

pre-war "Bremer Bürgerzeitung" ("Bremen Citizens' Daily") edited by Johann Knief. Towards the end of the year 1915, this new Bremen group, consisting of Anton Pannekoek, Johann Knief and Paul Frölich, formed themselves into the "Internationale Sozialisten Deutschlands" (ISD) ("International Socialists of Germany"), and after 1916 adopted the name "Internationale Kommunisten Deutschlands" (IKD) ("International Communists of Germany").

In these two groupings were concentrated the most significant tendencies making for the formation of the Left Communist Movement in the period leading up to the conclusion of the War and immediately following it. In the course of the summer of 1918, the ISD/IKD grouping held discussions with the Spartacus Group with a view to their unification. At first, both Johann Knief, the spokesman for the ISD/IKD, and Leo Jogisches, representing the Spartacus Group, were against such a measure, both holding that the long-standing differences on questions of organisation, leadership in class struggle and revolutionary method were too great to ignore. Later in the year, however, under the influence of the rapidly developing revolutionary situation and the desire to present as strong a centre of revolutionary leadership as possible, these reservations were dropped on both sides, and preparations for the convening of the Founding Congress at the end of the year were put energetically in hand.

Of the two groups, the Spartacus League represented the most influential centre for those concepts which maintained the necessity for highly centralised forms of organisation and leadership, whilst the ISD/IKD grouping embodied those ideas of decentralised forms of organisation and adherence to methods of struggle thrown up spontaneously by the proletarian masses themselves which were gaining ground and spreading like wildfire throughout the German Movement at precisely that time as a consequence of the outbreak of the Revolution and the spread of its struggles all over Germany in the course of November and December 1918. Where ISD/IKD held that the paramount focus of the Party's energies should be directed towards strengthening the developing Council system then enveloping every town and city in Germany, and was opposed to the Party's continued participation in the Trades Union Movement, which it considered to have been corrupted beyond redemption as a result of the betrayals of the war years, and to be in any case a form of organisation fundamentally unsuited to struggle under revolutionary conditions, the Spartacus Group, whilst likewise claiming to give full and unequivocal support to the Council system, also believed that the newly formed Party should embark upon electoral work within the framework of the bourgeois National Assembly and continue work in the reformist Trades Unions alongside its revolutionary activity.

At the Founding Congress of the "Kommunistische Partei Deutschlands" (KPD) ("Communist Party of Germany") in December 1918, it was the ISD/IKD tendency which won the day and carried the greatest support. When the vote was taken for the Resolution of the Spartacus Group calling for participation in the elections to the National Assembly to be declared Party policy, the result was 62 votes against and 23 for - a resounding defeat for this developing left-opportunist position. Thus were revealed in the Congress the division into a radical, proletarian-revolutionary wing and an opportunist, left social-democratic wing which was later, after the IIInd (Heidelberg) Congress in October 1919 (Please see Note 4 to this Appendix), to lead to the split within the KPD and the founding of the

"Kommunistische Arbeiterpartei Deutschlands" (KAPD) ("Communist Workers' Party of Germany").

Thus, at the outbreak of the November Revolution, the groups and organisations comprising the Left Communist tendency in Germany were the following:

- 1) The "Spartakus-bund" ("Spartacus League"), with their central organ of the same name;
- 2) The "Internationale Kommunisten Deutschlands", (ISD) ("International Communists of Germany"), centred around the journals "Lichtstrahlen" ("Rays of Light"), Berlin, and "Arbeiterpolitik" ("Workers' Politics"), Bremen.
- 3) The "Revolutionäre Obleute" ("Revolutionary Shop Stewards"), the revolutionary organisation based in industry, and with connections to both of the above two groups.

Of these, 2) and 3) contributed to the formation of the KAPD/AAUD and the AAUD-E, and, so were responsible in the course of their development for the clarification and emergence of a fully mature Council Communist position. In this way, they came to form the conscious class vanguard of the German proletariat in the Revolution; whilst 1) came, after the expulsion of the Left Communist majority from the KPD at the Heidelberg Congress, to contribute to the degeneration of the KPD into a fully-fledged Left Social Democratic Party subservient to the (state-socialist) Bolshevik Party of the USSR within the framework of the Moscow-controlled Communist International. (For further information on the early history of the KPD, KAPD and AAUD, please see Notes 3 and 4 of this Appendix).

3. "...I assumed, partially for organisational reasons, the additional function of Chairman of the Hamburg District of the KPD."

Before any brickbats are hurled at Jan Appel for the "crime" of having been a member of a political party - and an apparent Leninist one at that! - two facts of historical relevance to the case should be borne in mind.

Firstly, it was only as a result of their actual experience in the struggle to mount and carry through a Communist revolution that the most advanced revolutionary elements in the German working class came to understand the bourgeois character and structural authoritarianism underlying the political party in general as an organisational form, and of the Leninist "vanguard" party in particular. We have just learned from Jan Appel himself that it was only as the result of exposure in the fire of the revolutionary struggle that the unsuitability of the trade unions as an organisational form was disclosed; the same broad observation applies to political parties in general and those claiming to represent the interests of the working class (the SPD and the KPD) in particular.

In addition to this, however, note should also be taken of the fact that the KPD, as constituted at its Founding Congress in

December 1918, was in any case no Leninist "party of the new type". On the contrary, at that very Congress the delegates present voted by a substantial majority *not to participate in bourgeois elections or in the bourgeois National Assembly*, and instead decided to place the main emphasis of their programmatic demands upon calls for the establishment of Workers' Councils and a Soviet Republic throughout Germany. It was indeed precisely this development, so fraught with future dangers for the new Left Social Democracy which ruled in Russia in the shape of the Bolshevik Party, which prompted Lenin to write his counter-revolutionary, parliamentary-reformist pamphlet "Left Wing Communism - An Infantile Disorder". (Please see also Notes 2 and 4 of this Appendix and Note 4 of Appendix I).

4. "It was in this way that I became a delegate to the Heidelberg (Second) Congress of the KPD."

After the First (Founding) Congress of the KPD had adopted by a sizeable majority the revolutionary policy slogans described above, Lenin decided to act swiftly, through the instrumentality of the Comintern, to remedy what for the Bolsheviks was threatening to become a disastrous situation. Despite all the fine words pledging "internationalist solidarity", and despite Lenin's warning - uttered half tongue-in-cheek as part of the Bolshevik propaganda campaign to win acceptance as a genuine tendency within the camp of the proletarian revolution - that the revolution in capitalistically backward Russia would fail unless it received support in the shape of a victorious proletarian revolution in at least one of the developed capitalist countries, preferably Germany, in reality the one eventuality which the Bolsheviks feared more than any other was precisely that!

Apart from the fact that the infant "Soviet" Republic was in any case too weakened by war and revolution as to be capable of rendering any worthwhile assistance - other than in words - to a revolution on the soil of an incomparably stronger and more developed capitalist neighbour, the most immediate reason for this hypocritical stance was that the next most feared eventuality for the Bolsheviks was the adoption of a revolutionary, pro-Council and anti-parliamentary line by the KPD at its Founding Congress.

Although a Communist consciousness did not extend to an absolute majority of the German proletariat, it *did* embrace the highest levels of the proletarian revolutionary movement as such. The precipitate pace of capitalist development, especially since the mid 1890's, had made considerable inroads into the intermediate strata which, at any given moment in social development, form Social Capital's main bulwark against the working class, and had acted in a concentrated way to promote the process of class polarisation. During and since the end of World War I, this process had taken on a new feverish pace as a result of the development of capitalist relations in agriculture and the ruination of hundreds of thousands of former peasants who, though in many cases dependent upon feudal-type obligations for the tenure of their piece of land, were nevertheless to that degree economically independent. All these elements making for the onset of an objectively revolutionary situation came to a head in November 1918.

Unlike Russia, Germany was a developed capitalist country, in which the highest levels of proletarian consciousness within the working class - although, as the outcome was to demonstrate, not yet either

numerous, theoretically developed or ideationally influential enough to ensure victory in the proletarian revolution - were nevertheless sufficiently powerful as to embrace a class force several millions strong - unlike the still primitively developed proletariat of formerly Tsarist Russia, which was numerically puny by comparison and insufficiently theoretically developed as to be capable of unmasking the ideological falsification of Marxism with which Lenin and the Bolsheviks were misleading them. Hence, in Germany, the only apparent hope available to Bolshevism of aborting a proletarian revolutionary development seemed to lie through German Social Democracy, so recently become the deadly class enemy of the proletariat as a consequence of the social-patriotic positions adopted by a majority of its leadership during the war years. Accordingly, Bolshevism developed and advocated a policy of gradually winning over the advanced militants in the working class movement for a perspective of renouncing the task of building the Councils as the cardinal task of the Revolution, in favour of a long-term perspective of collaboration with Social Democracy in winning electoral "victories" in the Reichstag, the parliaments of the Länder, the city councils, as well as in the trades unions and the factory councils - in other words, a return to the pre-war stage of the struggle for peaceful, non-revolutionary reforms and partial gains aimed at bettering the condition of the working class by infinitesimally small degrees within the terms of reference of the capitalist system of wage-slavery and value-generation as a whole - but with this small difference: now the working class was to be led by two Social Democratic Parties in competition with one another, a left and a right! In short, Bolshevism and its sycophants in the KPD leadership had already abandoned the proletarian revolution in Germany as lost even before it had properly begun and were seeking to collaborate with Right Social Democracy in the shape of the SPD - that same SPD which, during the War, had helped the Wilhelmine dynasty and the Junker aristocracy to set up and operate its military dictatorship and was even now, through the instrumentality of the Ebert-Scheidemann Government, calling for the recruitment of a volunteer counter-revolutionary force, the Freikorps, composed of all the reactionary scum embittered by Germany's defeat - to mislead the revolutionary proletariat into the *cul-de-sac* of the parliamentary-reformist deception.

As against this perspective of collaboration with Right Social Democracy, the Left Communists in the KPD believed that, in Germany at least - and especially if the crucial factor represented by the serious weakening of the economic power and political cohesion of German capital and the virtual destruction of its state power as a result of its defeat in the war be taken into account - the roots of Communism in the working class movement struck deep enough, at least amongst the approximately 8 million workers comprising the highest levels of consciousness in the proletarian movement engaged in the current revolutionary struggle, as to form an intellectual mobilising and binding agent powerful enough not only to break the social power of the capitalist class at its roots - the wages system and the control of industry, the economic apparatus and the military apparatus at the disposal of the state - but also to fight for a genuine Communist social order embodying the hegemony of the free associations of the worker-producers and constructed upon the foundations of a use value-producing Communist economy.

All that Bolshevism really desired, on the other hand, was success for the purely pragmatic aim represented by the winning of a period of peace and calm in international relations - together with the

securing of a few sizeable foreign loans! - to enable it to build up Russia's shattered economic resources and to consolidate the supposed Russian "workers' republic" under its new social system, bureaucratic State Socialism based on state nationalisation. Over and against this - Bolshevism's overriding need - the possible victory of Communism in Germany loomed as a prime danger threatening to blow prematurely the pseudo-proletarian cover which Lenin had built up for Bolshevism over so many years of painstaking work in order to disguise its true social-democratic character and to present it as the supposed Russian section of the international proletarian movement and Left Communism. His and Bolshevism's interest in seeing the defeat of the proletarian contingent in the German Revolution was therefore every bit as urgent as that of Right Social Democracy, of which Bolshevism was the left cousin. Thus, even while the guns of Germany's November Revolution were spouting death, the Bolshevik Party and State, whilst proclaiming itself "The First Land of the Victorious Proletariat and Socialism", had in reality become a counter-revolutionary force.

In this situation, so potentially dangerous for the new Bolshevik state, Lenin decided to intervene in the affairs of the KPD, within which a crucial stage in the battle between proletarian revolutionary Marxism and petit-bourgeois Social Democracy had been reached. The long-standing representative of the Bolshevik Party in Germany had been Karl Radek. The credentials bespeaking his suitability for this task included the fact that he had been a member of the left wing of the old pre-war Social Democratic Party and was, indeed, a former spokesman of its original formative centre, the "Bremen Lefts" - a feature in his pedigree which was to expose him to future generations of Marxists as a renegade from revolutionary Marxism. At the Founding Congress of the KPD, the platform of the right for participation in the bourgeois parliament had been rejected by almost 75% of the delegates present (Please see Note 2 of Appendix II). As soon as a reliable report of the complex situation in the German revolutionary movement reached Lenin, he instructed Radek to draft programmatic proposals based on the parliamentary-reformist perspectives of Left Social Democracy, and to persuade the newly-elected Central Committee to convene a Reich Conference - destined to be the first of many such - at which he would present his draft to the C.C. and use his powers as plenipotentiary of the ECCI to obtain its acceptance. This Reich Conference was held on the 9th. January 1919, a mere 8 days after the close of the Founding Conference. The document prepared by Radek was adopted, with minor amendments, as "Leitsätze über kommunistische Grundsätze und Taktik" ("Directives concerning Communist Principles and Tactics"). In these, the demagogic method was applied which projects the view that, whilst rejecting parliamentarism as an instrument of power, in its day-to-day work the proletarian party must make use of every means for promoting its victory, including participation in parliamentary elections to the National Assembly, the municipal parliaments and the T.U.-dominated factory committees. In opposing the "Principles" projected by the new Left Social Democrats, the Bolsheviks, and their sycophants within the KPD, the Left Communists tirelessly explained that the eclectic and opportunist empirical view represented by Radek and his supporters on behalf of the ECCI left wholly out of account the prime need, in a developing revolutionary situation, to place the decisive weight of the Party's influence behind the task of building up and strengthening the Council system as the social and class foundation of the Dictatorship of the Proletariat. Seen and judged in the light of that cardinal revolutionary need, the left social democratic proposals put forward by Bolshevism and its theoretical excrescence, Leninism, amounted to the advocacy of measures to

dissipate the revolutionary energies of the proletariat at precisely the vital strategic moment in the unfolding of the revolutionary process when the cardinal need was to build the organs of future proletarian power, the Councils. When, finally, the vote was counted amongst the delegates to the Berlin Reich Conference, the result showed much the same position as at the Founding Conference itself: 75% in favour of the Congress decisions and rejecting the proposals of the ECCI delegate.

On 12th. February, Radek was arrested on the grounds of having obtained illegal entry into Germany, but this blow to Bolshevism's and the ECCI's hopes received a more than adequate compensation when, a mere few days after this, a helping hand was extended to the pro-Bolshevik elements in the leadership in its efforts to subvert the revolutionary policy decisions of the Founding Congress of the KPD, one which came from an unexpected quarter which represented a most tragic defeat for the proletarian movement the consequences of which were of incalculable significance to the outcome of the revolution: on 15th. January Karl Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg were murdered by counter-revolutionary army officers. In the ensuing atmosphere of panic and confusion, the military leadership of the counter-revolution organised by the Social Democratic Ebert-Scheidemann Government lost no time in organising a widespread campaign to persecute and hunt down the leadership of the revolution, beginning with the members of the KPD Central Committee.

In the immediate aftermath of this tragedy, it soon became apparent that its immediate effect had been to strengthen the right wing of the Party. In particular, whilst the revolutionary consciousness of the Party rank-and-file continued to demand that the Party's maximum efforts be concentrated upon the task of strengthening the Council system until it became strong enough to act as the instrument of the coming dictatorship of the proletariat, all participation in the bourgeois parliament being condemned as counter-revolutionary, a group centered upon the Berlin delegate Paul Levi began to emerge as forming the majority on the C.C., and this group succeeded in carrying through at a subsequent C.C. meeting a decision that the resolutions of the Founding Conference, barely a month old, should be brought forward for further discussion with a view to their revision - the real motive being their indefinite relegation to the C.C.'s "pending decision" file. More serious still, decisions were adopted to initiate the policy of so-called "united front from above" (Please see Note 1 of Appendix III) - proposals which the Levi group hoped would influence the Ebert-Scheidemann Government into believing that at least the leadership of the KPD now wished to build the Party along non-revolutionary, constitutional lines, as the prelude to eliminating the Government's existing counter-revolutionary campaign. In this way a wedge was driven between the revolutionary cadres at the rank-and-file level of the Party and its leadership, and the latter was won for a splittist course of action designed to manipulate the revolutionary workers who constituted the bulk of the membership for a traitorous policy of collaboration with counter-revolutionary Social Democracy disguised under heavy layers of pseudo-Marxist demagoguery. This was the road down which the influence of Bolshevism, Social Democracy in a false left guise, was to lead the KPD, the newly-founded hope of the German proletariat, into an alliance with that same proletariat's deadliest enemy: the Social Democratic Ebert-Scheidemann Government at the head of the brutal counter-revolution and its fascist butchers and hangmen organised in the Freikorps!

Throughout the course of these counter-revolutionary intrigues, it had been the shadow of Bolshevism's manipulative genius, Karl Radek, which had been present behind all the manoeuvres designed to bring about a change towards Left Social Democracy in the policy orientation of the KPD leadership, now sadly shorn of the revolutionary, anti-parliamentary and Council-orientated influence of Karl Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg - the murders of whom, indeed, seen from the point of view of international Bolshevism, could not have come at a more timely moment if they had been organised by Felix Dzerzhinsky himself! Immediately following upon Radek's successful subverting of the KPD Central Committee, the Levi leadership began to make propaganda for the fundamentally social-democratic methods and perspectives laid down by Lenin and the Bolshevik-dominated ECCI - as indeed they were constitutionally bound to do by virtue of the KPD's acceptance of the notorious "21 Points for Affiliation to the Communist International", the constitutional instrument drafted by Lenin himself for placing the Communist Parties under Bolshevik control. As far as the German arena was concerned, at the centre of those methods and perspectives stood the securing of agreements with the SDP leadership for cooperation on all broad issues of struggle emerging within the working class movement, to be achieved through application of the principles, strongly favoured by Lenin, of "United Front from Above" (Please see Note 1 of Appendix III). The powers available to the ECCI plenipotentiary included the right to intervene at Reich Conferences in the various provinces of Germany, and to use these to propound the ECCI policy proposals, which of course were those of Bolshevism, from the platform and at length. With Radek temporarily out of the way in prison, this responsibility was assumed on his behalf by Levi. For the Left Communists to take similar steps to explain their case, on the other hand, was contrary to the centralist rules of the Party, and they were supposed to content themselves with expressing their views either at local level only or merely during the scanty time for "discussion" allowed by the platform at the Reich Conferences.

Employing all the manipulative tactics of ideological deception available to a centralised party organisation backed by an equally centralised international authority wielding state power, the Radek-Levi alliance sought to frame its appeals in language which was designed to strike deep chords in the social-democratic consciousness known to be predominant in some of the delegates present, whilst simultaneously paying lip-service to the revolutionary terminology of Marxism. The latter, however, was presented with great demagogic skill as being identical with and inseparable from the policy decisions of the ECCI, and hence with Leninism - it was, indeed, in the mixing of this heady opportunist cocktail that the term "Marxism-Leninism" had its origins. The Left Communists, for their part, pointed out that it was precisely the policy decisions of the First Congress which the ECCI was striving to reverse, and for which purpose it was using its centralised authority deriving from the International as a justificatory tool. At least until their defeat and reversal by decision of a future Congress, or through their countermanding by an explicit ECCI directive ordering the adoption of a new programme more closely reflecting ECCI policy - a too brutally direct step which the ECCI managers were for obvious tactical reasons reluctant to adopt except as a last resort - it was, however those decisions which formed the basis on which the Central Committee of the KPD was constitutionally bound to draw up its programme, formulate its policies and base its entire work. A decisive majority of the KPD membership, - and, until

recently, its leadership also - had never accepted the ECCI positions and, as the Left Communists tirelessly explained, a long history of opposition to the vanguardist conceptions advocated by Bolshevism, which were judged as bearing a petit-bourgeois class character, existed in the KPD and its ancestor-organisations, reaching right back to the days of the "Bremer Bürgerzeitung" before the war, the Spartacus Group, the "Revolutionäre Obleute" (Revolutionary Shop Stewards), and finally the well-known polemic against Lenin's conception of the vanguard party conducted by Rosa Luxemburg. As for the unbridled centralism, disguised as "democratic centralist discipline", imposed by the Bolsheviks through their control of the Comintern and the ECCI, this was seen by the Left Communists as an instrument of Bolshevism for steamrolling through their elitist, anti-Council and objectively counter-revolutionary policies. As for the strategic concepts underlying the Bolshevik programmatic proposals for promoting the proletarian revolution based on an "alliance of the proletariat and the poor and middle peasantry", however much these may have been successful in the qualitatively different social and class conditions of Tsarist Russia, they were shown by the Left Communists to be inapposite and out of place in the conditions of a proletarian revolutionary movement fighting on a developed capitalist social terrain. They could, indeed, contribute only towards assisting the victory of the counter-revolution, at the head of which, in the shape of the Ebert-Scheidemann Government, stood the selfsame Social Democracy with which the pro-Bolshevik majority on the ECCI proposed that the German Communists should seek to obtain agreements to build a united front! Such a "programme", they declared, could lead only to the decimation of the revolutionary proletarian movement in Germany. Little did those proletarian fighters know, at the moment of uttering these deserved strictures, just how prophetic they were to prove, and in how short a span of time!

Ever since the Bolshevik victory of October 1917, there had been a continuous history of Bolshevik activity within the German revolutionary movement aimed at influencing it along left social-democratic lines, and during the brief period since the First KPD Congress in December 1918 Bolshevik agents - soon, with the convening of the Founding Congress of the Communist International on 2nd. March 1919, to become legalised as representatives of the Comintern - had sought to recruit to the KPD both proletarian and petit-bourgeois elements subservient to Bolshevism - i.e., left social-democratic - theory and methods. This now began to bear fruit for Radek in the discharge of his mission. Using unbridled demagogic tactics and appealing to the great emotional power generated by the Bolshevik victory of October 1917, which was presented as "the first victory of the proletarian revolution in history heralding its world-wide triumph", at a number of Reich Conferences, particularly that held in Frankfurt-am-Main on 29th March, his spokesmen began to secure a slender majority for the Comintern position.

In the face of this potentially dangerous disruption, the Left Communists, in their turn, now decided that the time had come to act. Throwing aside the paralysing Comintern dictat which denied them the right to organise to defend and to win support for the very policy adopted at their own Founding Congress, they took steps to organise an "alternative" Reich Conference at which they, for once, would control the platform! On 19th. March the Central Committee of the KPD had moved its offices to Frankfurt-am-Main, and hence the

decision was taken to convene this Conference also in that city, on 18th August. The spokesmen for Left Communism on the platform included such leading figures as Otto Rühle from Dresden and Karl Schröder and Friedrich Wendel from Berlin. In the course of a discussion lasting many hours, the true class character of Bolshevism was subjected to a penetrating and exhaustive analysis. It was revealed to be an anti-proletarian ideology in the service of a petit-bourgeois class in Russia which had arisen as a consequence of the failure of the Russian bourgeoisie proper to lead what was essentially a bourgeois-type revolution, and which employed Marxist terminology in order to disguise its true class character and to harness the proletariat to its perspectives. These, it was pointed out, were originally restricted to the construction of a bureaucratically deformed socialism in Russia, but with the victory of the Russian Revolution and the formation of a Bolshevik Government, they had acquired a dangerously powerful and widespread influence within the international proletarian movement in particular.

The Second Congress of the KPD was due to be convened some 2½ months later at the mediaeval fortress town of Heidelberg, on the river Neckar. At this Congress, a version of Radek's Report to the Berlin Reich Conference of 9th January, one suitably embellished with revolutionary Marxist phrases for the benefit, as the Levi leadership patronisingly believed, of the membership and presented under the title "Zur Taktik des Kommunismus" ("On the Tactics of Communism") was read out in his absence. Although it proved to be insufficiently influential as to win over to revolutionary Communism a majority of delegates at the Heidelberg Congress against the massive resources of the ECCI machine and the unlimited financial means at the disposal of the Comintern, the Frankfurt-am-Main Conference was nevertheless successful in fulfilling its main purpose: to clarify the main lines of demarcation between revolutionary Marxism and Bolshevism, which it correctly characterised as "petit-bourgeois Social Democracy wearing a left mask"; on that basis to develop the criticism of Bolshevism from principled Marxist positions; and, finally, as perhaps the most significant achievement of all the contributions of Left, or Council, Communism to the revolutionary movement of the German and world working class, to begin the task of elaborating at least the main principles on which a strategy for the proletarian revolution in the conditions of a developed capitalist social and class terrain should be based. As a result of these not inconsiderable achievements, many of which, indeed, have come to be understood, and may to this day be looked upon as, important milestones in the theoretically conscious elaboration of the fundamental principles of that development of modern revolutionary Marxism which has come to be known as Council Communism, it was possible for the Left Communist delegates to the Second (Heidelberg) Congress to hold their ranks firm against the massive Bolshevik bid to destroy revolutionary Marxism in the German proletarian movement and to regroup in preparation for the formation of a new Party. At the Congress itself, upon the sycophants of Bolshevism and Left Social Democracy winning the vote on the ECCI's policy proposals by 31 votes to 18, they walked out as a disciplined body and, after repairing to a nearby meeting-place, passed a unanimous decision to initiate measures to convene a new Congress at which the Communist Party of Germany would be founded anew on the basis of revolutionary Marxism. This decision was subsequently carried out at a Congress convened in Berlin on 4-5th. April 1920, at which the "Kommunistische Arbeiterpartei Deutschlands" ("Communist Workers'

Party of Germany") was founded. (For further information on the early history of the KPD, KAPD and AAPD, please see also Note 4 of Appendix I and Notes 2 and 3 of this Appendix).

5. Paragraph ending: "It was our task ... to deliver the appropriate charges concerning the traitorous stance adopted by the Central Committee of the KPD towards the struggle in the Ruhr".

The immediate consequences of the Heidelberg Congress were little short of disastrous for the KPD and the Levi leadership. As soon as news of the expulsion of the - amongst the KPD rank-and-file still dominant - Left Communist tendency reached the wider movement, its result was a drastic fall in both membership and mass support. At the Congress itself, the Secretariat of the Central Committee was able to report a total membership, as at 1st. October 1919, of - in round figures - 107,000, of which the 5 largest Party Districts were: Berlin-Brandenburg: 12,000; Erzgebirge-Vogtland: 14,000; Rheinland-Westphalia: 12,000; Württemberg: 4,600; North-West (Bremen): 9,700. Three months later, in January 1920, total membership had fallen to just over 51,000. More than half of the membership took up positions in support of the Left Opposition, and of these a sizeable proportion (estimated at 43,000) transferred their membership to the KAPD.

In the course of the months that followed - during which, as a reaction against the rightist social-democratic positions inspired by Radek at the behest of the ECCI, a left-of-centre tendency grouped around Heinrich Brandler from Chemnitz and August Thalheimer from Stuttgart had begun to manifest itself in the immediate post-Congress period - the KPD leadership attempted to regain its lost support and to recoup its damaging losses in membership through a crude administrative measure as alienating as it was demagogic: it decided to make a scapegoat out of its faithful - but now, for its present tactical purposes, too rightist - lackey, Levi. Accordingly, in November 1920 he was relieved of his position as General Secretary and expelled from the C.C. Thus fell the first victim in that internecine inner-party war, according to the rules of which a leadership which in reality is collectively responsible for the Party's fortunes, well or ill, may select a victim from amongst its own number and so seek to purge itself of its collective guilt by cannibalistically eliminating a former Comrade.

The removal of Levi then opened the way for negotiations to begin between the KPD leadership and the majority left wing of the USPD, with the aim of bringing about a fusion of the two parties - a step which commanded considerable rank-and-file support amongst both party memberships. This amalgamation was effected in December 1920. The result was the "Vereinigte Kommunistische Partei Deutschlands" ("United Communist Party of Germany"), and the new united KPD-USPD leadership began its career by adopting a more militant stance in all important issues then coming to a head within the rapidly developing revolutionary situation.

Nevertheless, the fact did not pass unnoticed amongst more astute observers inside and outside the new VKPD that the new, supposedly left, leadership had failed conspicuously to drop the most basic plank of all in the platform of the old pre-unification KPD; the securing of a "united front from above" with the SPD leadership. The conclusion was rightly drawn that the left poses adopted by the new VKPD leadership were little more than a sugar

coating concealing for tactical reasons the bitter taste of the rightist policy orientation of collaboration with the counter-revolutionary SPD leadership which, now as always, formed the basic policy ingredient of the VKPD programme, just as it had been the motivating concept and aim behind the strategic plans of the pre-Heidelberg leadership which had set itself the task of flouting the policy decisions of the Founding Congress and the views of a majority of the Party's rank and file. It was not to be too long before that programme would be put to the test in two crucial class engagements: the General Strike in the Ruhr of March 1920 and the "March Action" of a year later (Please see Note 10 of this Appendix).

6. "The Infantile Disorder in Communism".

This is, of course, a reference to the same notorious pamphlet by Lenin - a veritable reference-work of left social-democratic opportunism - as that referred to in Note 4 above, the generally known English title being "Left Wing Communism - An Infantile Disorder".

7. " '... state communism or even state capitalism' ".

Please see Note I of Chapter I and Note I of Chapter XIX.

8. "It (the First Edition of 'Fundamental Principles of Communist Production and Distribution' - Ed.) consists of 169 pages of typewritten script".

As against this, the German Edition published by the AAUD in Berlin in 1930, from which the present translation has been prepared, contains 147 pages, including the AAUD's "In Place of a Foreword" and a "Fremdwörterverzeichnis" (Glossary of Terms of Foreign Origin) appearing at the end of the book. The smaller number of pages in the latter is probably due to the saving in space resulting from a printer's typesetting as against a typewritten copy.

9. "... the following excerpt from the Foreword may be quoted: ... ".

This Foreword does not appear in the German Edition of 1930. Instead, this is replaced by the AAUD's brief "In place of a Foreword".

10. "A short précis was subsequently published in New York ...".

This refers to an extremely condensed (5-page) summary published in the mid-1930's in the monthly journal "Council Correspondence", edited by Paul Mattick.

11. Paragraph ending: "... whilst in 1955, in Chicago, an English-language version appeared in 'Council Correspondence'".

All attempts to obtain information concerning this English-language version have so far proved fruitless - hence the necessity to prepare the present translation.

12. "After 1945 we published the weekly journal 'Spartacus'".

This should not be confused either with the German Left Communist Group founded during the First World War of which Karl Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg were founder-members, and which was the forerunner to the Kommunistische Partei Deutschlands (KPD) (Communist Party of Germany); or with the American Trotskyist journal of the same name published by Max Schachtman in 1939, which opposed Trotsky's own - nonsensical - analysis of "Soviet" society as a "deformed workers' state" with the dissident - and equally nonsensical - view developed by Schachtman and Dunayevskaya - the latter Trotsky's former secretary - of "Soviet" society as a form of state capitalism.

APPENDIX III

1. "After hearing the Report by Cde. Radek... "

Radek's Report to the IInd Comintern Congress (April 1920) was overwhelmingly concerned with two major questions: 1) The abortive "March Action" and its aftermath (Please see Note 10 of this Appendix); and 2) The "Open Letter", the tactical instrument which the ECCI and the KPD leadership hoped would restore the latter's fortunes in the new situation prevailing in Germany after what the KPD leadership felt was the confirmation of the November Revolution's final defeat with the conclusion of the Bielefeld Agreement on 23rd. March and the decimation of the Red Army of the Ruhr on and after 29th. March 1920.

The main purposes which the Report sought to achieve in its treatment of the above questions were threefold: firstly, to provide a plausible justification in general terms of the policy of "united front from above" with the SPD leadership which had formed the basis of KPD policy since the Ind (Heidelberg) Congress, and which, more than any other, had been the main factor responsible for the almost unbroken series of defeats the left social-democratic policy of the ECCI, acting through its mouthpiece, the - but, according to Stalin's later pronouncement, only insufficiently - "Bolshevised" KPD, had inflicted upon the German Revolution; secondly, to exploit for purposes of leftist demagoguery the expulsion of Paul Levi from the post of General Secretary of the KPD and from membership in its Central Committee; and thirdly to provide a suitably plausible excuse for the failure of the ECCI's and the right-wing leadership of the KPD's latest tactical adventure, one which, as the personal brainchild of the great Lenin, Bolshevism and its German sycophants had hoped would succeed in establishing once and for all time their revolutionary credentials within the German revolutionary proletariat and in isolating the Left Communists: the notorious March Action.

The variant of united front tactics known in party jargon as "United Front from Above" was distinguished from its opposite, "United Front from Below", by the fact that it was based upon the conclusion of agreements negotiated with the leadership of the rival party or representatives thereof for united front actions on specific issues of struggle on which the policy interests of the two parties were considered to coincide. It was, naturally enough, strongly disapproved of by the vast majority of the KPD rank-and-file,

because it involved negotiations with the leadership of a political party which was considered by revolutionary workers to have already betrayed the Revolution, just as it had betrayed the proletarian class struggle on a myriad other occasions in the past. The method which held rank-and-file approval was the opposite one of "united front from below", in which united front agreements were negotiated and concluded *directly with sections of the membership at the level of the base organisations of the rival party*. These could, in the nature of the situation, be negotiated and concluded only in opposition to the recommendations and directives of the leadership, and hence served as a tactical means either of applying pressure against that leadership, or of isolating it from its own membership prior to winning sections of that membership over to revolutionary policies and actions, or both.

At the IInd Comintern Congress (July-August 1920), however, Lenin, as leader of the Bolshevik delegation, had insisted that the only practical hope of unifying the revolutionary forces lay through a tactic of treating the SPD leadership, at least formally, as equal partners in the revolutionary process. The justification for this method was that it eliminated all excuse for breaking the united front agreement at some point in the future on the grounds that actions hostile to the SPD leadership were being pursued amidst the SPD membership by the opposite (KPD) partner - an accusation which, it was argued, could be trotted out at any time by the SPD leadership as a pretext for breaking up the united front. As against this, the proponents of the opposite tactic, that "from below", pointed out - quite correctly - that the SPD leadership were in any case enemies of the Revolution with which it was totally inadmissible either to negotiate or to conclude any agreements, and that the only correct tactic to adopt towards it was one of struggle to expose it for the counter-revolutionary force that it was and to seek to isolate it from its own membership, as a preliminary to winning that membership over to correct revolutionary policies and, ultimately, transfer of membership to the KPD.

As for the second aim the Radek Report was intended to serve, this can only be grasped if it is first understood that the purpose pursued by the ECCI in installing the Levi group in the leadership of the KPD in the first place had been that of manoeuvring the membership and the remaining minority of oppositionists on the Central Committee into giving their approval for the opportunist tactical line of the Bolshevik majority on the ECCI (Please see Note 4 of Appendix II). However, in spite of the temporary advantage gained through the expulsion of the Left Communist delegates to the IInd. (Heidelberg) Congress - a move which in any case hardly lost the delegates any sleep, since it was the conviction of the overwhelming majority of them that the KPD, thanks to Bolshevism, was already fulfilling a counter-revolutionary role and that a new Party would have to be formed, the KAPD - it soon became clear that both Radek and Zinoviev - the General Secretary of the Comintern - had seriously underestimated both the level of theoretical maturity and the strength of revolutionary integrity of the membership remaining in the KPD. The result was a defeat for Bolshevism at the subsequent meetings of the KPD Central Committee, so that, shortly thereafter, it became necessary to resort to the sacking of Levi and the adoption of a more "revolutionary" line. It is true to say that, of all the issues confronting the KPD since its foundation, none had contributed more towards generating opposition to the rightist policy positions of Lenin and the Bolsheviks than this single issue of "united front from above".

Turning now to the third aim of Radek's Report, the main instrument by means of which Radek and the ECCI hoped to conceal the failure of the March Action was through the publication of the now notorious "Open Letter". This had been written jointly by Radek, as Comintern plenipotentiary in Germany, and Paul Levi prior to his expulsion. Published on behalf of the KPD Central Committee in the issue of "Rote Fahne", the KPD national daily newspaper, of 8th. January 1921, it was addressed to trade union and political organisations of the Left, including the SPD, the USPD - the right-wing rump remaining in the party after the unification in December 1920 of the left wing with the KPD to form the VKPD - and the KAPD. It urged joint action to raise wages and unemployment benefits, cut the cost of living, introduce workers' control over the production and distribution of articles of staple necessity, dissolve and disarm the counter-revolutionary para-military organisations of the bourgeoisie, create a workers' defence militia and establish trade and diplomatic links with the USSR. In the ECCI, both Zinoviev and Bukharin felt that the Letter provided only an inadequate cover with which to conceal the many defeats suffered by Comintern policy in the German Revolution, culminating in the defeat of the March Action, and hence voted against it. Predictably, however, it was supported by its moving spirit, Lenin, who described it as "a model political move".

The fact did not go unnoticed on the part of Left Communists in both the KAPD and the KPD that the Letter made no distinction between leadership and membership of the SPD, so that it was clear that the intention of the ECCI, the KPD Central Committee and Radek personally was that "united front from above" tactics were once again to be applied. Its only effect, therefore, was to weaken still further the positions of the right wing around Levi within the KPD.

2. "... that we consider the approaching collapse of the capitalist mode of production to be confirmed, and that the proletarian revolution will be its unconditional and necessary outcome."

The above formulation was one shared at the time of the First World War by virtually all schools of thought within the proletarian revolutionary movement - Council Communists and Leninist State Socialists alike. The view was held that the War signified the inability of capitalism to serve the very purpose for which it had arisen in history: to promote the development of the forces of social production to the absolute maximum. We now know, of course, that it signified something different, though almost as portentous: the onset of conditions of *fully mature irreconcilability* in the *modus operandi* of the fundamental contradictions underlying the development of the capitalist system in the *developed* capitalist countries - contradictions which, conversely, could be ameliorated and damped down, at least for a time, through the export of those contradictions to the *underdeveloped* periphery of the capitalist world system (Please see Note 7 of Appendix I).

Seen in this dialectically more multi-faceted light, we can now comprehend that the chief significance attaching to both the First and the Second World Wars was that they formed the crucible of those violently antagonistic inter-capitalist contradictions through which a surface conjunctural tendency of crucial immediate significance for the development of capitalism as a whole is first brought to a head and then qualitatively synthesised into a new situation. That

tendency and the contradiction which bears it forward is expressed through the struggle of the various capitalist groups which dominate the developed metropolitan centre of the capitalist world system for control of the underdeveloped periphery. It is through the outcome of this competitive struggle that the question as to which of those groups is to play the dominant role in capitalist development is decided. It represents a factor of crucial strategic significance in the determination of supremacy in the world market, for it means that the power which controls the global system, including the periphery, also controls the means whereby the social and class contradictions forever tending to intensify at the centre can be ameliorated through the establishment of an imperialist-type hegemony and the export of newly-accumulated capital to capitalistically less developed areas on that basis. (Please see Note 7 of Appendix I)

In the course of capitalism's development from the outset of the period of mature state monopoly capitalism at roughly the turn of the century up to the end of the Second World War, history has witnessed the progressive whittling down of the numbers of contenders for the title of Dominant Capitalist World Power. Beginning with a situation prior to World War I, when we find no less than 7 powers competing for a leading place under the capitalist sun, to wit: Britain, Germany, the US, France, Russia, Italy and Turkey (the Ottoman Empire), as a result of the First World War two of these are knocked out of the race - Russia and Turkey. That war, however, failed to resolve fully the inter-capitalist contradictions which had arisen, so that, by the time of the Second World War, not only had Germany recovered sufficiently as to be able to renew its bid, but the intensifying level of capital concentration and the fierce inter-capitalist rivalries it engendered resulted - after fascism had triumphed in each - in the amalgamation of Germany, Italy and a new contender, Japan, into an imperialistic block, with incipient tendencies for Britain and France to merge with the United States to form its single rival. Thus, by the time we reach World War II, the alignment of opposed imperialistic groups had simultaneously intensified and simplified itself down to just two groups: the one headed by Germany, and comprising Italy and Japan as secondary partners - the so-called Axis group - and with a number of minor states in Eastern Europe - Hungary, Roumania (now Romania), Bulgaria - as subsidiary satraps; the other - which, in fact, only finally coalesced into a power-group proper during the early years of the war itself under the pressures thus generated - headed by the United States and comprising Britain as its only immediate secondary partner, but with West Germany and France joining that circle shortly after conclusion of hostilities. After the war, the victory of the so-called Allies brought about a situation in which, for the first time in the history of capitalism, *one single capitalist group, the United States, held absolute supremacy*, and hence was able to entrain all the other weaker groups, on whatever side they had fought in the War, as its super-colonial adjuncts. Also for the first time in capitalist history, a relationship of colonial-type dependence was established between US capitalism and, not merely the underdeveloped sectors of the world, but also a *number of developed capitalist powers, such as Britain and France, which were themselves the central metropolises of colonial-type empires*. In this way arose yet a further new feature of developed capitalism in the post-World War II era: the colonial-type subordination of *developed capitalist nation-states* to one capitalist super-power, the United States.

The primary outcome of the two World Wars was, therefore, the establishment, for the first time since the end of the era of capitalism's relatively peaceful, progressive stage of industrial development at the turn of the century, of a relatively stable *world balance of power* under the hegemony of US imperialism. Under the umbrella provided by that hegemony, the export of capital to the underdeveloped world on a massive scale could commence, in conditions in which the US overlord was enabled to select which of the lesser powers subordinate to it were to benefit the most, and which not at all, just as it was also the groundbase upon which the long post-war boom period was able to flourish for over 20 years. Furthermore, it was on the foundation of the international economic advantages for British imperialism arising from the so-called "junior partnership" with US imperialism that the entire framework of the "welfare state" and reformist state capitalism based on nationalisation of the "commanding heights of the economy" was erected, just as, with the evaporation of that world hegemony and the re-emergence of inter-capitalist rivalries on a world scale, the entire reformist superstructure became economically unviable and had finally to be abandoned.

3. " ... and this is not, as Cde. Radek believes, the brainchild of Cde. Gorter in Holland... "

Jan Appel has introduced this personal defence of Herman Gorter into his speech because Radek had frequently, on this and other occasions, seen fit to deliver personal attacks upon Gorter as the alleged "senior theoretician" of Council Communism.

4. "One needs no more than combinations of workers, trades unions, headed by diligent officials capable of negotiating with employers and their firms."

Although the general sense implied is reasonably clear, the actual wording chosen by Jan Appel for this sentence is not. Some licence has accordingly been taken in the translation to express his general meaning.

5. "... - if they seek to make use of this form of leadership, of these organisations (the old forms of organisation of Social Democracy - Ed.), ... then they commit a serious error, and in this way they will eventually find themselves being trampled underfoot."

In the light of the catastrophe into which the two wings of Social Democracy, right and left, represented respectively by the SPD and the "bolshevised" KPD, were leading the proletariat of Germany during the all too brief twilight of the Weimar period - namely, the holocaust which finally broke on January 30th 1933, when President Hindenburg invited Adolf Hitler to form his National Socialist cabinet - this statement may be considered as sharing something of the character of both a prophecy and an understatement.

6. "It is the proletariat itself which brings these organisations into being."

Although this statement may be largely true of the German working class, which itself took the leading initiative in the mid-19th. century in founding both wings of the social-democratic and trades

union movement, Lassalleian and Marxist, as well as the revolutionary Council Movement in the aftermath of World War II, it is hardly true of the British working class, at the decisive moments in whose history, commencing with the Chartist movement of the 1840-50's through to the formation of the Labour Party in 1905 and the Communist Party in 1920, it has been the liberal middle class which has taken the decisive conscious steps. Whatever may have been the degree of spontaneous militancy expressed by the two proletarian classes at the first upsurge of a particular action, the diametrically opposed ideational character informing the respective world-views they each brought to bear in assessing the outcome of a particular class engagement and in determining their reactions to the blows rained upon them by the class enemy was clearly reflected in the subsequent development of their respective movements. Whereas the highest levels of consciousness in the one gave birth to a revolutionary movement aimed at the establishment of Communism - the supreme theoretical achievement of which is the work here presented in translation - the other remained bogged down in pragmatic bourgeois reformism throughout its history to the present day.

7. "It is, however, possible for them (the class enemy, Social Capital - Ed.) to consolidate a part of it (the capitalist economy as a whole - Ed.), its decisive inner kernel."

By the expression "decisive inner kernel" Jan Appel is presumably referring to the "commanding heights of the economy" represented by heavy industry, power, rail and sea communications, chemicals and the banking and credit system. It is true that the history of at least modern capitalism shows that, whenever or wherever the interests of this decisive group are threatened - Germany in 1919-20 and again in 1932-3, Britain in 1945-6 (the so-called "Dollar Crisis"), and so on - Social Capital acts through its state to protect this vital "inner core" of its exploitative system, without which the rest of the capitalist economy cannot function. Usually, this is done through the enactment of measures to centralise control over these basic industries, including where necessary even state nationalisation.

A typical example of this is afforded by the programme of state nationalisation embarked upon by the post-war Labour Government in Britain. The chief aim of this had been to secure the re-equipment of those basic industries - the railways, the coal mines, electricity generation and, latterly, iron and steel and shipbuilding - which had been severely run down and had become technologically obsolescent as a result of decades of under-investment in industry during the pre-war years, when the advantageous terms of trade arising from colonial super-exploitation had had the effect of seducing finance-capital into neglecting its industrial base, a situation which was continued willy-nilly into the war years on account of unavoidable shortages of both materials and skilled labour. To provide the massive new capital required, the state was used by the Labour Government as a source of cheap credit - hence the financial policy of "cheap money" advocated and adopted, at least for a time, by the then Chancellor of the Exchequer, Hugh Dalton.

All this, of course, could do no other than arouse the violent - though, from the public, carefully hidden - opposition of the financial magnates in the City, who thereby lost hundreds of millions of pounds in interest on the recapitalisation loans they

had hoped to sell to the industrial wing of Social Capital in the post-war period, and to this extent the whole episode reflects the contradictions which can arise in certain circumstances between different sections of the capitalist class - in particular when the market is slack, the value of money relatively low and the "terms of trade" correspondingly advantageous towards "sellers" rather than "buyers".

8. "This is the dichotomisation of the working class, the economic division within it."

How sharply this reminds us of the precisely similar tactics employed by Thatcher in making use of a rising level of unemployment as a weapon for promoting divisions and disunity within the reformist British labour movement of today as the prelude to her aim of destroying it altogether.

Like all the pragmatically short-sighted representatives of her class before her, however, the Achilles Heel of Thatcher is her blindness to any motivation other than that of immediate self-interest. She is, for instance, blind to the fact that the selfsame measures she has applied so frequently against her class enemy, the producers of surplus value, can just as easily contribute in the longer run towards assisting rather than hindering them, the progressive class in history, to fulfil their mission of leading the struggle for a higher mode of social production. Through their actions in compelling the leadership of the reformist movement to accept ever closer incorporation into and control by the state, she and her ilk will gradually, but none the less surely for that, force their class antagonists, the productive workers who form the rank-and-file of the labour movement, into adopting at some point in the no longer so distant future those higher, more militantly motivated and more tightly and unitedly organised forms of struggle which will herald the birth of a new revolutionary labour movement organised from the factory and workshop floor, and which will then as surely spell the end of the old reformist movement as it will represent the beginning of the end for Social Capital and its centuries-long stranglehold on social development.

9. "... we must encourage them to organise themselves in Councils."

In Germany and Russia, at the time of their respective proletarian revolutionary movements, the workers needed no encouragement to form Councils; there were also embryonic signs of this in Britain at the time of the General Strike in 1926, in the form of the Councils of Action, and again in Hungary in 1956.

It should not be assumed from this, however, that the Council mode of organisation is necessarily a form which arises spontaneously in every revolutionary situation in every proletarian revolutionary movement. As far as is known, they did not, for instance, occur in revolutionary Spain during the Civil War of 1936-9. Wherever or whenever this fundamental organisational precondition for the victory of the proletarian revolution is found to be spontaneously lacking, the Marxists must be ready and prepared to step in to help promote the concept of Council organisation, as an essential part of disseminating a scientific understanding of the laws of social development in general and of the proletarian revolution in particular. For the proletariat in its revolutionary role holds not

merely a negative significance as the destroyer of the power of Social Capital; it is also the vital *positive and motivating social force* through which the Association of Free and Equal Producers is realised and the foundations of Communist society laid.

10. "March Action".

In March 1921, the industrial proletariat of the Ruhr was engaged in a desperate last-bid struggle to maintain the power of the Councils, to break out of the paralysing stranglehold which the Ebert-Scheidemann Government had succeeded in imposing through its military offensive employing the Freikorps and other counter-revolutionary detachments, and to regain the strategic initiative for the side of the Revolution. It is no exaggeration to say that upon the outcome of this struggle hinged the entire future of the proletarian revolution and Communism, not only in Germany, but throughout the world. For, if the deadlock in the balance of military power could be broken in favour of the proletarian forces, the pent-up might of the entire working class of Germany, like the waters of some vast inland sea dammed up behind the barriers represented by the combined open class positions taken up by the Government forces, the Junkers restored by the Ebert-Scheidemann Government to their former commanding positions in the military apparatus, and the concealed enemy represented by the SPD Party and TU organisations which functioned always and everywhere as centres of vacillation and compromise, would break free and spread from the great iron and steel and heavy engineering plants of the Ruhr into every part of Germany, into every workshop, every railway depot, every warehouse, every farm, every Junker estate, until it had totally submerged German capitalism beneath the flood of proletarian anger at the misery of the past, dominated as this was by wage-slavery and the immiseration of labour, and of proletarian hope for the Communist aspirations for the future.

To break the strategic stalemate in the Revolution, the Ruhr Councils called for a General Strike. Anxious to adopt a super-revolutionary pose, the VKPD answered this call not only by giving the strike call its full and active support - as did, of course, the KAPD also - *but also by announcing an entire offensive plan of campaign for re-activating the proletarian revolution in Central Germany.* Known as the "March Action", this involved widespread attacks on Government forces, the occupation of key Government offices, the ousting of Government troops from their barracks, tank and artillery depots and other key military installations and the subsequent deployment of this vital military equipment on behalf of the proletarian revolutionary movement, as also, as the most fundamental strategic element of all in the entire campaign, the occupation of further industrial establishments throughout Central Germany.

Seen purely from its *strategic* aspect as an offensive revolutionary engagement, the March Action was a wholly correct step. For the class enemy, Social Capital and its Junker ally, was itself engaged in a counter-revolutionary offensive directed against the spearhead of the Revolution, the industrial proletariat of the Ruhr and, as always in such a situation, the best form of defence was to carry the attack forward into the camp of the counter-revolutionary class forces. Should the counter-revolution prove victorious in that offensive, it would spell the final defeat of the proletarian revolution and Communism not only in Germany, but throughout Europe and the world, and not for years but for decades and even centuries

to come. Conversely, should the proletarian cause prove victorious, the Revolution would acquire an immediate power so vast and irresistible that nothing, no power on earth, social or military, would be able to contain its immense power, and it would spread like a bush-fire throughout Germany and ultimately the world, bringing with it the light, the joy and the deep humanism of Communist relations wherever it took root. Truly, then, in those fateful March days, the proletariat of the Ruhr and all Central Germany not only had "nothing to lose but their chains" and "a whole world to win"; they also held in their battle-scarred hands the key to the Communist future, not only for themselves, but for all working humanity!

A fundamentally correct strategy, then - but one, nevertheless, the basic weakness of which was that its underlying tactical battle-plan had been conceived, not out of the autonomous experience and understanding of the fighting class itself, but at the desk of some group of dogma-bound party bureaucrats. Thus, at the heart of the Action's plan of campaign, a *tactical worm was gnawing*, and that worm was represented by the VKPD's insistence that the entire action should be based upon the *securing of united front agreements between the VKPD apparatus and the local SPD leaderships in each area.* As we have seen, however, the bureaucratic SPD and ADGB leadership apparatus formed precisely the social-chauvinist mass base upon which the counter-revolution chiefly depended as the Trojan Horse for disarming the proletariat *from positions within the camp of the proletarian revolution itself*, and upon which the counter-revolution - *itself headed by a Social Democratic Government* - was simultaneously relying to spread doubt and indecision over every issue, to waste as much vital time as possible on endless discussions over questions of fundamental principle which had already been clarified over and over again in the fires of past revolutionary experience, in order finally to come out against decisive revolutionary action. Thus the tactical plan of the largest organisation participating in the Action, the KPD, was one which invited the class enemy's Trojan Horse into the camp of the revolutionary proletariat as *its first and supreme tactical principle!*

No wonder that, in spite of all the dedicated sacrifice in struggle manifested by the revolutionary cadres, the Action made little progress. Workers struggling to make up their minds whether or not to come out in active support of the revolutionary struggle found themselves being "instructed" by the VKPD leadership to unite in trust with SPD officials and functionaries who had collaborated with the Junker military apparatus during the War in building up and maintaining the latter's dictatorship, and in whom many amongst the forces of social reaction saw the cardinal need of the hour in the present situation as lying in the continuation of that collaboration, this time against the proletarian revolutionary movement, by assisting the Ebert-Scheidemann Government to organise counter-revolutionary bands, the Freikorps, composed of fascist thugs and adventurers, and by giving these the sanction represented by the seal of approval placed upon them by an alleged "Workers' Government" formed out of the joint SPD-KPD "united front". For thousands of potential active fighters in the March events, potential recruits to the proletarian cause, the choice was just too much. Active support was withheld, to express itself merely as passive sympathy but no more.

In order to arrive at a balanced and objectively true assessment in

general terms of the March Action and of the KPD's and KAPD's role in it in particular, it is essential to bear in mind that revolutionaries everywhere at that time, not just in revolution-riven Germany and not just restricted to the Communists, held firm to the view that the First World War and the victory of the Russian Revolution jointly spelled the end of capitalism. All that was needed to lay the beast low for all time was a determined fight by the most steeled and experienced revolutionaries at the head of a united world proletarian movement, and capitalism would be a thing of the past!

It should also be borne in mind that the ideological source from which this conception emanated, and whose ceaseless propaganda helped to spread it all over the world, was *Bolshevism*. Furthermore, within Bolshevism as a revolutionary political ideology, the leading exponent of this theory, the theory of a "final stage" in the development of capitalism, was none other than Bolshevism's chief theoretician, V.I. Lenin! Throughout one of Lenin's most important "theoretical" works, "Imperialism, the Highest Stage of Capitalism", the concept of a special stage, in which the objective intensification of capitalism's inner contradictions prepares the ground for the victory of the proletarian revolution, runs like a *leitmotif*. It should, therefore, hardly be an occasion for surprise if proletarian revolutionaries from the base upwards should have taken seriously the call of the parties participating in the March Action to seize the revolutionary initiative and to break the power of the bourgeoisie wherever and whenever possible.

Then, at the height of the Action, at the crucial strategic moment, with many thousands of the finest revolutionary cadres already committed to a widely flung offensive campaign, from the Central Committee of the very party which had issued the call for the unleashing of the Action, the KPD, comes an act which reveals its true social-democratic character, an act which compounds that leadership's already fatal *objective* betrayal through one of fully conscious *subjective* treachery. Finding itself as a result of its own opportunist tactics at the head of a dwindling and largely impotent army of insurrectionists, it took fright at the prospect of possible reprisals in the event of defeat and, in a cowardly attempt to save its own skin when that defeat seemed likely, issued the scurrilous and deeply divisive "warning" published in the pages of "Rote Fahne" (Red Flag) to which Jan Appel refers in his Comintern speech (Please see Note 1 of this Appendix). Having entered into an agreement with the KAPD to launch a full-scale revolutionary offensive, the left social democrats in the KPD leadership turn round and unleash an attack on another section of the proletarian forces, the KAPD, with which it stands in an - however temporary - revolutionary alliance, in order to obtain a purely party-political - Lenin would have called a "tactical" - advantage aimed at discrediting the very Comrades whom, a few days earlier, it had been exhorting with fiery speeches to join with it, shoulder to shoulder, in revolutionary struggle! Seldom in the entire history of the proletarian revolution could there have been a betrayal quite so venal or so premeditatedly opportunist as this!

The stab-in-the-back inflicted by the KPD leadership then spelt doom for the ill-fated March Action, and hence for the future course of the proletarian revolutionary movement in Germany and throughout Europe. Now, except for a few scholars, almost forgotten in history, it was a blow from which, not only the German, but the whole European and ultimately the world proletarian movement has never yet

recovered. Amongst its most fateful outcomes was the creation of a vacuum in the international proletarian movement which Bolshevism was able to fill and so to utilise in the building of an opportunist international framework lending support to its new exploitative social formation, State Socialism, in Russia and, after World War II, Eastern Europe. It is to this, the single most damaging betrayal of the fundamental interests of the German and world proletarian movements ever committed by any organisation or party claiming, not merely to be a part of the proletarian forces, but to be their "most trustworthy and experienced vanguard (!)" steeled in the fire of a thousand revolutionary engagements", to which Jan Appel is referring when he speaks of "the traitorous stance adopted by the KPD towards the struggle in the Ruhr".

11. "Then there came the offensives led by Hörsing."

Friedrich Otto Hörsing was a metal worker from Lower Saxony who rose to prominence after serving as a TU and later an SPD secretary. In 1919, however, he was elected Chairman of the Workers' and Soldiers' Council in Upper Silesia. In the same year, his military career began when, with the rank of *Feldwebel* (Sergeant-Major), he and a certain Lieutenant-General Hoefer, at the head of a small detachment of troops from the nearby garrison in Kattowitz (Kattowice), were instrumental in saving the province from undergoing the same fate as had already befallen the neighbouring provinces of West Prussia and Posen - incorporation into the newly formed Polish nation-state in accordance with the terms of the Versailles Treaty - by occupying the Town Hall and all Government buildings. Following this heroic national episode, and as his reward for the part he played in it, he was appointed lord lieutenant of his native province of Saxony. As such, his assumption of office happened to coincide exactly with the unleashing of the great workers' uprising in Central Germany (Saxony-Thuringia) of March 1920. (Incidentally, Jan Appel's otherwise excellent memory has at this point led him to a false chronology: the March Action came almost exactly 12 months after the Ruhr Uprising, not before. Doubtless the fact that there was a General Strike call on both occasions, and with both taking place in the month of March, momentarily led him astray.)

Hörsing's conduct of the campaign of suppression waged by the counter-revolutionary side was distinguished by the thoroughness and efficiency of his strategic plan, which he applied with consummate skill, but also by the superior degree of personal honesty he brought to bear in his dealings with the revolutionary side. Unlike any other SPD mercenary, for instance, he refused steadfastly to join in the chorus of sensationalist slander of the Communist forces, both KPD and KAPD, in which the right-wing press was indulging itself. Not a day passed without pages of wildly exaggerated reports describing scenes of rape, pillage, the burning down of homes and public buildings in which, as often as not, citizens had allegedly been incarcerated and burned to death, and much more in the same vein. Hörsing stoutly insisted that this had nothing to do with the Communists who, he claimed, were "honest but misguided activists in the same socialist cause as we Social Democrats" (little did he know that the larger of the two Communist Parties, the KPD, had already degenerated into a left form of social democratic party!).

Hörsing is chiefly remembered in history, however, not so much for his exploits on behalf of the counter-revolutionary side, but for

general terms of the March Action and of the KPD's and KAPD's role in it in particular, it is essential to bear in mind that revolutionaries everywhere at that time, not just in revolution-riven Germany and not just restricted to the Communists, held firm to the view that the First World War and the victory of the Russian Revolution jointly spelled the end of capitalism. All that was needed to lay the beast low for all time was a determined fight by the most steeled and experienced revolutionaries at the head of a united world proletarian movement, and capitalism would be a thing of the past!

It should also be borne in mind that the ideological source from which this conception emanated, and whose ceaseless propaganda helped to spread it all over the world, was *Bolshevism*. Furthermore, within Bolshevism as a revolutionary political ideology, the leading exponent of this theory, the theory of a "final stage" in the development of capitalism, was none other than Bolshevism's chief theoretician, V.I. Lenin! Throughout one of Lenin's most important "theoretical" works, "Imperialism, the Highest Stage of Capitalism", the concept of a special stage, in which the objective intensification of capitalism's inner contradictions prepares the ground for the victory of the proletarian revolution, runs like a *leitmotif*. It should, therefore, hardly be an occasion for surprise if proletarian revolutionaries from the base upwards should have taken seriously the call of the parties participating in the March Action to seize the revolutionary initiative and to break the power of the bourgeoisie wherever and whenever possible.

Then, at the height of the Action, at the crucial strategic moment, with many thousands of the finest revolutionary cadres already committed to a widely flung offensive campaign, from the Central Committee of the very party which had issued the call for the unleashing of the Action, the KPD, comes an act which reveals its true social-democratic character, an act which compounds that leadership's already fatal *objective* betrayal through one of fully conscious *subjective* treachery. Finding itself as a result of its own opportunist tactics at the head of a dwindling and largely impotent army of insurrectionists, it took fright at the prospect of possible reprisals in the event of defeat and, in a cowardly attempt to save its own skin when that defeat seemed likely, issued the scurrilous and deeply divisive "warning" published in the pages of "Rote Fahne" (Red Flag) to which Jan Appel refers in his Comintern speech (Please see Note 1 of this Appendix). Having entered into an agreement with the KAPD to launch a full-scale revolutionary offensive, the left social democrats in the KPD leadership turn round and unleash an attack on another section of the proletarian forces, the KAPD, with which it stands in an - however temporary - revolutionary alliance, in order to obtain a purely party-political - Lenin would have called a "tactical" - advantage aimed at discrediting the very Comrades whom, a few days earlier, it had been exhorting with fiery speeches to join with it, shoulder to shoulder, in revolutionary struggle! Seldom in the entire history of the proletarian revolution could there have been a betrayal quite so venal or so premeditatedly opportunist as this!

The stab-in-the-back inflicted by the KPD leadership then spelt doom for the ill-fated March Action, and hence for the future course of the proletarian revolutionary movement in Germany and throughout Europe. Now, except for a few scholars, almost forgotten in history, it was a blow from which, not only the German, but the whole European and ultimately the world proletarian movement has never yet

recovered. Amongst its most fateful outcomes was the creation of a vacuum in the international proletarian movement which Bolshevism was able to fill and so to utilise in the building of an opportunist international framework lending support to its new exploitative social formation, State Socialism, in Russia and, after World War II, Eastern Europe. It is to this, the single most damaging betrayal of the fundamental interests of the German and world proletarian movements ever committed by any organisation or party claiming, not merely to be a part of the proletarian forces, but to be their "most trustworthy and experienced vanguard (!)" steeled in the fire of a thousand revolutionary engagements", to which Jan Appel is referring when he speaks of "the traitorous stance adopted by the KPD towards the struggle in the Ruhr".

11. "Then there came the offensives led by Hörsing."

Friedrich Otto Hörsing was a metal worker from Lower Saxony who rose to prominence after serving as a TU and later an SPD secretary. In 1919, however, he was elected Chairman of the Workers' and Soldiers' Council in Upper Silesia. In the same year, his military career began when, with the rank of *Feldwebel* (Sergeant-Major), he and a certain Lieutenant-General Hoefer, at the head of a small detachment of troops from the nearby garrison in Kattowitz (Kattowice), were instrumental in saving the province from undergoing the same fate as had already befallen the neighbouring provinces of West Prussia and Posen - incorporation into the newly formed Polish nation-state in accordance with the terms of the Versailles Treaty - by occupying the Town Hall and all Government buildings. Following this heroic national episode, and as his reward for the part he played in it, he was appointed lord lieutenant of his native province of Saxony. As such, his assumption of office happened to coincide exactly with the unleashing of the great workers' uprising in Central Germany (Saxony-Thuringia) of March 1920. (Incidentally, Jan Appel's otherwise excellent memory has at this point led him to a false chronology: the March Action came almost exactly 12 months after the Ruhr Uprising, not before. Doubtless the fact that there was a General Strike call on both occasions, and with both taking place in the month of March, momentarily led him astray.)

Hörsing's conduct of the campaign of suppression waged by the counter-revolutionary side was distinguished by the thoroughness and efficiency of his strategic plan, which he applied with consummate skill, but also by the superior degree of personal honesty he brought to bear in his dealings with the revolutionary side. Unlike any other SPD mercenary, for instance, he refused steadfastly to join in the chorus of sensationalist slander of the Communist forces, both KPD and KAPD, in which the right-wing press was indulging itself. Not a day passed without pages of wildly exaggerated reports describing scenes of rape, pillage, the burning down of homes and public buildings in which, as often as not, citizens had allegedly been incarcerated and burned to death, and much more in the same vein. Hörsing stoutly insisted that this had nothing to do with the Communists who, he claimed, were "honest but misguided activists in the same socialist cause as we Social Democrats" (little did he know that the larger of the two Communist Parties, the KPD, had already degenerated into a left form of social democratic party!)

Hörsing is chiefly remembered in history, however, not so much for his exploits on behalf of the counter-revolutionary side, but for

the story of his contradictory yet romantic relationship with his chief antagonist and "opposite number" amidst the forces of the revolution, the local partisan leader and former member of the Central Committee of the Spartacus League, Max Hölz. This legendary figure was active in the Erzgebirge and Vogtland districts, in Southern Saxony. Here, under his leadership, the local counter-revolutionary "citizens defence corps" and "peasants defence squads" were disbanded by the Workers' Militia and Action Committees formed under his influence, to be replaced a few days later by fully fledged Workers' Councils, often composed of the selfsame individuals who previously had sworn service to the State, but who, under the persuasive power of Hölz's oratory, were transformed into equally enthusiastic fighters for Communism! A peasant from a remote and socially retarded backwater of Saxony, Hölz led a band of loyal fighters for what they called "social justice" who, like himself, had never yet made contact with the modern proletarian movement. However, true to his Spartacist origins, he joined the KPD soon after its foundation. As a member of the Council of Workers and Soldiers for the Vogtland, and surrounded by a small army of his supporters, he and his "merry band of proletarian outlaws", chiefly centred around the town of Falkenstein, began a Robin Hood-like partisan war in which they "confiscated" food - paying the overjoyed peasants for it, however, at prices well above those laid down by the state out of monies previously stolen from the banks they had raided - and then distributed it to the poverty-stricken stratum of the population.

As Hölz's antagonist, Hörsing deployed a large force of Reichswehr troops in a widely-flung campaign to apprehend the "robber bands". In spite of a reward of Rms.30,000 on his head, he evaded this and all subsequent attempts to capture him by stealth, for he was protected by the boundless trust and devotion the working people felt for him. Hölz pursued this partisan war right up to the time of the abortive Kapp-Lüttwitz Putsch. As news of this broke, the KPD and SPD organisations in Saxony formed Action Committees, but these were only passively supported. Hölz harangued the working population vehemently for their lack of revolutionary zeal, and initiated a programme in which he promised that he and his partisan band would carry through autonomously any action which the KPD leadership had prepared and called for, but which had languished from lack of popular support. Finally, he was forced to retreat before an overwhelming Reichswehr force of 20,000 counter-revolutionary volunteers which, having apprehended Hölz, were immediately transferred to the Ruhr, where they joined the forces under General von Watter engaged in the encirclement of the Red Army of the Ruhr.

After the trial of Max Hölz and his condemnation to a long term of imprisonment - he was subsequently amnestied, whereupon, like so many thousands more, he emigrated to the "Land of Socialism", to end his life there as one of the countless victims of Stalin's assassins - the Brandler leadership of the KPD expressed its admiration for the proletarian hero of the Vogtland by issuing a derogatory statement which described him as an "advocate of 'primitive communism'". Apparently, a majority of the Central Committee felt that his "adventurism" and "lack of party discipline" set a bad example for future "revolutionary work". In the hearts and minds of the working class of Leipzig, of Mansfeld and the Leuna Works, however, his name remains to this day a legend of revolutionary courage and imaginative zeal. (For further information on the

Revolution in Central Germany, please see also Note 5 of Appendix II and Notes 10 and 12 of this Appendix).

12. "... our Comrades in Velbert and Köthen"

Velbert is a small industrial community - in the mid-19th. century no more than a village - situated in the heart of the Ruhr between Essen and Düsseldorf. Köthen, on the other hand, is a much larger industrial town situated between Magdeburg and Halle, in that part of Lower Saxony which is now part of the German Democratic Republic.

The incident to which Jan Appel here refers occurred during the March Action. Local members of the KAPD took seriously the call issued by both the KPD and their own leadership to pursue the revolutionary struggle through to the end and to seize power wherever they enjoyed the active support of a majority of the workers. In both the above areas, a simple show of hands at mass meetings called for the purpose produced such a majority, and the Soviet Republic (Räterepublik) was promulgated by the Chairman of the Workers Council.

Whatever may be said as to the prudence of such a step, it must be recalled that both Communist Parties had over long periods declared that the fundamental characteristic of the epoch was the death of capitalism and the birth of proletarian power - Communism based on the rule of the Councils. If large numbers of workers tended to take this to the point of ignoring contemptuously the tactical exigencies prevailing, and which a more practised party politician would perhaps have recognised as being decisive in determining the issue of victory or defeat, the fundamental blame for this can hardly be laid at their, the workers', door! (For further information on the March Action, please see Notes 10 and 11 of this Appendix and Note 5 of Appendix II).

13. ".... 'Vereinigte Kommunistische Partei Deutschlands' (VKPD) ('United Communist Party of Germany')."

This was the name given - for a short period of a few months only - to the united Communist Party which was formed after the IInd. (Heidelberg) Congress out of the left wing of the "Unabhängige Sozialdemokratische Partei Deutschlands" (USPD) ("Independent Social Democratic Party of Germany") and the KPD. (Please see Note 1 of the present Appendix).

14. "... our Pappenheimers"

"Pappenheimer" was a kind of generic nickname for the typical bureaucratic party or TU functionary of right-wing Social Democracy, in much the same way as, for instance, "Colonel Blimp" stands in British usage for blind military bigotry.

15. "Thanks to the March struggle of 1921, the proletariat of Germany has had an example held before it of the means by which alone it can find a way out of the collapse, and everyone now knows this in Germany".

Whatever may have been the degree to which the Left Social-Democratic leadership of the VKPD might have sought to exploit the revolutionary heroism revealed by the highest levels of consciousness in the German proletariat for the purpose of refurbishing its own tarnished image, the fact remains that the only accurate or fitting way to account for the almost unbelievable feats of disciplined steadfastness and bravery displayed by the VKPD and KAPD cadres in the field during the March Action is by recognising that those who fought and gave their lives in the cause of proletarian freedom and Communism did so because they saw themselves as fighting a kind of revolutionary rearguard action. They believed that, even if it was now an incontrovertible fact that the proletarian contingent in the German Revolution had failed of its historical purpose, and that the counter-revolution had made Germany safe for capitalism for a few decades longer, it had nevertheless been necessary to fan the last dying embers of the revolutionary fire so that, out of the flames, as Jan Appel expresses it, one truly clear example of the proletarian method of waging revolutionary war, of proletarian revolutionary strategy, might be bequeathed to future generations of proletarians to come! This, at least, the unsung and forgotten heroes of the March Action succeeded in large measure in achieving, for it was in the course of that struggle, as also during the preceding battles in the Ruhr, that there came to be developed such strategic concepts, fundamentally crucial to the conduct of revolution in the conditions of an advanced capitalist social environment, as

- a) the formation of *factory or works militia*, organised around the very industrial establishments over which the fighting proletariat had so recently gained control, and linking together the industrial units with the military forces, so that a unified strategic plan could be put into effect;
- b) the organisation of a solid ring of *residential defence units* under the control of the Workers' Councils, thereby uniting the industrial workers occupying the factories and works with the fighting units in the streets and working class residential districts under one unified command; and
- c) the formation of the *Rote Frontkämpferbund* (League of Red Front Fighters) as a *highly trained mobile revolutionary Commando force* consisting of the most highly trained and experienced activists in the field of urban guerrilla warfare which could be rapidly deployed at whichever sector of the fighting that was weakest, in order to maintain or restore the military initiative and to fill any gap in the line of defence.

In the all-too-brief course of the March Action, a "United Front from Below" of a very special kind was indeed established, to the surprise and chagrin of the Bolshevik left social democrats in the KPD leadership and the ECCI: that between the KAPD cadres and those units and individual fighters in the VKPD who had come to understand the true class character of the left social democratic motives underlying the VKPD leadership's participation in the March Action. As a result, some hundreds of VKPD Comrades abandoned their position of subservience to Bolshevism - Left Social Democracy - and joined the KAPD. (For further information on the March Action, please see Notes 1, 11, 12 and 15 of this Appendix).

16. "And still, even today, the proletariat joins hands in denouncing us..."

Jan Appel is referring here to that section of the proletariat whose level of consciousness was inadequate to enable it to participate actively in the revolution on behalf of its class brothers - although, at times, it was able to fulfil a passive role. Numbering some 10 millions out of a total class force of around 18 millions, as against the revolutionary side, which could summon at most about 8 millions, the fact that it accounted by a relatively narrow margin for the majority of the working class was in reality no more than the simple quantitative expression of the fact that, although it represented the greatest show of force by any proletarian class confronting the capitalist class enemy in any arena of revolutionary struggle, relative to the enormity of the social tasks confronting it the German proletarian movement was *historically premature* - just as, to a far greater extent, its ally in the Russian proletariat was also.

17. "In order to maintain these organisations, to lead them, in order to be able continuously to educate this entire class formation, the proletariat needs a Communist Party..."

This view was expressed at a time when the experience of the revolutionary proletariat in the new development within its ranks represented by Left Social Democracy was not yet complete - although it almost was. The form of organisation which was projected as being a higher form than that of the political party, which increasingly was seen as a bourgeois organisational form which had arisen at the time of the Great French Revolution of 1789 in order to serve the *ideological* needs of the revolutionary French bourgeoisie, was that of the *General Labour Union*, which was seen as forming the mass base of the revolutionary force, whilst its apex embodying the organisation of the most advanced representatives of the proletarian class, was the *Workers' Council*.

For a time after 1917, the leading role played by the Bolshevik Party in the victory of the Russian Revolution tended to re-kindle faith in the old party form of organisation - or, more accurately, to hold back interest in any alternative. That alternative, however, already existed in Germany in the shape of the "Allgemeine Arbeiterunion Deutschlands" ("General Workers' Union of Germany"). When the revolutionary left-communist majority in the KPD were expelled at the IInd. (Heidelberg) Congress in October 1919 and formed the first Council-orientated political Party, the KAPD, the latter immediately established a close relationship of revolutionary unity with the AAUD. The generally prevalent view - one associated in the main with the Berlin group around Karl Schröder - was that the two organisational forms fulfilled organically complementary and integrated roles in the revolutionary mobilisation of the proletarian class: the Party being responsible broadly for the task of consciousness-raising and theoretical development, including the elaboration of revolutionary strategy and education in the principles of Communism, whilst the General Union, which was seen as a form transitional between the old reformist unions and the *revolutionary* form of the Workers' Council, was responsible for developing and applying - in close cooperation with the Party, needless to say - new methods and forms of organisation in the day-to-day struggle capable of promoting the elevation of simple economic struggle within the context of immediate demands compatible with capitalist

relations and the wages system into, ultimately, the revolutionary struggle to win control of the means of production and the labour process through occupation and seizure of the industrial establishments.

Two factors, born out of the actual crucible of the revolutionary experience of the proletariat gained during the crucial class engagements which determined the fate of the Revolution during the course of 1920, acted so as to dissolve this neat "division of labour" in the revolutionary process. The first of these was the attitude adopted by the dominant group within the KAPD leadership in Berlin towards Bolshevism in general and the Comintern in particular. This was one which reflected the view that the KAPD, as the political party of the revolutionary proletariat in Germany, should maintain at least observer status within the Comintern, in order to be able to use this, either as a propaganda weapon or as a tactical tool of criticism and exposure, for influencing the Russian proletariat, already disillusioned with Bolshevism, and for exercising a degree of theoretical influence over the Marxist members in both the rank-and-file and the leadership of the Bolshevik Party. As time went by, however, and particularly after the abortive appearance of a KAPD delegate, Otto Rühle, at the 2nd Comintern World Congress (July-August 1920), it became clear that the Bolshevik grip on the Russian Communist Party was being used in such a way as to prevent any and all information as to the development of the revolutionary struggle in Germany propagated by the KAPD - and, in some instances, even by the KPD - from reaching the mass of workers and party members in Russia. From this the conclusion was drawn that the continued maintenance of affiliation at observer status with the Comintern was degenerating into a situation in which the German revolutionary movement, represented by the KAPD/AAUD, was objectively assisting a counter-revolutionary force, international Bolshevism, to maintain a diversionary international movement, the Communist International, which in its turn was using its organisational hegemony to prevent the German revolutionary movement, the KAPD/AAUD, from obtaining any propagandistic or policy advantage whatsoever from the situation in the dissemination of information concerning its work and struggles.

The second factor tending to dissolve the unity of the KAPD/AAUD alliance under the theoretical influence of the Berlin Group was the growing disillusionment of wide sections of the KAPD and AAUD membership with the methods of work advocated by that group in relation to the revolutionary struggle of the industrial proletariat in the Ruhr. Here, the crucial culminative phase of the entire revolutionary development in Germany was coming, to a head, with a vast counter-revolutionary army under General von Watter poised to deliver a crushing military blow to the beleaguered proletarian forces. The date was March 1920, and the situation was one in which the entire future of the proletarian revolution in Germany hung in the balance. The Ruhr workers had formed Councils in every industry and industrial establishment, and the military arm of the proletarian forces, the Red Army of the Ruhr, had formed and trained defence militia in every working class district (Please see Note 15 of this Appendix). In order to regain the revolutionary initiative and to strike the class enemy in his social rear, at the eleventh hour the Association of Workers' Councils of the Ruhr and the Military Committee of the Red Army of the Ruhr issued a joint call to the entire working class of Germany to come out in a General Strike. If responded to widely enough, this - the ultimate weapon of

any struggling proletariat - would divert at least some of the pressure from the hard-pressed Ruhr workers, since an even halfways successful General Strike would almost certainly have resulted in the redeployment of at least a part of Gen. von Watters crack troops to other sectors of what would then have become an extended revolutionary front.

The call for a General Strike was given immediate support by both the KPD and the KAPD leaderships, but it aroused in the body of the working class only a lukewarm response. The reasons for this are complex but, by and large, they were the same as those which held back an equivalent proletarian force from supporting adequately the March Action of a year later: the insistence of the pro-Bolshevik leadership of the KPD, since their adoption of a left social-democratic policy at the IInd. (Heidelberg) Congress, upon the implementation of measures designed to lure the SPD leadership into a united front relationship with the KPD. As a result of this, the KPD leadership issued an invitation to the SPD leadership to join in an united front agreement as an equal partner. When it is considered that we are here discussing a political party, the SPD, a majority of whose officials and functionaries, from *Kreis* (district) level right up to the Central Committee, had assisted the Junker-bourgeois alliance throughout the war years to construct and maintain its military dictatorship, with its draconian anti-proletarian class laws and, true to this counter-revolutionary tradition, was even now helping to man the very counter-revolutionary brigades, the murderous Freicorps, which stood in readiness to strike against the Workers' Defence Militia and the Red Army of the Ruhr, it can hardly be an occasion for surprise if this caused not a little doubt and confusion amongst the ranks of militant workers all over Germany, who understandably felt some difficulty in supporting wholeheartedly a call for a General Strike when amongst those associated with the call were those who considered that the butchers of the workers of yesterday could be looked upon as their allies of today!

In the event, the attempted united front manoeuvres of the KPD leadership merely served to make it the laughing stock of the entire working class. For, in the event, the so carefully orchestrated overtures of the KPD towards the SPD leaders fell on stony ground; they not only ignored the blandishments of the "bolshevised" KPD suitor, but both refused to be associated with the strike call and instructed their members not to participate in the strike action. This effectively split the unity of the proletarian forces down the middle as between those whose blind subservience to Right Social Democracy prevented them from adopting or maintaining a revolutionary course and those who stood firm on the side of the revolution, in this way isolating the higher levels of consciousness in the proletarian ranks from the lower.

In spite of this, the KPD leadership, faithful to the last to their Comintern directives, insisted on maintaining its policy of seeking to promote a "united front from above" relationship with the SPD leaders, and hence failed to take any alternative action when the crying need of the hour was precisely a clear and decisive call for revolutionary action. As for the KAPD, it applied under the leadership of the Schröder group in Berlin more or less the same criteria to its relationship with the KPD as the latter had done in relation to the SPD. This attitude adopted by the Schröder group in the leadership of the KAPD was interpreted by wide sections of the KAPD and AAUD membership in the words: "Die Parteibonzen aller Farben und Schattierungen wollen die Einheitsfront aufbauen nur damit sie die Arbeiter weiter betrügen und verraten können, aber

diessmal im Namen der Einheit und unter deren Deckmantel" ("The Party bosses of all political shades and colours only wish to build the United Front in order that they may continue to deceive and betray the workers, this time in the name of unity and concealed under its cloak"). Spontaneously they understood that the party form of organisation, which tends to cut across class allegiances and loyalties and to replace fundamental class solidarity with loyalty to party privileges and sectional bureaucratic interests, was a form inimical to the fighting unity of workers in struggle, a form which spawned betrayal.

As the direct result of these two factors, the KAPD/AAUD alliance split in October 1921, and those who considered that the party form of organisation was not apposite to the needs in struggle of the revolutionary proletariat broke away under the leading influence of Otto Rühle to form the "Allgemeine Arbeiterunion Deutschlands - Einheitsorganisation (AAUD-E) ("General Workers' Union of Germany - Unified Organisation"). This division was not to be healed until December 1931, when the two traditions within the Council Communist Movement, KAPD/AAUD and AAUD-E, were united in the "Kommunistische Arbeiterunion" (KAU) ("Communist Workers' Union").

BIOGRAPHICAL NOTES

Aldred, Guy

Born in 1886 of parents with a devout Christian dedication. Aldred started out as a boy-preacher. His innate intellectual brilliance, however, soon emancipated him into Freethought, from whence he moved rapidly to Marxism. Deceived for a while by the "Marxism" of H.M. Hyndman's social-chauvinist Social Democratic Federation, his grasp of the fundamental principles of Marxism finally enabled him to break with the S.D.F. After an equally brief flirtation with the Anarchists grouped around the paper "Freedom", his mercurial intellect forced him to split yet again, this time to form the Communist Propaganda Group. The various local groups which emerged out of the CPG's work suffered under the persecutions heaped upon them on account of their opposition to the First World War. The Central Glasgow group, however, managed to survive and, having fused with the Glasgow Anarchist Group, formed the Anti-Parliamentary Communist Federation. Unlike the Socialist Labour Party or the Socialist Workers' Federation, the APCF did not affiliate to the Communist Party of Great Britain after its formation in 1921. Aldred left the APCF in 1933, and after a split the remnant renamed itself the Workers' Revolutionary League. Aldred organised a Workers' Open Forum which eventually fused with dissident members of the Independent Labour Party to form the united Socialist Movement, and this published a journal, "The Word", to which Aldred contributed until his death. A prolific pamphleteer, his writings are worth reading, if only as examples of anti-parliamentary Communist thought from a period in which Social Democracy in both its opposite reformist-constitutional and Leninist-revolutionary variants - the latter having by then degenerated into its openly counter-revolutionary form popularly known as Stalinism - enjoyed a virtually unchallenged hegemony within the "Marxist" Left.

Beck, H.

Social Democratic journalist and collaborator with F. Oppenheimer. A supporter of the Bremen "Lefts". Otherwise, very little is known of him.

Block, Maurice (1816-1901)

Bourgeois economist of German-Jewish origin who settled in Paris. He was elected to the Académie and served in the Ministry of Agriculture and the Bureau of Statistics. His works include "L'Europe Politique et Sociale" ("The Sociology and Politics of Europe"), "Petit Manuel d'Economie Pratique" ("Little Manual of Practical Economics") and "La Théorie Marxiste de la Monnaie" ("The Marxist Theory of Money"). Quotations from the latter appear in "Fundamental Principles of Communist Production and Distribution".

Böhm-Bawerk, Eugen von (1851-1914)

Austrian academic economist and statesman, a professor at the Universities of Innsbruck and Vienna. He worked in the Ministry of Finance and held cabinet office several times. In association with Menger and von Weiser he was a founder of the Austrian school of economic theory. His best-known work is "Karl Marx und der Schluss seines Systems" ("Karl Marx and the Close of his System"), a reply to which was written by Rudolf Hilferding.

Bourgin, Maurice

French Socialist economist of "Marxist" leanings akin to German Social Democracy. It was, unfortunately, not possible to obtain details of his life-history in time for publication.

Bukharin, Nikolai (1888-1938)

A member of the Russian Social Democratic Labour Party from 1906, he early associated himself with Lenin's Bolshevik faction opposed to Martov's Mensheviks. Considering himself a Left Communist, he opposed the Treaty of Brest-Litovsk which ended Germany's intervention on Russian soil at the end of the First World War. During the inter-factional fights within the Bolshevik Party after Lenin's death in 1924, in the course of which Stalin gradually won his position of absolute dictatorial power, Bukharin opportunistically supported Stalin from 1923 to 1928 in his struggle against Trotsky and his "Left Opposition". As soon as that particular battle was won, however, and Bukharin had accordingly outlived his usefulness to Stalin, the latter, displaying much the same ruthless pragmatism as in the convergent struggle against Zinoviev, accused him of "Right deviations" and had him removed from all his important posts. Having capitulated to Stalin and issued the usual mandatory "recantation", he became Editor of the official Soviet Government newspaper "Izvestia", and also drafted - anonymously - the 1936 Soviet Constitution which, with cruel irony, was to bear his master's name. Stalin's hatred, however, was implacable, and finally, in 1938, he brought this cat-and-mouse game to an end by ordering the official State Prosecutor, Andrei Vyshinsky, to arraign Bukharin on various "crimes against our Party, our Socialist State and our beloved leader, Comrade Stalin" at one of the great Show Trials. After his inevitable conviction, he was shot in that same year. Bukharin's major works include "Historical Materialism" and "Imperialism and World Economy" - the latter even endowed with a laudatory preface by none other than V.I. Lenin!

Canne-Meier, Henk

Dutch Council Communist and leading theoretician of the "Group of International Communists of Holland" under whose auspices the "Fundamental Principles of Communist Production and Distribution" was first written and published. He is chiefly known for his theoretical work "Das Werden der neuen Arbeiterbewegung" ("The Genesis of the New Labour Movement"), in which he advocated a struggle to replace the traditional reformist trades union movement, with its centralised structure of command and bureaucratic methods of organisation, by a system of autonomous industrial groups which would emerge into open activity only as and when issues of struggle arose within a particular establishment, and which then disappeared from public view - though not from clandestine activity - with the resolution, one way or the other, of the dispute which had given it birth. This important contribution to the debate on alternatives to reformist Social Democracy was published in Germany in 1936 by the "Allgemeine Arbeiterunion Deutschlands" ("General Workers' Union of Germany").

Cole, G.D.H.

British academic writer on Socialism and social theory. A member of the Fabian Society, the formative ideological centre of British labour reformism responsible for the theoretical concept of "the inevitability of gradualism" which formed the dominant intellectual trend underlying the Labour Party since its foundation in 1905. He claimed to have been converted to Socialism through a study of William Morris's works. Prior to World War I he was an advocate of "Guild Socialism", a heavily anglicised

version of Syndicalism. A prolific writer, his most important works are his multi-volumed "History of Socialism" and "Self-government in Industry". Like many other British writers on questions of Socialism and Communism, Cole believed that he knew "What Marx Really Meant", which is the actual title of one of his best-known books. Unfortunately for him, all he achieved was to substitute his own rather pedestrian and commonplace speculations for the scientific insight of Marx.

Cunow, Heinrich

Leading anti-revisionist theoretician, writer and journalist of the Social Democratic Party of Germany. In 1905 he was appointed, along with Rosa Luxemburg, to the editorship of the theoretical journal "Vorwärts" ("Forwards"). By 1915, however, he had come under the influence of the leading theoretician of imperialism, Rudolf Hilferding and, in the course of a polemical exchange with Kautsky, he claimed that capitalism was at a relatively youthful stage of its development with a long historical epoch still before it, and that imperialism was an historically progressive stage in that development and an indispensable precondition for Socialism. With the onset of World War I, he underwent a sudden and cataclysmic conversion to social patriotism and became an ardent supporter of the pro-war group around Parvus. His chief works include "The Marxist Theory of History, Society and the State" (quoted several times in "Fundamental Principles of Communist Production and Distribution") and "Marxism, War and the International".

Dobb, Maurice

A British neo-Marxist academic economist, the scion of a family of wealthy Gloucestershire landowners. He was educated at public school and Cambridge, where he founded a Communist Party cell. In 1921, accompanied by Harry Pollitt, he visited the Soviet Union. He is the author of numerous works, amongst which two of the most noteworthy are "Marx as an Economist" and "Soviet Economic Development since 1917".

Faure, Sebastien (1858-1942)

A former Jesuit seminarist, he began his political life as a disciple of Jules Guesde, the leader of the Marxist wing of French Social Democracy. Later, however, he became an anarchist writer and publicist. He founded the progressive school "La Ruche" ("The Hive") and several anarchist papers, including "La Libertaire" and "Le Quotidien", the latter a daily which managed to run for 300 issues. Unlike many French anarchists, he opposed World War I. He edited the 4-vol. "L'Encyclopédie Anarchiste" ("The Anarchist Encyclopaedia").

Goldschmidt, A.

German pro-Bolshevik writer and commentator, the author of many books and pamphlets on the early USSR. He was a member of the Leninist "Kommunistische Partei Deutschlands" (KPD) ("Communist Party of Germany") until his arrest after the accession to power of the NSDAP. Subsequently, on account of his Jewish extraction, he was one of a number of Russian prisoners released to the USSR in exchange for German Communists held in Stalin's Gulags, after which nothing more was heard of him.

Gorter, Herman (1864-1933)

Dutch left-wing poet who began his working life as a teacher of classical languages. He was responsible for new developments in poetic form and

founded the literary group known as "Die Achtzige Bewegung" ("The Movement of the Eighties"). After extensive reading in German philosophy and Hegel, he finally came to Marx with a prolonged study of "Das Kapital". In 1890 he joined the Social Democratic Labour Party of Holland, soon becoming one of its leading theoreticians. He engaged in a lengthy polemic with the opportunist right wing of the Party in his book "Marxism and Revisionism", and after joining the Marxist group in the Party was expelled in 1909. He thereupon joined forces with other co-expelees to form the Social Democratic Party of Holland. He was an outspoken opponent of World War I, attacking it in his book "Imperialism, Social Democracy and World War" in which he also supported the Russian October Revolution. In 1921 he travelled illegally to Russia to participate as a delegate of the "Kommunistische Arbeiterpartei Deutschlands" ("Communist Workers' Party of Germany") in the IIIRD. Congress of the Communist International (April 1920). Upon his return to Germany, he launched a polemically effective and tactically astutely conceived critique of Lenin's "Left Wing Communism - An Infantile Disorder" entitled "An Open Letter to Comrade Lenin". An English translation of this was subsequently published in Sylvia Pankhurst's "Workers' Dreadnought". Amongst his poetic works the most important is "Pan", an epic poem tracing the history of the labour movement. Sadly, other than the present translator's rendering of "De Arbeitersraad" ("The Worker's Council"), none of his work is as yet available in an English-language version, and beyond an essay by Guy Aldred there is no published biography in English.

Hilferding, Rudolf (1877-1944)

Leading German Social Democratic theoretician and economist. After World War I he joined the "Unabhängige Sozialdemokratische Partei Deutschlands" (USPD) ("Independent Social Democratic Party"), from which he opposed Rosa Luxemburg's call for the seizure of power by the Workers' and Soldiers' Councils. He also opposed the affiliation of the USPD to the Communist International, and later he rejoined the SPD. Towards the end of the Weimar era, he was appointed Minister of Finance in the Herrmann Müller administration of 1928-30. He was chiefly known for his work on advanced capitalism, and his best-known book, "Das Finanzkapital" ("Finance Capital") was looked upon by many as being the equivalent of a fourth volume of Marx's "Capital". Lenin acknowledged his debt to him as a theoretician of imperialism - thereby inadvertently revealing a great deal of the truth concerning his own social democratic leanings. Hilferding for his part described the USSR as a "totalitarian state economy". After 1933 he went into exile in France, and after the capitulation of the French armies and the formation of the Vichy Government, Pétain handed him over to the Nazis. He died under horrific circumstances in a concentration camp.

Hölz, Max (1889-1933)

Max Hölz began his revolutionary life-activity by joining the Unabhängige Sozialdemokratische Partei Deutschlands (USPD) (Independent Social Democratic Party of Germany) in 1918, when he was 29. However, he soon became dissatisfied with the USPD leadership's vacillating policy positions, and his introduction to revolutionary Marxism began when he joined the Spartacus League shortly before it changed its name to Kommunistische Partei Deutschlands (KPD) (Communist Party of Germany) at the latter's Founding Congress in December of that year. Seldom leaving his native Vogtland, in Southern Saxony, where he soon acquired a reputation as a revolutionary strategist of great originality and daring, in the course of the year 1919 he succeeded in unifying under his command a group of dedicated proletarian Commandos, and as a small partisan force they energetically set about preparing the ground for the unfolding of revolutionary class struggle all over the Vogtland, with the ultimate aim of promulgating the Council Republic (Räterepublik) of Southern Saxony when the time was ripe.

Hölz began his partisan war by organising a series of daring raids on banks, larger industrial and commercial firms and Reichswehr and Sicherheitspolizei (Security Police) barracks. The booty won from these courageous missions was used to create the basis of a Workers' Militia, and care was taken to build up a supporting agricultural base for the supply of foodstuffs and other life-essential logistical supplies amongst the local peasantry, as well as a rudimentary industrial network amongst local workshops and repair yards for the maintenance and refitting of weapons, mostly rifles and machine guns and a small number of light artillery pieces. These latter, along with the necessary ammunition, formed the prize spoils won from the above-mentioned raids, whilst the money acquired from bank raids was used to pay the peasantry - at, incidentally, prices well above those prevailing on the open market, thereby winning their undying loyalty and support! - for the supply of food and other articles of consumption.

In this way, and with his small but highly organised and effective guerrilla force at the centre, the partisan struggle in the Vogtland became organically fused in with the class struggles of the industrial workers and the struggles of the poor peasants against the big banks, to whom they were often in a usurious debt relationship. With his mobile headquarters situated in the environs of the town of Falkenstein, in the heart of the Vogtland, by the Spring of 1920 Hölz's force controlled virtually the whole area, and in April of that year, with Workers' Councils in occupation of all larger industrial establishments and in control of important sections of the economy, the Council Republic was finally promulgated.

By this time, the fame of Max Hölz's victories on behalf of the proletarian revolution had spread throughout Germany. As a result, following upon the abortive right-wing Kapp-Lüttwitz Putsch, the Ebert-Scheidemann Govt., which had temporarily fled to Dresden, felt compelled to act against the brave proletarian fighters of the Vogtland Council Republic. It despatched Karl Severing - the same one who later, in December-January 1933, as representative of the Social Democratic Government of Prussia, was destined to acquire an obnoxious notoriety as the politician who sold German Social Democracy out to Hitler - as Reichskommissar armed with full civil and military powers. After a long and bitter campaign in which Hölz's leading adversary on the counter-revolutionary side was Otto Hörsing (please see Note 11 of Appendix III), the Vogtland Workers' Militia was compelled to retreat into the forests and hills and finally to lay down their arms. Hölz himself was taken prisoner, but later succeeded in making his escape, whereupon he went into hiding amongst his beloved Falkenstein workers. The world was to hear more of him yet!

The second phase of Max Hölz's revolutionary life-work begins in the period leading up to and during the March Action of 1921. Coming out of hiding, Hölz was appointed Commander of the revolutionary forces in Saxony by the joint KPD-KAPD leadership. In early March, the local Workers' Militia had occupied the vast chemical combine at Leuna, which the Council Republic declared to be the property of the indigenous Workers' Council. Here, Max Hölz brought all his magnificent talents of organisation and leadership to bear, but the treacherous policy of "United Front from Above" pursued by the KPD leadership undermined the revolutionary base which he had so painstakingly built up. On 29th. March, Hörsing surrounded the Leuna complex with a vastly superior force of Reichswehr troops and Freicorps, and it became clear to the proletarian defenders that this was to be the decisive engagement of the whole March Action, and that possibly the entire fate of the German Revolution hung upon the outcome. They were right. After prolonged fierce fighting, the proletarian side, which was cut off from all supplies and had run out of ammunition, was forced to surrender. The encirclement and defeat of the revolutionary forces in

other areas followed in quick succession - in Eisleben, Hettstedt, Sangershausen and finally in the heart of the proletarian strongholds, in the great mining centre of Mansfeld. Once again, Max Hölz was compelled to flee, but was captured in mid-April in Berlin.

Brought to trial at the end of that month, like all true revolutionaries arraigned before bourgeois "justice" Max Hölz succeeded in turning his trial into a place where not so much he but his persecutors were compelled to hear their own indictment. Delivering one of the most courageous defence speeches in revolutionary history, he was condemned to life imprisonment. Such was the shout of anger and indignation that came from the united throats of millions of German workers, however, that the Government was thrown on the defensive, and he was granted an amnesty. Shortly thereafter, like thousands of other persecuted revolutionaries, he was lured to the USSR on the pretext of "helping" to set up a "school of revolutionary industrial organisation" under the auspices of the Comintern. His passport, however, was never returned to him, and he was hence unable to return to Germany. In 1933, he was finally murdered by agents of Stalin's MVD, as the KGB was then called, while on a boating holiday on the Caspian Sea. Thus died one of the greatest of Germany's proletarian heroes in Stalin's "First Land of Victorious Socialism"!

Horn, E.

A German student of bourgeois economics, in 1928 he published his doctoral thesis under the title "Die ökonomischen Grenzen der Gemeinwirtschaft" ("The Economic Limits of the Socialised Economy"). An opponent of the neo-classical school headed by Ludwig von Mises, in his book he declared the possibility of reconciling and combining in one system state ownership of economic resources and the profit motive, and advocated this as a means of overcoming both crises and the class struggle.

Kautsky, Karl (1864-1938)

Leading theoretician of German Social Democracy and the Second International. A leader of the party faction known as the "Party Centre", he has been considered the leading exponent, if not the founder, of that peculiar brand of pseudo-dialectical determinism which preached adherence to the letter of a dogmatically conceived "Marxism", which then served as an ideological cover for the increasingly class-collaborationist social practice imposed on the SPD by the Party Centre, which dominated the organisational apparatus of the Party and hence the machinery of control over the membership. During World War I, his astute tactical sense compelled him to oppose the extreme social-chauvinist policies of collaboration in the conduct of the war pursued by his former colleagues in the "Centre" and on the extreme Right of the Party, and he accordingly became a leader of the "Unabhängige Sozial-demokratische Partei Deutschlands" ("Independent Social Democratic Party of Germany") which split from the SPD in 1916 over opposition to the war. After the cessation of hostilities, he rejoined the SPD. He finally abandoned Marxism altogether and embraced outright right-wing reformism in his misleadingly titled book "The Dictatorship of the Proletariat", in which he simultaneously attacked Bolshevism. He was also the author of numerous other - and more worthwhile - books, including "The Economic Doctrines of Karl Marx" and a history of the Menshevik Republic of Georgia.

King, J.S.

A graduate of Oxford University, his book "Cost Accounting Applied to Agriculture" was first presented as a doctoral thesis and then published

in 1922. Through it, King became the object at the time of some ridicule and hostility in the popular press as an alleged destroyer of the romantic idyll, then still widely believed to adhere to "the pastoral life".

La Place, Pierre Simon de (1749-1827)

French mathematician and philosopher whose name is perhaps more closely associated with mechanical determinism than that of any of any other member of the same school. His main philosophical works include "Exposition du système du monde" ("Statement concerning the system of the world") (1798) and "Essai philosophique sur les probabilités" (Philosophical Essay on Probability). La Place is noted for the seminal role he played in the development of mechanical-determinist philosophical method, as well as for his foundation of probability theory upon the concept of *equipossible* cases. According to this, alternatives are shown to be of equal possibility by application of the principle of *random indifference*. This concept, which Laplace above all others helped to propagate, maintains that two or more eventualities should be regarded as equally probable if no cause is apparent making one more likely to occur than another. Basing his ideas on the the principles of Newtonian mechanics, La Place derived his determinism from the tremendous achievements of Newtonian mechanics. Extending these to their limit, his arguably greatest achievement was his mathematical proof of the stability of the solar system. He thus believed that he had eliminated the need for the controlling hand of God - hence his famous remark to Napoleon: "Je n'ai besoin de cet hypothèse" ("I have no need of this hypothesis", i.e., that of the existence of a controlling deity).

La Place's development of the theory of probability provides a conceptual link with Bayes's theorem. This latter, published posthumously in 1763 by Thomas Bayes (1702-61), gives an expression for the probability of a hypothesis 'h' if some evidence, 'e', is added to antecedent knowledge 'a'. The theorem states that the probability of 'h' relative to 'e' and 'a' is equal to the probability of 'h' relative to 'a' multiplied by the probability of 'e' relative to 'h' and 'a', and divided by the probability of 'e' relative to 'a'. Expressed as an equation, this is as follows:

$$p(h \mid e \text{ \& } a) = \frac{p(h \mid a) \times p(e \mid h \text{ \& } a)}{p(e \mid a)}$$

Bayes's theorem can be employed in order to justify regarding various hypotheses as antecedently equiprobable - but, unless formulated very carefully, it can lead to inconsistent results. Its more progressive bourgeois critics deny that ignorance should justify anything at all. Applied humourously in the war against pedantry and sophism, it can lead to the following verbal interplay:

Question: What is the probability of the word probability appearing three times relative and in synchronization with a previous probability in a text which, in all probability, is equiprobably obscure to 95% of the population?

Answer: Consult Bayes's theorem.

(For further information on La Place, please see Note 2 of Chapter XI)

Lassalle, Ferdinand (1825-64)

German middle-class publicist and lawyer who joined the young German

labour movement at its infancy. In 1863 he played a leading role in the formation of the "Allgemeiner Deutscher Arbeiterverein" ("General Association of German Workers"). He supported Bismarck's aim of the unification of Germany under Prussian hegemony, and was also an advocate of Bismarckian state-socialism. The tendency of which he was the originator and perhaps the foremost representative of his day was responsible for most of the opportunist trends to emerge later in German Social Democracy.

Leichter, Otto

Austrian syndicalist writer and economist, the author of the book "Die Wirtschaftsrechnung in der sozialistischen Gesellschaft" ("Economic Regulation and Control in a Socialist Society"). Unfortunately, no information concerning his life history or political affiliations is known.

Luxemburg, Rosa (1871-1919)

Born of Polish-Jewish stock, she became a leading figure on the Left of both Polish and German Social Democracy. As a theoretician and teacher, she was for a time permanently engaged in work at the SPD's Central Party School in Berlin, where she acquired a considerable reputation in the period prior to World War I as a writer on theoretical questions relating to history and Marxist economics. She was a major critic of the revisionism of Eduard Bernstein et al., as well as of the vacillations and manoeuvres of the group around Karl Kautsky which called itself the "Party Centre". She was a fearless opponent of the war, and both during and after it she joined with Franz Mehring, Leo Jogisches (a fellow Pole) and others in forming the "Spartakusbund" (Spartacist League) as a centre of revolutionary Marxism. In November 1918 she played a leading role at the Founding Congress of the "Kommunistische Partei Deutschlands" (KPD) ("Communist Party of Germany"). Among her major works are "The Accumulation of Capital" and "The Russian Revolution". On 15th. January 1919, along with Karl Liebknecht, her long-standing comrade and ally on the Left of the SPD, co-founder of the "Spartakus-Bund" ("Spartacus League") and later of the Communist Party of Germany, she was murdered at the command of officers of the counter-revolutionary Freikorps and her body dumped into the Landwehrkanal. Under the former state-socialist regime in the "German Democratic Republic", demonstrations showing quotations from her works on banners were banned and participation in them declared a criminal offence.

Mattick, Paul

Mattick began his political life by joining the youth wing of the Spartacus League as a teenager. Later, he adopted a Left Communist position and became a leading advocate and theoretician of Council Communism. After 1933 and the rise of National Socialism in Germany, he emigrated to the USA, where he rapidly acquired a firm reputation as a Marxist writer and theoretician with considerable breadth of knowledge and analytical insight. Specialising mainly, though by no means solely, in economic questions, he was the author of many books, including "Anti-Bolshevik Communism", "Marx and Keynes" and his final work, edited and compiled posthumously by his son, Paul Mattick Jr., "Marxism - Last Refuge of the Bourgeoisie?". In this profoundly conceptualised study of certain formative questions of Marxist economics and of the tendency towards monopolistic concentration of economic resources in both advanced capitalism and in Soviet society, the question explicitly raised in the title is answered with a resounding "No!" Paul Mattick died in 1981 in Washington, USA, where for many years he had headed a group of Council Communists.

Mehring, Franz (1846- 1919)

A leading German Marxist theoretician, historian and literary critic. A member of the Social Democratic Party, he was an outspoken opponent of revisionism and a life-long friend and collaborator of Rosa Luxemburg and Leo Jogisches. He was attacked in the Social Democratic press for his criticism of SPD electoral policies, for which he was removed from the editorial staff of the Party journal "Neue Zeit" ("New Times"). A strong supporter of the Bolsheviks, he loyally applied the decisions of the First and Second Zimmerwald Conferences of September 1915 and April 1916 respectively, and in September 1916 he was arrested for his public stand against World War I. He was the author of many works on philosophy and history, including "Die Lessing-Legende" ("The Lessing Legend" - a study of the great German historical dramatist and father of German literary realism), "A History of German Social Democracy" and - his best known work amongst Anglo-Saxon readers - his classic biography of Karl Marx.

Mises, Ludwig von

A bourgeois economist of the neo-classical Austrian school. His best-known work is "Die Gemeinwirtschaft" (published in English translation as "Economic Calculations in the Socialist Commonwealth"), in which he sets out to demonstrate that economic calculation in a Socialist society - the term "accounting" would have been more suitable - is impossible in the absence of the market.

Müller-Lehning, Arthur

A Dutch anarcho-syndicalist writer, pamphleteer and propagandist, considered by many to be the doyen of Dutch anarcho-syndicalism. Largely forgotten today, he was a frequent speaker at syndicalist congresses both before and after World War I, and his books and pamphlets wielded much authority in anarchist and syndicalist circles during the first three or four decades of the century.

"Multatuli"

The literary pseudonym of Eduard Douwes (1820-87), a Dutch Government official and writer of fiction reflecting colonial themes. He served for many years as a civil servant in Java, and exposed many of the abuses committed by the Dutch colonial regime in his widely read novel "Max Havelaar", published in 1860.

Neurath, Otto (1882-1945)

Austrian philosopher, sociologist and economist. In 1919 he was sentenced to a period of imprisonment for his association with the Bavarian Soviet Republic of that year. He organised many conferences on scientific philosophy, and edited the "International Encyclopaedia of Unified Sciences". He also founded the "Institute for the Unity of Sciences". His works include "Grundlagen der Gesellschaftswissenschaften" ("Foundations of the Social Sciences"), "Empirische Soziologie" ("Empirical Sociology") and "Wirtschaftsplan und Naturalrechnung" ("Economic plan and Accounting in Kind").

Oppenheimer, F.

Social Democratic journalist, commentator and educationist. A supporter of the Bremen "Lefts" and opponent of both revisionism and the Kautskyan "Party Centre". A frequent contributor to SPD journals and newspapers, such as "Neue Zeit" ("New Times") and "Vorwärts" ("Forwards").

'Parvus'

The pseudonym of Alexander Helphand, editor of the Social Democratic newspaper "Sächsische Arbeiterzeitung" ("Saxon Workers' News"), frequently used by him and Rosa Luxemburg as a weapon of criticism and debate in the struggle against the revisionists of right and centre. In 1898 he was expelled from Saxony. Moving to München, he there met Trotsky and began to work with him. He participated in the 1905 Russian Revolution, for which he was imprisoned. Succeeding in making his escape, he moved first to Germany, then Austria to arrive finally in Turkey. In the course of World War I he acquired a considerable fortune as a result of his commercial acumen in the booming field of military supplies. Politically he took up, perhaps understandably, an extreme pro-war stand and edited the social-chauvinist paper "Die Glocke" ("The Bell"). Embittered and mentally unbalanced by Germany's defeat, he died in 1924.

Radek, Karl (1875-1939)

Radek was active as a revolutionary prior to the First World War in both Poland and Germany, though mainly in the latter, where he acquired a considerable reputation as a member of the "Bremen Lefts" around Anton Pannekoek and Johann Knief. Returning to Russia just after the Revolution, he became a leading figure in the Bolshevik Party. With the foundation of the Communist International in 1919, his knowledge of and familiarity with the German proletarian movement and the revolutionary left caused Lenin and Zinoviev to select him as Comintern plenipotentiary in Germany, whither he returned in the Spring of 1919. After the murder of Karl Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg in January of that year, renouncing his left-communist past in deeds if not in words, he stepped in to participate in the early organisational measures taken by the remaining core of the old Spartacus Group around Paul Levi to isolate and discredit the Radical Left in the Party, which had formed the majority at the Founding Congress, and to consolidate the Party's leadership around a left social democratic programme in which all the essential elements of the old social democratic positions - participation in the bourgeois National Assembly, support for the reformist trades unions, etc. - were retained under cover of a strident use of Marxist terminology. When, in October 1919, the Second (Heidelberg) Congress of the KPD was convened, it was Radek's theses, favoured by Lenin and the Bolshevik majority on the Executive Committee of the Comintern, which were read out to the Congress as the official voice of the ECCI. Reflecting the latest "tactical" brainchild of Lenin and Zinoviev, the opportunist tactic of "United Front from Above" (the policy of seeking "united front" agreements on specific social and class issues with the discredited leaders of the Social Democratic Party), the Report was entitled "Leitsätze über kommunistische Grundsätze und Taktik" ("Directives concerning Communist Principles and Tactics"), and it was rightly understood by the Congress to be equivalent to steps taken by the ECCI to annul and overthrow the revolutionary programme positions in support of the Council movement and against the social democratic policy of support for the bourgeois parliament and bourgeois elections adopted by the KPD at its Founding Congress. The Comintern dictat was sufficient to force a majority of 13 in favour of the ECCI Leitsätze (31 for, 18 against), whereupon the 18 Left Communist delegates walked out of the Congress and, repairing to another nearby meeting-place, took preparatory steps to convene an alternative Congress, one that would not be intimidated or suborned by any external non-revolutionary authority.

Radek continued to represent Comintern Policy in Germany in the period leading through the successful quelling by the Ebert-Scheidemann Government of the uprising in the Ruhr and the decimation of the Red Army of the Ruhr in March 1920, up to the final defeat of the German Revolution after the abortive March Action of a year later. In all these engagements,

the KPD was steered by Radek, acting through the agency of the Bolshevik sycophant Levi. It was through the latter's mouth that Radek introduced the notorious "Open Letter", published in the KPD daily, "Rote Fahne", just prior to the unleashing of the March Action - a step which guaranteed the latter's defeat. Subsequently, Levi became the scapegoat selected as victim for the defeat of the March Action, and his earlier fawning upon the favours of the Bolsheviks was rewarded with his dismissal from the post of General Secretary and his expulsion from the Central Committee. (For a more complete account of these events, please see Note 5 of Appendix II and Notes 10, 11 and 12 of Appendix III).

Upon his return to the USSR after the defeat of the German Revolution, Radek became a leading figure in Trotsky's Left Opposition. Needless to say, there is no record of his support on any occasion for the earlier Workers' Opposition of 1921-4, which represented a position as close to that of the KAPD in Germany as Russian conditions permitted. One final appearance in the international arena was in 1922, when, along with Bukharin and Klara Zetkin, he represented the Comintern at the ill-fated Joint Conference of the Second International, the Third International and the International Working Union of Socialist Parties. True to his history of renegacy, in 1929 Radek turned his back on the Left Opposition - just as, in 1919-20 in Germany, he had turned his back on his early left-radical past as a member of the "Bremen Lefts" - and capitulated to Stalin. This, however, did not save him from being framed as one of the victims at the second of the infamous Moscow Trials, engineered by Stalin in order to rid himself of the embarrassing presence of any remaining members of the old intelligentsia which had formed the leadership of the Bolshevik Party around Lenin. Sentenced to 10 years imprisonment, he simply vanished into the camps of the Gulag, where it is presumed he died.

Renner, Karl

A leader of Austrian Social Democracy, he was the son of poor Moravian peasants. As a young man he succeeded in obtaining a post as librarian of the Reichsrat (Council of State). He began to study political law and later became a "Reichsabgeordneter", or parliamentary Deputy. He supported World War I and opposed the claims to independence of the subject nations and nationalities of the Austrian Empire as "a reactionary utopia". He became Chancellor of the newly-founded Austrian Republic in 1918 and again in 1945.

Roland-Holst, Henriette (1869-1952)

Born in Noordwijk in some obscurity, she started her intellectual life as a poetess and, after her marriage to Richard Roland-Holst, a Professor of Art and friend of William Morris, she soon acquired a national reputation. Both her poetry and her social and political ideas developed under the close influence of Hermann Gorter. She was a close friend of Rosa Luxemburg, and her biography of Luxemburg was published in Zürich in 1937. She joined the Dutch Social Democratic Labour Party in 1897, and participated in the pre-World War I left breakaway known as the Tribunists, after the title of their paper, "De Tribune". After the Russian October Revolution she became a Communist and later a Council Communist. In 1924 she founded the short-lived Independent Communist Party. In later life disillusionment and despair at the rise of international Fascism forced her into the arms of religion, and this once fine fighter for Communist ideas and practice became a Christian Socialist. In old age she devoted herself mainly to literary activity.

Struik, D.J.

Dutch Left-radical writer and journalist, a member of the Soziaal-demokratische Partij Nederlands at the time of its formation as a

left breakaway from Dutch Social Democracy. An energetic advocate of the council principle and close associate of Henriette Roland-Holst and Anton Pannekoek.

Thiers, Louis Adolphe (1797-1877)

French statesman and historian. His name is chiefly associated with the events of the years 1870-1. It was he who negotiated with Bismarck the peace of 1870 which ended the Franco-Prussian war. Having thus "secured his rear" through selling out France's national interest to Prussia, he then went on to use the National Guard whom he had not dared to commit to a war with Prussia to the bloody task of suppressing the Paris Commune of 1871. He personally supervised the massacre of the Communards. He held the office of President of the French Republic from 1871 to 1873. His memory will be preserved, however, mainly on account of the deserved execration heaped upon it by Marx in his famous polemic delivered in the course of his "Report to the International Workingmen's Association on the Civil War in France".

Trotsky, Leon (1879-1940)

The son of a Jewish landowner, he first became a Narodnik at an early age and later embraced Marxism. In the 1905 revolution, he was invited to take the chair of the Petrograd Soviet because he was held by most of the contending factions present to be both neutral and literate! At one time a severe critic of Lenin's organisational plan for the Bolshevik Party, he became a leading figure in the Menshevik left, and only joined the Bolsheviks in 1917, whereupon he assumed the office of Commissar for War. After Lenin's death in 1924 he became the leader of the Left Opposition, which opposed the ousting of the Bolshevik Old Guard. Composed chiefly of representatives of the professional intelligentsia who had held posts in the old tsarist autocracy, from which Lenin himself had sprung, this at first influential, indeed dominant grouping within the Russian Communist Party (formerly the Russian Social-democratic Labour Party) sought to maintain and reassert its hegemony within the rapidly changing social terrain of Soviet society. In particular, it attempted to oppose the replacement of its members by the new upstart generation of party and state officials which had been spawned as a result of the capitalist development in town and country promoted by the New Economic Policy, originally initiated under Lenin's leadership not long before his death. The representatives of this new and viciously careerist state-sponsored petit-bourgeois stratum, noted for their proclivity towards heartless bureaucratic chicanery and, where they could get away with it, extreme brutality and cruelty, were recruited primarily from amongst the poor and middle peasantry, but included also some newly-promoted proletarians. As a representative of the Old Guard who refused to reach any accommodation with this new "dirty-necked officialdom", he came into irreconcilable conflict with J.V. Stalin, the representative of this new party and state bureaucracy, who had gained control of the Party's organisational apparatus after Lenin's death. Stalin was instrumental in obtaining first his expulsion from the Central Committee, then from the Party itself and finally his exile. From his heavily fortified headquarters in Mexico, Trotsky led the "Fourth International" as the world organisation of supporters of his theories of revolution, of which the concept of "permanent revolution" is perhaps the most characteristic. His major works include "My Life", a "History of the Russian Revolution" and "The Revolution Betrayed", in which he expounded his theory of Soviet society as a "degenerated workers' state". He was finally murdered by an agent of Stalin's GPU in August 1940.

Varga, Eugen

Bolshevik economist of Hungarian origin. Participated in the short-lived Soviet Republic of Hungary of 1919. After the overthrow of the Soviet Republic he went to the USSR, where he became an economic adviser to Stalin. In 1946 he published his only post-war work, "The Economic Transformation of Capitalism at the End of the Second World War", in which he argued that the capitalist system was more inherently stable than had been hitherto believed. This led to the closure of the Institute which he headed.

Weber, Max (1864-1920)

German economist and Professor in Social and Economic Sciences at the Universities of Berlin, Freiburg-im-Breisgau, Heidelberg and München. He was noted for his work on the relation between capitalism and Protestant ethics. His best-known work, "The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism", forms part of a greater work on the outlook and influence of various religions.

Zinoviev, Grigory (1883-1936)

An old Bolshevik who joined Lenin at or shortly after the famous IInd. (1903) Congress of the Russian Social Democratic Labour Party (RSDLP), when Lenin's proposals for a tightly organised party under strong centralised leadership were accepted by a small majority against Martov's counter-proposals for a loose, federally structured party primarily concerned with political education. In October 1917 he opposed Lenin on the matter of the date for the October Revolution. Among the prestigious posts he had held was that of President of the Petrograd Soviet. At the Founding Congress of the Communist International in March 1919 he was elected its first President. With the growth of the inner-party contradictions focused around the struggle between Stalin and Trotsky (see under Trotsky above), he at first allied himself with Kamenev and Stalin against Trotsky and later with Trotsky against Stalin. With the increasing emergence of Stalin as victor, his longer-term fate was sealed. In 1927 he was expelled from the Party, but was re-admitted in 1928 after lengthy political recantations and ideological 'confessions' as part of the tactical manoeuvres of Stalin. He was to serve as a pawn in Stalin's intrigues yet again, when he was expelled for a second time in 1928 and re-admitted in 1932, under similar circumstances to those attending the first such occasion. Having been thus reduced to a rather pitiful caricature which Stalin wished to represent as typical of the "vacillating middle-class intellectuals" who allegedly had made up the once all-powerful clique of Old Bolsheviks around Lenin, he had by 1936 largely outlived his usefulness as a scapegoat for alleged "deviations from the correct Leninist line laid down for us by our great, all-wise and all-seeing Leader, Comrade Stalin". Thus he came to play his last role as one of the accused at the first of the notorious Moscow show-trials, that of 1936, when he was condemned on fabricated evidence and shot. He was the author of a History of the Bolshevik Party.

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After the final defeat of the German Workers' Movement by National Socialism in January 1933, the principles, traditions, methods of work and, of course, the literature of Left or Council Communism fell into obscurity and near oblivion. In itself, this was nothing more nor less than the reflex in the field of consciousness and its manifestations in works of revolutionary theory of the defeat of the most powerful and broadly based proletarian revolutionary movement that human history has yet seen. For it must be understood, as perhaps the first element in the struggle to acquire a full understanding of the objective foundations and subjective methodology of the proletarian revolution, that the revolutionary theory which arose and developed in order to serve it, Marxism, had first and foremost to become the *autonomous weapon in thought and action of the fighting proletariat, the means to its complete liberation from all metaphysically based modes of thought which dichotomise thought from action, word from deed, theory from practice, before its full development as a body of scientific theory guided by scientific method, materialist dialectics, could fully flower.* As always in the development of any science, theory and practice must go hand in hand towards their unification in revolutionary method, the method of cognising the world of men in society which recognises as the fundamental motive contradiction in history those basic social divisions which mark the emergence of conflicting interests between social classes which bear a mutually antagonistic relationship towards the means of social life and the relations they enter into with one another in utilising them, the method which serves the exploited and alienated revolutionary class in that antagonistic relationship and which for that very reason simultaneously arms it with the means to change the world through the elimination of all class divisions and all social alienation. It was in the practice of autonomous class struggle and the later elaboration of that practice into the mature praxis of the revolution itself by the most advanced levels of the German proletariat which had acquired a revolutionary consciousness as a result of their experience throughout the Bismarckian era, the Exceptional (Anti-Socialist) Law and finally the degeneration of Social Democracy into a counter-revolutionary ideology, that this adoption of Marxism as an autonomous revolutionary weapon, together with its subsequent refinement into the closest approximation yet seen by any agent of social praxis towards a fully scientific view and method in changing the world through revolution, first arose in history. It was in the course of that experience, the hardest and most bitter that any proletarian class has ever traversed and absorbed into its consciousness, that the truth of Marx's words: "the task of the emancipation of the working class must be the work of the working class itself", was given a steely-hard reality and driven home in the course of countless class engagements of pitiless intransigence and ferocity.

In its origins and essential content, therefore, the Marxism of the proletarian contingent in the German Revolution is the Marxism of Marx and Engels themselves, just as its further history and development is the history of Marxism's further refinement and enrichment in the crucible of revolutionary praxis as sequentially manifested in the Revolution's birth, unfolding and final defeat.

In reality, therefore, that which has come to be termed "Council Communism" in the attempt to make clear the distinction between it and the false imitation represented by "Marxism-Leninism" is in reality simply Communism - the only Communism there has ever been, the Communism which is the only ultimate goal of the proletariat's struggle because it is the

only mode of production which stems organically from the objective position of the proletariat as the last exploited class in history and, more specifically, from the relationship of the proletarian producers towards the labour process, the process of production and the product of their labour - a relationship which, under capitalism, is wholly dichotomised, but which, with Communism, finds its ultimate unity.

The task of correcting the distorting influence exerted by over 70 years of the false model of Communism presented to the world by Leninism and Trotskyism is a herculean one. In initiating this task, there is no more formatively significant a work than "Fundamental Principles of Communist Production and Distribution". Having absorbed the basic theory of Communist production relations, the following list offers the student of the revolutionary literature of Communism a selection of the most influential works and documents which it is hoped will be of help in throwing off the blinkers of an inverted and irrational past and in achieving a more complete grasp of the theory and praxis of proletarian revolutionary Communism.

It must be said at this point, however, that without at least a working knowledge of the German language, the opportunities available to the Anglo-Saxon student for further reading and study in the history and theory of Council Communism are little more than meagre. To this day, most of the more important documents remain available only in their original German, and it cannot be emphasised too strongly that there can be no question of any progress being made towards overcoming the most serious handicap with which the British working class movement has been beset since its beginnings in the XIXth. Century - the almost complete absence of a revolutionary tradition based upon scientific Marxist theory and norms of praxis - or in establishing working class unity of thought and action on the basis of scientific principle, today as always the one sure and indispensable guarantee of revolutionary victory in the future for the proletarian forces, until the yawning gap in its fund of knowledge represented by the virtually universal ignorance of the traditions, institutions, methods of work and at least the more important elements comprising the literary heritage of the one proletarian class which indisputably *did* succeed in building a revolutionary movement corresponding to its true class interests - the German proletariat - has been filled. The making good of this baleful lack is a task to which the Movement for Workers' Councils attaches the highest priority, one which it intends to fulfil as rapidly as possible in the hopefully not too distant future.

Consistent with the above, the following list is designed to serve three main purposes: firstly, in Section I, it proposes to the beginner in the study of Marxism and the history of proletarian revolutionary theory a short syllabus for further reading in the classics of Marxism such as will provide at least a sufficient groundwork of understanding as to enable further independent study to be undertaken. In their case, Section I should be consulted and a programme of serious study in the fundamental principles of Marxist science undertaken and commenced upon before the works shown in the later Sections are approached. Secondly, in Section II, for the greater convenience of students those works are listed from which - with the exception of those from the works of Marx and Engels themselves - the Authors have extracted quotations for inclusion in "Fundamental Principles of Communist Production and Distribution". The significance attaching to these works is, of course, mainly historical, and their inclusion in this Bibliography is chiefly intended for the convenience of students specialising in a detailed study of the economic literature of Social Democracy (Kautsky, Hilferding, Neurath, Varga, et al), of Syndicalism (Leichter, Müller-Lehning) or the openly bourgeois opponents of both (von Mises, E. von Böhm-Bawerk, M. Block, etc.).

Finally, in Section III, the intention is put into practice of providing adequate means to enable those students who have hitherto been held

captive within the intellectually debilitating ideological prison-house of Leninism or its more subtle variant, Trotskyism, to achieve their liberation from a deterministically distorted dualism which has already proved itself, and today is proving itself daily ever anew, to be a body of false theory which has acted as the ideological mobilising agent behind whose deceptive pseudo-scientific phrasemongering has been concealed the erection of a new exploitative social formation, State Socialism, which the experience of recent decades has shown to be capable of a degree of social barbarism at least as great as that of the world proletariat's main class enemy, Social Capital. In addition to the fervent hope and belief held both by the present writer and by all members of the Movement for Workers' Councils that the publication here presented of the formative work of Council Communism and the German and Dutch revolutionary proletariat which gave it birth will contribute a significant step towards rectifying the immense damage wrought to the cause of the self-liberation of the working class and the final attainment of the goal of Communism by the false model established by Leninist State Socialism, it is also their firmly held conviction that, in studying the classic works of Marxism alongside the rich literary heritage of the revolutionary German proletariat revealed in this final section of the Bibliography, at whose centre stands the work of Jan Appel and his Comrades, a valuable contribution will also have been made to the all-important task of raising the level of revolutionary consciousness amongst militants in industry and the trades unions here in the deeply empirical and traditionally anti-Marxist working class movement of Britain. At the very least, here in Section III will be found as comprehensive a list of the works of Council Communism as diligent research and a painstaking search through countless journals, book-lists and other publications of the period could unearth.

At this point, it is no more than just that warm thanks be extended to the Staff of the Goethe Institut in London, without whose patient attention to what must have seemed a mind-boggling profusion of obscure works this Section of the Bibliography would never have seen the light of day.

The vast majority of the works listed in Section III were reprinted or reissued in facsimile during the student revolutions which formed so characteristic a feature of the late '60's and early '70's, at the centre of which stood the Paris events of May 1968. The great variety and richness of the works published then or in the aftermath of that period, so deeply imbued with a reborn faith in the revolutionary potentialities of the West European proletariat so long accused of indolence and corruption in its pursuit of the class war, make amply clear the profound influence exerted by the classical Council Movement in the German Revolution upon the radical working class and student movement of that period. The embryo proletarian-revolutionary movement of today owes a great debt to the pioneering groups of those brave revolutionary days who helped to rekindle interest in a near-forgotten tradition, and it is to them that the credit must be given for reawakening awareness in the autonomous workers' movement and in the theory and practice of revolutionary Marxism amongst many thousands of young workers and students.

For the German reader at least, therefore, the following list offers a convenient guide to the most important documents of Council Communism and the radical left in the German Revolution and its aftermath. In Section III, first editions, long since out of print, are shown in italics, whilst reprints from the '60's and '70's, many of which are still in print or else fairly easily available "im Antiquariat", are printed in standard type.

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