was prepared to continue the devastating war to a "victorious end". After the February Revolution he became minister of foreign affairs for the provisional government. He was removed from his position in April 1917 as a result of mass workers' and soldiers' demonstrations against the continuation of the war. In August 1917, Milyukov supported Kornilov's opposition to the provisional government. Following this failure, he left Russia, but returned to assist the White armies that invaded Russia in 1918 and 1919.

Modigliani, Giuseppe (1872-1947)

Long-serving Italian Socialist Party leader. In 1947 he participated in the leadership of a rightist split from the party to form the Italian Social Democratic Party (PSDI) one of the small parties which cooperated with the Christian democracy until they were all wiped out by *tangentopoli*.

Moses, Julius (1868-1942)

A Jewish doctor and SPD member of the Reichstag, he became famous for propagating the idea of a 'birth strike', which made him very unpopular in conservative circles due to the militarists' insistence on a high birth rate for war. Until the 1920 split he was a member of the USPD leadership. By 1922 he sat on the SPD leadership.

Nabokov, Vladimir (1870-1922)

Russian criminologist, journalist and politician during the last years of the tsarist Empire. From 1904 until 1917 he was editor of the liberal newspaper *Rech* (*Speech*). A prominent member of the Constitutional Democratic Party ('Kadets'), Nabokov was elected to Russia's parliament, the 1st дума. In 1917, after the February Revolution, he helped draft the document for grand duke Michael's refusal of the throne. Nabokov was made secretary to the provisional government; he was forced to leave St Petersburg in December 1917 after the provisional government was overthrown by the Bolshevik Revolution. In 1918 he served as minister of justice in the regional government of Crimea, where he and his family had taken refuge. In 1919 the Nabokovs fled to England and later settled in Berlin. From 1920 until his death, Nabokov was editor of the Russian émigré newspaper *Rul* (*The Rudder*), which continued to advocate a pro-Western democratic government in Russia. He was assassinated by a Russian monarchist at a Cadet conference in Berlin in March 1922. Father of the famous novelist Vladimir N Nabokov.

Noske, Gustav (1868-1946)

On the extreme right wing of the SPD and a supporter of German victory in World War I. He was enthusiastically greeted by mutinying sailors in Kiel at the outbreak

of the November revolution in 1918, paying lip-service to their demands. Yet later he was to oversee crushing repression of the German workers' movement, including arranging to have two of its finest leaders assassinated - Rosa Luxemburg and Karl Liebknecht.

Oudegeest, Jan (1870-1950)

Dutch trade union leader and Social Democratic parliamentarian, participant in the Amsterdam International of Trade Unions.

Pasha, Enver (1881-1922)

Nickname of İsmail Enver Efendi, a Turkish military officer and leader of the Young Turk revolution. He was the main leader of the Ottoman Empire in both Balkan Wars and World War I. In 1918 he fled to exile in Germany, where he communicated and worked with figures like Karl Radek. Wishing to co-operate with the Bolsheviks against the British, he went to Russia, where he met with Bolshevik leaders, including Lenin. During the Turkish War of Independence he decided to return to Anatolia, but Kemal did not want him as one of the Turkish revolutionaries. As a result Pasha travelled to Moscow again.

In November 1921 he was sent by Lenin to Bukhara in the Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic of Turkestan in order to suppress an uprising against the local pro-Bolshevik regime. However, instead he made secret contacts with some of the rebellion's leaders and, along with a small number of followers, defected to the basmachi side. His aim was to unite the numerous basmachi groups under his own command and mount a co-ordinated offensive against the Bolsheviks in order to realize his pan-Turkish dreams. After a number of successful military operations he managed to establish himself as the rebels' supreme commander, and turned their disorganized forces into a small but well-drilled army. On August 4 1922, however, as he allowed his troops to celebrate the Idi Qurbon holiday the Red Army Baskir cavalry brigade launched a surprise attack, in which he was killed.

Petrovsky, Grigory Ivanovich (1878-1958)

A revolutionary of Ukrainian origin, he was a chairman of the central executive committee of the USSR from December 30 1922 to January 12 1938. He helped carry out the 'red terror' of 1918.

Preobrazhensky, Yevgeny Alekseyevich (1886-1937)

Joined the Bolsheviks in 1903. From March 1917 he was a delegate to the Chitinskogo soviet. In 1917-18 he was a candidate member of the central committee of the Party. In 1917-18 joined the 'left communists', opposing peace with Germany, saying that the "entire plan of Lenin appears, generally speaking, as an attempt to save the life of the Soviet regime by means of suicide". Together with Bukharin, he wrote the *ABC of Communism* (1919). In 1920-21 he became a secretary of the central committee and a member of the politburo. In 1921 he be-

came president of the financial committee and a member of the council of people's commissars of the RSFSR; chief of the people's commissariat of education; leading Soviet economist 1920-30, developing the plan for industrialisation of the country. He was a co-thinker of Trotsky. After 1927 he was expelled from the party "for the organisation of an illegal anti-party printing house." From January 1928 he was sent to the Urals and worked in the planning agencies. In summer 1929, together with Karl Radek and Ivar Smilga, he wrote a letter claiming an "ideological and organisational break with Trotskyism". Restored in the party in January 1930 and appointed to the Nizhniy-Novgorod planning committee, in 1932 he became a member of the board of the people's commissariat of light industry, and acting head of the people's commissariat of state farms. In January 1933 he was expelled, arrested and interrogated by the GPU and sentenced to 3 years exile. Arrested again on 20 December 1936, he refused to confess and was sentenced to death and shot on 13 July 1937.

Renaudel, Pierre (1871-1935)

Leader of the French Socialist Party following Jean Jaurès' assassination, from 1914 he was a member of the chamber of deputies. During World War I he took a defencist position. In 1920, after the split in the French Socialist Party at the Tours congress, he remained leader of the minority which refused to affiliate to Comintern. He subsequently headed the right wing of the party, standing for unification with the Radicals.

Renner, Karl (1870-1950)

A leader of Austrian social democracy, author of constitutional forms for his and Bauer's conception of a multi-national state, and of a systematic legal-positivist 'Marxist' interpretation of the theory of law. A social-chauvinist in 1914, he later served as president of Austria from 1931-33 and again from 1945 until his death.

Rosenfeld, Kurt (1877-1943)

A well-known civil rights lawyer, left wing Reichstag deputy of German social democracy. He was expelled in 1931 and helped found the centrist Socialist Workers Party (SAP) of Germany, of which he was leader for a short time.

Rühle, Otto (1874-1943)

German left communist. He joined the German Social Democratic Party in 1900 and voted with Karl Liebknecht against the war credits in the Reichstag in 1915 and was a member of the Spartacus Group until 1917.

Rusch, Oskar (1884-1935)

A metal worker and trade unionist, he was a leading member of the revolutionary shop stewards during the November revolution. Joining the USPD in 1918, he went with the USPD left at Halle and became a member of the new united KPD. Elected as a KPD member of the Prussian state parliament in February

1921, he then left the party following the 'March Action' to work alongside Paul Levi in the Communist Workers' Group.

Savinkov, Boris (1879-1925)

A colourful figure, he was an SR terrorist before World War I and became an aide to Kerensky during 1917. He later returned to the Soviet Union, where he died in prison. In his seminal *What is to be done?* written between 1901 and 1902, Lenin has many good things to say about Savinkov's articles.

Scheidemann, Phillipp (1865-1937)

Leading member of the SPD's far right wing, on November 9 1918 he declared the birth of the German republic as a way of outflanking and undercutting the influence of the revolutionary Karl Liebknecht. He held a post in the coalition government - consisting of the SPD, Progressives, National Liberals and the Centre party. This government oversaw massive suppression of the working class movement.

Schopenhauer, Arthur (1788-1860)

German philosopher, a product of the period of classical German philosophy (Kant, Fichte, Schelling, Hegel) who introduced elements from Eastern philosophy; the founder of voluntarism and important precursor to existentialism via his influence on Nietzsche and Freudian psychology; noted for his passionate hatred of Hegel, not able to publish until anti-Hegelianism became fashionable in the 1840s.

Sender, Toni (1888-1964)

A member of the SPD from 1906, she joined the USPD in 1917 and was elected as a USPD Reichstag deputy in 1920. Returning to the SPD, she wrote 420 articles for the German metalworkers' union magazine. Following death threats from the Nazis, she fled to New York via Czechoslovakia and Belgium.

Serrati, Giacinto Menotti (1874-1926)

Central leader of the Italian Socialist Party (PSI), editor of the paper *Avanti* (successor to the ousted Benito Mussolini in 1914), during World War I he pushed the party to the left. He was an active member of the Zimmerwald movement and, after the October Revolution of 1917, Serrati led the PSI into joining Comintern. During the 2nd congress of Comintern (July-August 1920), he served on its presiding committee, and was elected to the Comintern Executive Committee that year. However, in 1921 he opposed breaking with the reformists and remained head of the Italian Socialist Party during the split which produced the Italian Communist Party. In 1924 he nonetheless led the left wing of the PSI into fusion with the Communist Party, and was elected to the latter's central committee.

Severing, Carl Wilhelm (1875-1952)

A German SPD politician during the Weimar era. He was interior minister of Prussia from 1920 to 1926, minister of the interior from 1928 to 1930 and interior minister of Prussia again from 1930 to 1932.

Shablin, N (Ivan Nedelkov) (?-1925)

A Bulgarian communist. Before World War I he was active in the Bulgarian *Tesniak* (narrow) Socialist Party. A delegate to the 2nd congress of Comintern, he accompanied Zinoviev to Halle. Following the failed Bulgarian insurrection in 1923 he was eventually killed by the police in 1925.

Simons, Walter (1861-1937)

Lawyer, judge, civil servant and diplomat before 1918, Simons was German foreign minister without party affiliation in the Centre Party-Democratic Party-People's Party coalition government of 1920-21; from 1922 to 1929 president of the *Reichsgericht*, or final court of appeal.

Sorge, Friedrich (1828-1906)

A revolutionary of 1848, Sorge emigrated to the US in the 1850s and remained active in the workers' movement, founding successively a New York communist club, and a section of the First International; after the 1872 move of the General Council to the US, he became its general secretary. Correspondent of Marx and Engels from the 1850s to their deaths.

Stalin, Joseph (Joseph Vissarionovich Dzhugashvili 1878-1953)

RSDLP member, Bolshevik from 1903. After being in and out of jail Stalin became a member of the editorial staff of *Pravda* in 1912. Within a year, he was arrested again and exiled to Siberia. He was released from exile by general amnesty after the February Revolution of 1917, and went back to the editorial staff of *Pravda* in Petrograd. Commissar for nationalities after October. General secretary of the Communist Party 1922. In the same year Lenin called for his removal, explaining that Stalin had amassed too much power, in what was to become known as 'Lenin's last testament'. After Lenin's death, Stalin became part of the *troika* collective leadership with Zinoviev and Kamenev aligned against Trotsky; then from around 1925 he aligned with Bukharin and his co-thinkers against Zinoviev, Kamenev, Trotsky and others; finally in 1928 Stalin broke brutally with Bukharin in the turn to forced industrialisation and collectivisation. From 1934 to 1939 Stalin ordered a series of executions and imprisonments, largely directed towards people within the Soviet government. Half of those who had been members of the first council of people's commissars were executed in 1938 (a quarter of them had died natural deaths beforehand; of the remaining quarter, only Stalin lived past 1942).

Stöcker, Walter (1891-1939)

Left the SPD to join the USPD in 1917. During the November revolution of 1918 he was a leading member of the workers' and soldiers' council in Cologne. In 1919 he was appointed secretary of the USPD's party headquarters in Berlin. Alongside Könen and Däumig, he was one of the leaders of the USPD and a proponent of unity with the KPD. He sat on the new united party's leadership from 1920-21 and was elected as a KPD Reichstag representative. Later he was incarcerated in Buchenwald, where he died from typhus.

Suvorov, Alexander (1729-1800)

Russian general and military writer, a famous producer of aphorisms on the military art.

Tereshchenko, Mikhail (1886-1956)

Russian businessman and politician, later émigré financier; non-party member of the 4th duma; finance minister, then foreign minister, in the 1917 provisional government; arrested in October but escaped in 1918 and went into exile in Norway, then France.

Thomas, Albert

A prominent French Socialist and leader of the French Socialist Party's parliamentary group. He was the first Minister of Armament for the French 3rd republic during World War I. Following the treaty of Versailles he was nominated as the first Director General of the International Labour Office, a position he held until his death in 1932.

Tsereteli, Irakly (1882-1959)

Georgian Menshevik leader. A member of the 2nd duma, he was exiled to Siberia by the tsar. He was a centrist during World War I. A member of the executive committee of Petrograd soviet 1917, Tsereteli became the first minister of posts and telegraphs in the provisional government. After the July events he became minister of the interior, replacing Prince Lvov. After the October Revolution Tsereteli led the anti-Soviet bloc in the constituent assembly, which refused to recognise the Soviet government. During the civil war Tsereteli helped to establish the Menshevik government of Georgia. After Stalin ordered the Red Army to invade Georgia (the Georgian Incident), the Menshevik government was overthrown and Tsereteli went into exile.

Turati, Filippo (1857-1932)

A founder of the Italian Socialist Party and leader of its right wing, Turati maintained a policy of co-operation with the bourgeoisie. Edited, together with his partner Anna Kulischov, the review *Critica Sociale* [*Social Criticism*]. In 1896 he became a PSI deputy. In 1901 Turati persuaded the PSI parliamentary fraction to vote for the Liberal government against the wishes of the party. He was displaced from the leadership by the leftist Benito Mussolini in 1912, but Mussolini's expul-

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sion for social-chauvinism did not lead to Turati regaining his power in the party. After the communists split in 1921, Turati's reformist wing also split from the Socialist Party in 1922, giving birth to the Unitarian Socialist Party of Italy [Partito Socialista Unitario Italiano].

Uritsky, Moisei (1873-1918)

A Bolshevik leader, he was assassinated by a young military cadet on August 17 1918. This, along with Dora (Fanny) Kaplan's attempt on Lenin's life just 11 days later, led to a wave of repression, known as the Bolshevik 'red terror'.

Ustryalov, Nikolay Vasilyevich (1890-1937)

Leading pioneer of Russian 'National Bolshevism'. He was initially a supporter of the Constitutional Democratic Party ('Kadets'). Starting out in the Russian civil war as a supporter of the whites, Ustryalov came to view the Bolsheviks as the most likely force to restore the prestige of Russia, and came to regard the Soviet Union as being "like a radish", in that it was red on the outside but white on the inside. Ustryalov was particularly impressed by the manner in which the Bolsheviks brought the minority nations in Russia under control and saw this as a commendable act of imperialism. Seen as a radical dissident, Ustryalov was forced into exile from the USSR and spent time in China and France. Nevertheless he continued to regard the Bolshevik Revolution as essentially an act of Russian nationalism and was particularly fond of Joseph Stalin and his style of leadership. He was shot in the 'Great Purge' of 1937.

Vandervelde, Emile (1866-1938)

A Belgian rightwing socialist and one of the leaders of the Second International. During World War I he was one of the most extreme social-chauvinists. He then became prime minister. He was extremely hostile to Soviet Russia, acting as Belgium's signatory to the Versailles treaty in 1919. He made a special visit to Moscow in 1922 to act as a defence witness in the trial of the rightwing Socialist Revolutionaries.

Varga, Eugen Samuilovich (1879-1964)

A Marxist economist of Hungarian origin. Before World War I he gained some fame by discussing with Otto Bauer the origins of inflation in the Austro-Hungarian Empire.

He participated as minister of finance in the short-lived Hungarian Soviet Republic of 1919. After the overthrow of the Soviet Republic he fled to Vienna. In 1920 he went to the Soviet Union, where he started working for the Comintern, specialising in international economic problems and agrarian questions. In years 1922-1927 he was working at the department of trade in the Soviet embassy in Berlin. In the 1930s he became an economic adviser to Joseph Stalin. His loyalty ensured that he survived the purges of the 1930s.

Wels, Otto (1873-1939)

Chairman of the SPD from 1919 and a member of parliament from 1920 to 1933. He was the only member of the Reichstag to speak against Adolph Hitler's Enabling Act of 1933.

Wolf, Felix (1887-1937)

Born Nikolaus Rakow in Germany, Wolf lived in Russia from 1914, becoming a member of the Bolsheviks in 1916 and taking part in the Russian Revolution. In 1918 he became the secretary of the German soldiers' union in Moscow. Active in the Comintern apparatus, in 1934 he was exiled and imprisoned, where he died.

Wolfheim, Fritz (1888 - 1942)

Initially spending time in the United States, he became involved with the Industrial Workers of the World (IWW) in San Francisco alongside Lala Hardayal. In 1913 he arrived in Hamburg, Germany. Applying the concept of industrial unionism to Germany, he became involved with the KPD, and in time developed 'National Bolshevik' positions. He joined the KAPD split from the KPD, but was asked to leave on account of his nationalist views. After the short-lived Communist League, he was only marginally involved with national socialism, expressing a fondness for Prussian society and seeing the German working class as "the people of the future" spreading "Germanism" to the rest of humanity. The Nazis had him arrested in 1936. He died in the Ravensbrück concentration camp in 1942.

Wrangel, Baron Pyotr Nikolayevich (1878-1928)

A Russian general backed by the French and British states in the civil war, successor to Denikin in command of the southern white armies.

Wulle, Reinhold (1882-1950)

A racist writer and politician in the Weimar Republic. He was a member of the anti-Semitic wing the German National People's Party, representing them in the German Reichstag in June 1920. Following his expulsion from this party he formed the German Racial Freedom Party. In the Reichstag elections of 1924 his party stood on a common party list with the National Socialist German Workers' Party and the National Socialist Freedom Party. By 1925 differences were emerging between Wulle and the Nazis, with Wulle accusing them of becoming a "movement of class struggle". In the 1932 Reichstag elections he tried to convince both Adolf Hitler and Paul von Hindenburg to renounce their candidacy in favour of the crown prince Wilhelm of Prussia. He welcomed the Nazi seizure of power as a "national revolution" and hoped that they would continue to form a monarchy. He was arrested in 1938 for contravening the Treason Act, and held in a concentration camp until 1942.

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Wurm, Emanuel (1857-1920)

A journalist who worked with Karl Kautsky on *Die Neue Zeit*. He subsequently joined the USPD.

Zhordania, Noe (1868 - 1953)

A Georgian journalist and Menshevik politician. Zhordania played an eminent role in the social democratic revolutionary movement in imperial Russia, and later chaired the government of the Democratic Republic of Georgia from July 24 1918 until March 18, 1921, when the Red Army invasion of Georgia forced him into exile in France. There he led the government-in-exile until his death in 1953.

Zietz, Luise (1865-1922)

A member of the SPD leadership since 1908 and secretary of the USPD since 1917, Zietz gave the main report on party activity at the opening of the Halle congress.

Organisations

Anti-Bolshevik League

Formed on December 1 1918 by the writer and later German National People's Party Reichstag deputy Eduard Stadtler. Stadtler was one of the initiators of the murder of Liebknecht and Luxemburg. The League was formed as an organisation for all anti-communist forces from the SPD right through to the conservatives. The movement was supposed to give birth to a "conservative-socialist" party, but it was of marginal significance and more or less disappeared after 1920.

Black Hundreds

A common name for the Union of the Russian People, a police-sponsored far right group formed in Russia in 1905. It conducted pogroms against Jews, striking workers and revolutionaries, to the extent that all such pogroms, whether or not organised by the group, were likely to be attributed to 'Black Hundreds'. Zinoviev uses it in 'Twelve Days in Germany' as a metaphor for the German far right.

Fabian Group

A British reformist organisation, founded in 1884, named after the Roman General Quintus Fabius Maximus. The membership of the Fabian Society consisted chiefly of intellectuals - scholars, writers and politicians (the Webbs, Ramsay MacDonald, George Bernard Shaw and others). They supported the idea that the transition from capitalism to socialism could be brought about by means of minor and gradual reforms. In 1900, the Fabian Society joined the Labour Party. Fabian socialism is one of the sources of Labour Party ideology. During World

War I the Fabians took a social-chauvinist stand. The Fabian Society continues to this day.

Kadets (Constitutional Democrats)

A Russian party formed in October, 1905, also known as the 'Party of the People's Freedom'. Social-chauvinists during the World War I, the Kadets were reformists who sought to retain the monarchy but establish parliamentary rule over Russia. During the February Revolution of 1917, the Kadets made several attempts to save the monarchy but failed. They later formed the strongest party of the provisional government. The Kadet ministry, however, was overthrown in April because it declared itself in favour of the world war, including the imperialist aims of expanding Russia's borders.

After the October Revolution of 1917 the Kadets assisted the French, US, Japanese and British invading armies to overthrow the republic. After the defeat of the white armies in 1922, the Kadets moved overseas; some of its members continued to assist the Imperialists with usurping the Soviet government.

Socialist Revolutionaries (SRs)

Left party in tsarist Russia, mainly based on the peasantry, which argued for a "Russian exceptionalist" development of socialism on the basis of the collectivist aspects of Russian peasant life. Defencist in World War I, the SRs participated in the 1917 provisional government and were split by their inability to deliver land reform. The Right SRs, who won a majority in the Constituent Assembly due to the party list system of voting, joined the whites in the Civil War. The Left SRs, who had the support of the majority of the membership, joined the October Revolution - but broke with the Bolsheviks over the signing of the Brest-Litovsk treaty. They attempted a coup to defeat Bolshevik electoral fraud and were suppressed in Summer/Autumn 1918.

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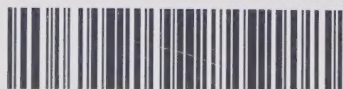
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