

**WORKERS OF THE WORLD
UNITE!**

THE COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL



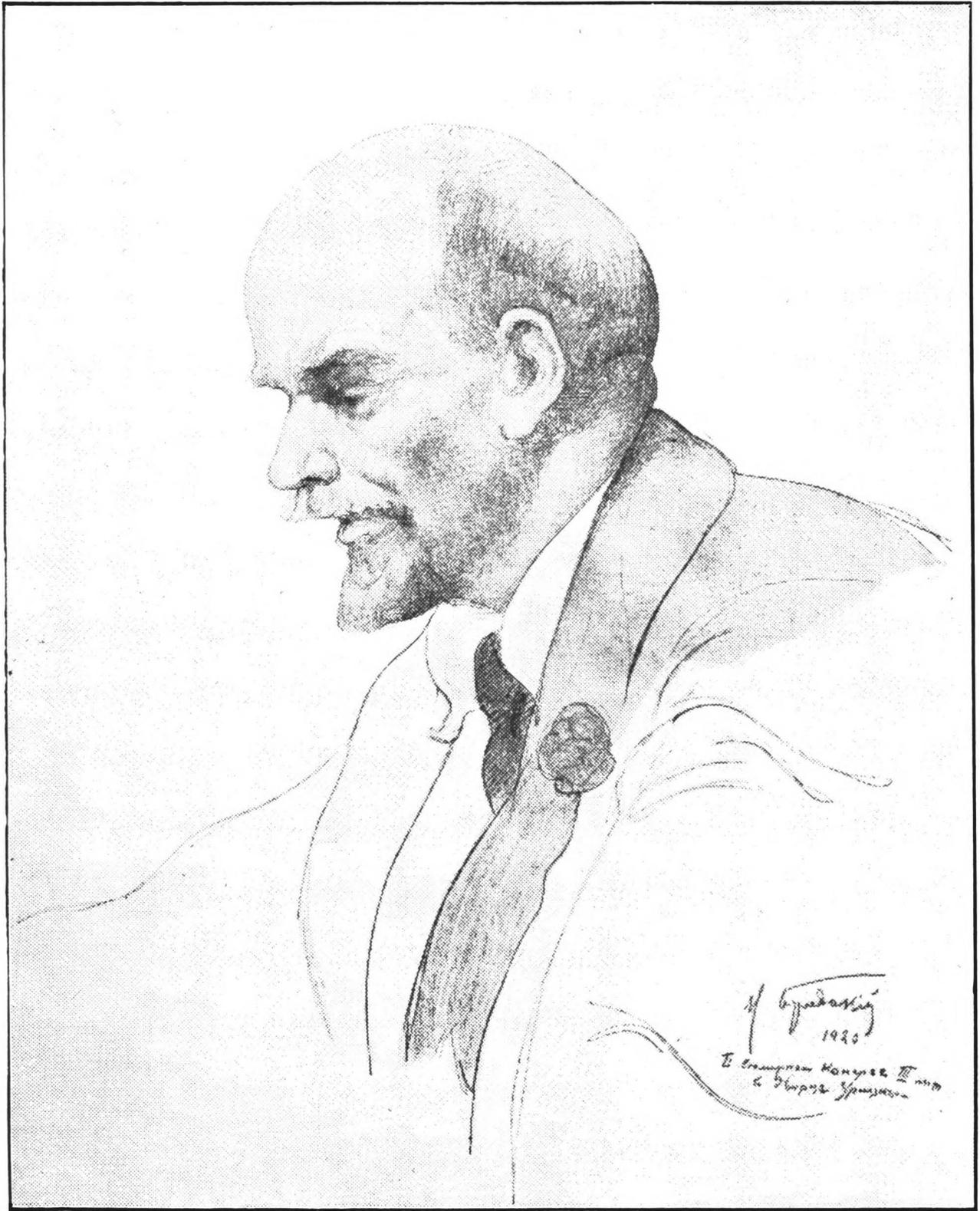
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N. LENIN.



DURING THE CONGRESS.

Group of delegates with comrades Lenin and Zinoviev.



Opening of the Second Congress of the Communist International at the Uritzky Palace, July 19th, 1920.



Opening of the Second Congress of the Communist International, in the Uritsky Palace, Petrograd, on July 19th, 1920.
Comrade Lenin makes a report on the international situation.

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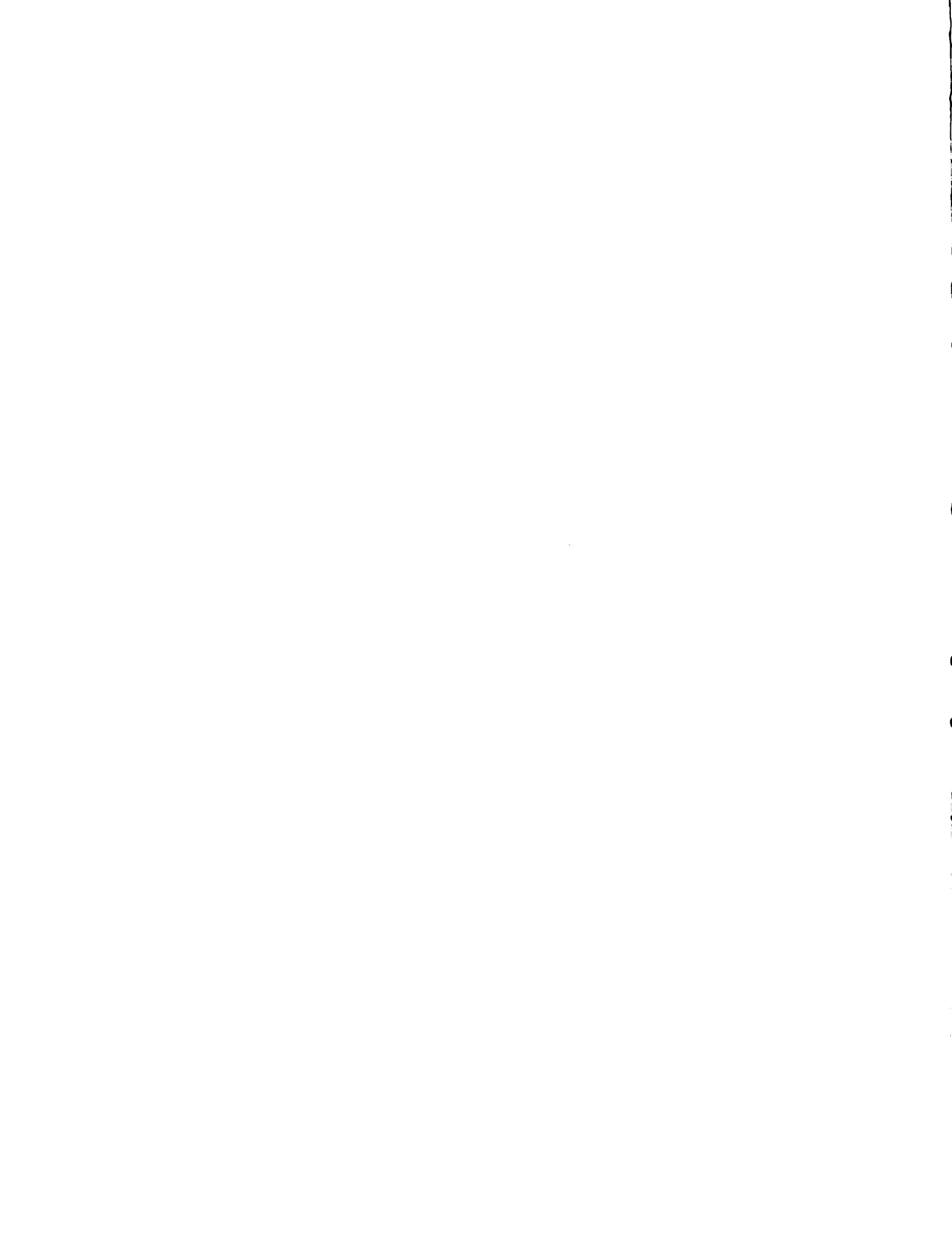
ORGAN OF THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE
OF THE COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL

Published Simultaneously in Russian, English, French and German

No. 13

Publishing Offices :—SMOLNY. PETROGRAD, ROOM 32-33.

Editorial Offices :—SMOLNY, PETROGRAD, G. ZINOVIEV'S STUDY.



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THE SECOND CONGRESS

of the Communist International, representing thirty-seven countries, met at Petrograd on July 19, 1920, and continued its sessions in Moscow from July 23 to August 7. Its purpose was to form a clear idea regarding the International situation—to cast a retrospective glance over the road already travelled; and to establish the milestones of further struggle.

The World Congress of the Communist International unanimously addresses this manifesto to the working men and women of the whole world with the profound conviction that its aims are just and its methods correct.

The Capitalist World and the Communist International

Manifesto of the Second Congress of the Third Communist International

International Relations after Versailles.

THE bourgeoisie of the whole world is looking back wistfully to the days just past. All the foundations of international and internal relations have been overthrown or shaken. Threatening clouds darken the future of the capitalist world. The old system of alliances and mutual insurance, which formed the foundations of international equilibrium and of armed peace, has been utterly destroyed by the Imperialist War. The Versailles Treaty has failed to establish any other adjustment in its stead.

Russia, Austria-Hungary, and Germany in succession have fallen out of the world race. Some of the powerful empires which have previously played a prominent part in the world's plunder have now themselves become the objects of plunder and dismemberment. A new and vast field for colonial exploitation, beginning on this side of the Rhine, embracing the whole of Central and Eastern Europe and stretching as far as the Pacific Ocean, opens itself before the victorious imperialists of the Entente. How can the Congo, Syria, Egypt, or Mexico be compared with the steppes, forests, and mountain lands of Russia taken together with the skilled labour power of Germany? A new colonial policy of the victors has worked itself out: the overthrow of the Labour Republic in Russia, the plunder of Russian raw material, the compulsory application of German labour power to work this raw material with the aid of German coal, using the German employers as armed overseers, and the assembling of the manufactured products and the profits that go with them. The victorious Allies have inherited the program of "organising Europe," which was advanced by German imperialism in the

heyday of its military successes. Thus, when the vanquished bandits of the German Empire are to be put on trial by the Entente rulers they will certainly be tried by a jury of their peers.

But there are defeated parties even in the camp of the conquerors.

Stupefied by the fumes of chauvinistic victory which it won for the benefit of others, the *French* bourgeoisie fancies that it has become the ruler of Europe. But in reality France has never been in more slavish dependence upon the more powerful governments of England and America than she is to-day. France is dictating Belgium's industrial and military policy, thus converting her weaker ally into a subject province, while she herself is nothing but a larger Belgium in relation to England. For the time being, the English imperialists allow the French usurers to have their way within the limits of the parts of the continent assigned to them, thus shrewdly diverting from themselves the keen indignation of European and English workers and turning it upon France. The power of moribund and devastated France is ephemeral and almost farcical. Sooner or later this fact will penetrate into the minds of even the French social-patriots.

Italy has fallen still lower in the scale of international relations. Deprived of coal and bread, deprived of raw material, having lost its internal equilibrium as a result of the war, the Italian bourgeoisie is incapable, though entirely willing, to realise in full measure the rights to plunder and violate even those colonial allotments assigned to it by England.

Japan, torn within her feudal shell by capitalist contradictions, stands on the verge of a great revolutionary crisis which is already paralysing her imperialist aspirations, in spite of the favourable international situation.

Thus only two great world powers remain *Great Britain* and the *United States*.

English imperialism has rid itself of the Asiatic rivalry of Tsarism and of the manace of German competition. The naval power of Britain has reached its apex. England has surrounded the continents with a chain of subjected nations. She has subjected to her control Finland, Esthonia, and Latvia, thus depriving Sweden and Norway of the last vestige of independence and converting the Baltic Sea into a British lake. She has no rival in the North Sea. Her supremacy in South Africa, Egypt, India, Persia, and Afghanistan has converted the Indian Ocean into a British lake. Her domination on the sea makes her mistress of the continents as well. Her power over the world ends only with the American dollar Republic and the Russian Soviet Republic.

The United States was absolutely thrown off the path of continental provincialism by the world war. The Monroe Doctrine—"America for the Americans"—which was the program of the newly fledged national capitalism, has given place to the imperialist program—"The World for the Americans." Having started with exploiting the war and profiting from the European bloodshed by commercial and industrial deals and exchange speculation, America went on to direct participation in the world war, playing a prominent part in the destruction of Germany, and now has its hand in all questions of European and world politics.

Under the banner of the *League of Nations*, the United States tried to extend to this side of the Ocean its policy of uniting various nationalities on a federative basis, to hitch on to its golden chariot the nationalities of Europe and other parts of the world, and to govern them all from Washington. The League of Nations was to be essentially nothing more than a world monopoly of "Yankee and Co."

The President of the United States, the great Prophet of Platitudes, has descended from Mount Sinai to conquer the world with his Fourteen Commandments. Stock-brokers, ministers and men of business entertained no illusions whatever regarding the meaning of this new revelation. The European "Socialists" on the other hand, raised on the Kautsky yeast, in a religious rapture danced like King David following in the wake of the Wilsonian ark.

But in coming down to practical questions, the American apostle learned that, in spite of

the excellent exchange rate of the dollar, England still occupies, as heretofore, the first place on all sea routes which connect and divide nations, for she has the stronger navy, the longer cables and the greater experience in world plunder. Another obstacle in Wilson's path was the Soviet Republic and Communism. Thus, the American Messiah, feeling insulted, deserted the League of Nations, which has become one of England's diplomatic offices, and turned his back upon Europe.

It would be childish, however, to suppose that American imperialism, its first advance thwarted by England, is going to lock itself up within the shell of the Monroe Doctrine. By no means. The United States is planning to create its own international system with its centre in North America. Both the Republican and Democratic parties stand by the policy of continuing to subject the entire American continent, to convert all the countries of Central and South America into colonial dependencies, and thus create a counter part to the English League of Nations. This end is to be achieved by means of a naval program which in 3-5 years will create a navy surpassing that of Great Britain. This being a matter of life and death for English imperialism, it results in a frenzied ship-building rivalry between the two giants, accompanied by a no less frenzied scramble for petroleum.

France, which had expected to play the part of arbiter between England and the United States, but which has herself, as one of the lesser planets, been drawn into the orbit of Great Britain, now finds herself unbearably burdened by the League of Nations, and is trying to rid herself of it by fanning antagonism between England and the United States.

Thus, the greatest Powers are preparing the ground for a new world conflict.

Instead of liberating the small nationalities, the war has brought ruin and enslavement upon the Balkan nations, both victors and vanquished, and has "balkanised" a considerable part of Europe. Actuated by their imperialist interests, the conquerors adopted the policy of dividing the defeated great powers into small separate national states. This policy bears not even a trace of the so-called national principle: imperialism is essentially opposed to national boundaries, even though they be those of great powers. The new petty bourgeois states are nothing more than the by-products of imperialism, which has created, as temporary

props for itself, a whole series of small nations, such as Austria, Hungary, Poland, Yugo-Slavia, Bohemia, Finland, Esthonia, Latvia, Lithuania, Armenia, Georgia, and others, some of which are being openly oppressed, while others are officially patronised, but are all treated as vassals. By means of its banks, railways, and coal monopolies, imperialism dominates these nations, dooming them to intolerable economic and national hardships, to endless conflicts and sanguinary strife.

What an overwhelming irony of fate, that the reconstruction of Poland, which formed a part of the program of the revolutionary democracy during the first revolutionary outbursts of the international proletariat should now be brought about by imperialism for counter-revolutionary ends, and that the "democracy" of Poland, whose predecessors died on the barricades of Europe, should be used as a fell and bloody weapon in the murderous hands of the Anglo-French bandits against the first proletarian republic in the world!

"Democratic" Czecho-Slovakia has likewise sold itself to French capital, and has furnished White Guard contingents against Soviet Russia and Hungary.

The heroic attempt of the Hungarian proletariat to free itself from the national and economic chaos prevailing in Central Europe, and emerge upon the road of a Soviet Federation, which is the only means to salvation, was stifled by the combined forces of capitalist reaction at a time when the proletariat of the more advanced countries of Europe, misled by its parties, proved itself incapable of doing its duty both towards Socialist Hungary and its own self.

The Soviet Government of Budapest was overthrown with the assistance of the social-traitors, who, after having held the power for three and a half days, were themselves overthrown by the unbridled counter-revolutionary canaille, surpassing in its bloody deeds the crimes of Koltchak, Denikin, Wrangel, and other Allied agents. . . . But, even though temporarily crushed, Soviet Hungary is like a beacon light to the toilers of Central Europe.

The Turks are unwilling to submit to the base peace terms dictated by the London tyrants. In order to get these terms fulfilled England has armed Greece and set her against Turkey. Thus both the Turks and the Greeks are given over to mutual destruction, and the Balkan peninsula

and Western Asia Minor are doomed to devastation.

Armenia's part in the Allies' fight against Turkey is analogous to that which Belgium played in the war with Germany and Serbia in the war with Austria-Hungary. When the Armenian state was formed—without boundary lines and no means of existence—Wilson declined the Armenian mandate offered him by the "League of Nations," for Armenian soil contained neither petroleum nor platinum. "Liberated" Armenia is now less secure than ever before.

Almost all the newly formed "national" states have their own irritants, their internal national ulcers.

At the same time the national strife within the bounds of the victorious countries has reached its climax. The English bourgeoisie, which pretends to be the guardian of the nations of the world, is incapable of solving the Irish question at home.

Still more threatening is the national question in the colonies. Egypt, India, Persia, are shaken by internal upheavals. The toilers of the colonies are adopting the slogan of "Soviet Federation" from the advanced workers of Europe and America.

Official, nationalist, civilised bourgeois Europe—as it has emerged from the war and the Versailles peace—is like a lunatic asylum. The petty states artificially dismembered, economically stifled within their boundaries, wrangle and fight with one another over sea-ports, provinces and small towns. They seek the protection of the bigger states, whose mutual antagonism is increasing from day to day. Italy stands in a hostile position against France and is ready to side with Germany against her as soon as the latter is capable of raising her head. France is poisoned with envy towards England, and would not hesitate to set the whole of Europe on fire if it would only enable her to get back her interests. Assisted by France, England maintains a state of chaotic impotence in Europe, in order that no one shall be able to interfere with her imperialistic plans against America. The United States allows Japan to involve herself in Eastern Siberia, that it may meanwhile get its navy into a condition to win the upper hand of Great Britain—provided England does not in her turn attempt to have a trial of strength with America before 1925.

It is in keeping with this state of international

relations that the oracle of the French bourgeoisie, Marshal Foch, predicts that the coming war is going to begin where the preceding war left off; aeroplanes, tanks, machine guns, instead of rifles, grenades instead of bayonets.

Workers and peasants of Europe, America, Asia, Africa, Australia! This is what you have achieved at the cost of ten millions of lives, twenty millions of wounded and maimed!

II.—The Economic Situation.

In the meantime, the ruin of mankind is going on.

The war has mechanically destroyed the universal economic ties, the development of which was one of the most important achievements of capitalism. Since 1914 England, France, and Italy have been separated from Central Europe and the Near East, and, since 1917, from Russia.

During the first few years of the war which has destroyed all that has been created by many generations, human labour, which had been reduced to a minimum, was applied principally in those spheres where it was required to transform the reserves of raw material into goods, chiefly into arms and weapons of destruction.

In the basic branches of economy, where man must enter into a direct struggle against the niggardliness and inertness of nature—namely, fuel and raw materials which have to be excavated from the bowels of the earth—production gradually diminished. The victory of the Entente and the Versailles Treaty have not stemmed the process of economic disorganisation and decay, but have only changed its ways and forms. The blockade of Soviet Russia, and the artificial kindling of civil war on her fertile borders, have dealt and are dealing incalculable damage to the welfare of humanity at large. If Russia had the least technical support, that country could, under the conditions established by the Soviet form of production, provide two and three times the quantity of provisions and raw material to Europe that was provided by Tsarist Russia. Instead of this, Anglo-French imperialism is compelling the Labour Republic to direct all its forces towards defence. In order to deprive the Russian workers of fuel, England held in her grasp that source of fuel, Baku, from which only an insignificant part could be exported. The richest coal basin of the Donetz has been periodically devastated by

the White bands of the Entente. French instructors and sappers have worked hard over the destruction of Russian bridges and railroads. Up to the present moment, Japan is robbing and ruining Eastern Siberia.

German technique and the high productivity of German labour—these most important factors for the revival of the system of production—are now, after the Versailles peace, being paralysed much more than during the war. The Entente is faced with insoluble contradictions. In order to extract payment, a country must be allowed to work. In order to work, it is indispensable that life be made possible. To let devastated, dismembered, exhausted Germany live, means to give her the opportunity to become capable of resistance. The policy of Foch—keeping Germany in an ever-tightening military vice which is to prevent Germany's revival—is being dictated by fear of Germany's revenge.

There is a general shortage and a general need. The trade balance, not only of Germany, but also of France and England, is in a decidedly bad condition. The French national debt has reached the sum of 300 billion francs. It must be mentioned that the reactionary French Senator, Gaudin de Villaine, asserts that two thirds of this sum are due to embezzlement, theft, and general chaos.

The work of re-establishing the French districts ruined by the war is a mere drop in this sea of devastation. The shortage of fuel and raw material, as well as of labour power, is the cause of insurmountable obstacles.

France wants gold, France wants coal. The French bourgeois, pointing to the innumerable graves in the war cemeteries, demands his dividends. Germany must pay! General Foch has sufficient negroes for the occupation of German cities. Russia must pay! In order to inoculate the Russian people with this idea, the French Government spends billions upon the devastation of Russia; money which was originally collected and intended for the reconstruction of France.

The international financial understanding which was to ease the tax burden of France by a more or less complete annulling of war debts has not taken place; the United States gave no evidence whatever of a desire to make Europe a present of 10 billion pounds sterling.

The issue of paper currency is continuing to an ever growing extent. While in Soviet Russia the extensive introduction of paper currency

and its devaluation is simultaneous with the development of a systematic communal distribution of products and an extensive introduction of payment in kind—only the result of the gradual death of the commodity-money system of production—in capitalist countries, on the other hand, the spread of paper currency signifies the growth of economic chaos and inevitable collapse.

The Entente Conferences travel from place to place, seeking inspiration at all the European resorts. Dividends are demanded in accordance with the number of men killed in the war. This travelling stock-exchange of dead men—an exchange which fortnightly decides the question of whether France should receive 50 per cent. or 55 per cent. of the indemnity which Germany is unable to pay—is a splendid example of the much-advertised “organisation” of Europe.

In the process of the war, capitalism has fundamentally changed. The systematic extraction of surplus values in the process of production, which is the basis of economic profits, seems too elementary to the bourgeoisie, who have become accustomed to increase their capital twofold and tenfold within a few days by means of speculation on the basis of international robbery.

The bourgeoisie has lost certain scruples which had stood in its way, and has acquired certain habits which it did not possess formerly.

The war has accustomed it to the application of the hunger blockade to whole countries, to air-raids, to the burning of cities and villages, to the deliberate inoculation of cholera bacilli, to the transportation of dynamite in diplomatic valises, to counterfeiting the paper currency and credit notes of the enemy, to bribery, espionage, and contraband, to an extent unheard of before. The methods of war have become, upon the conclusion of peace, methods of commerce. The principal trading operations are now merged in the activity of the State, which acts like a band of robbers armed with every means of violence. The narrower grows the universal base of production, the more furious, cruel, and extravagant the methods of appropriation.

To rob and to loot! This is the last word of the policy of capitalism, which has taken the place of free trade and protection. The raid of the Rumanian bandits upon Hungary, from which country they exported locomotives and

gold rings, is a good symbol of the economic philosophy of Lloyd George and of Millerand.

The internal economic policy of the bourgeoisie is remarkable for its vacillation between the program of further nationalisation, regulation, and control on the one hand, and the protest against the State intervention, which has developed during the war, on the other hand. The French Parliament is occupied with the business of squaring the circle: viz, the formation of a “united command” on the railway network of the Republic without damage to the interests of the private capitalist railway companies. At the same time, the capitalist Press is conducting a vicious campaign against “Statism,” against State intervention, which tends to limit private initiative.

The condition of the American railways, which were disorganised by the State during the war, became still worse with the abolition of State control. At the same time, the Republican Party in its platform promises to safeguard economic life from arbitrary State intervention. That old watch-dog of capitalism, Samuel Gompers, the head of the American Trade Unions, is conducting a campaign against the nationalisation of railways, which is being advocated as a panacea by the fools and charlatans of reformism. As a matter of fact, the forceful intrusion of the State vies with speculation in increasing the chaos in the system of capitalist production during this period of capitalist decay. To transfer the principal branches of production and transport from the hands of individual trusts into the hands of the “nation,” i.e., into the hands of the bourgeois State, the most powerful and greedy capitalist trust, signifies, not the abolition of the evil, but merely its general extension.

The fall in prices and the rise in the rate of exchange is but a superficial and temporary state of affairs caused by the continuous disorganisation. The fluctuation of prices does not affect the principal facts, namely, the shortage of raw material and the fall of productivity.

Having passed through a period of extreme tension due to the war, the working masses are incapable of working at the former rate and under pre-war conditions. The destruction within a few hours of values which it had taken years to create, the rabid, stupendous gambling of the financial clique, ever rising on the bones and ruins heaped up by the war—these object-

lessons of history are hardly helpful in maintaining an automatic discipline in the wage-slavery of the working classes.

Bourgeois economic writers and publicists speak of a "wave of laziness" which is sweeping over Europe, undermining its economic future. The employers are endeavouring to mend matters by granting privileges to the upper strata of the working classes. But in vain! In order to revive and to increase the productivity of labour, it is indispensable that the worker be fully guaranteed that every blow of the hammer will tend to increase his own welfare and enlightenment, without subjecting him to the danger of new mutual extermination. Only a Social Revolution is able to inspire him with this confidence.

The increase in the cost of living is a powerful factor of revolutionary agitation in all countries. The bourgeoisie of France, Italy, Germany, and other States is endeavouring to ameliorate by charity the destitution caused by high prices and to thwart the growth of the strike movement. To recompense the agricultural class for a part of its expenditure of labour power, the State, steeped in debt, indulges in dishonest speculation and the embezzlement of its own funds, making every effort to delay the hour of settlement. Even if there is a certain category of workers whose standard of life is somewhat higher than it was prior to the war, this fact has no real relation to the actual economic situation in the capitalist countries. True enough, some ephemeral results are often obtained to-day by cheating the morrow, but there is little doubt that this will lead to catastrophic destitution and poverty.

And the United States? "America is the hope of humanity,"—this phrase of Turgot is being repeated in the person of Millerand by the French bourgeoisie, in the hope that its debts will be annulled—although the bourgeoisie never yet annulled a debt. But the United States is not capable of leading Europe out of this economic blind alley. During the last six years America has exhausted its reserves of raw material. The adaptation of its capital to the requirements of the world war has resulted in a narrowing of its industrial foundations. European immigration has stopped. The counter-current of emigration has deprived American industry of hundreds of thousands of Germans, Italians, Poles, Serbians, Bohemians, who were withdrawn by war mobilisations or were

attracted by the vision of a newly acquired fatherland. The shortage of raw material and of labour-power hangs over the transatlantic Republic; owing to this, the American proletariat is now entering upon a new revolutionary phase of struggle. America is rapidly becoming Europeanised.

Nor have the neutral countries escaped the consequences of war and blockade. Like liquid in connected retorts, the economic system of production of interconnected states, whether large or small, combatant or neutral, victorious or defeated, established a uniform level—that of poverty, starvation, and degeneration.

Switzerland lives from hand to mouth, and every unforeseen event menaces the preservation of its equilibrium. In Scandinavia, the abundant flow of gold does not solve the food problem. Coal has to be begged for in parcels, hat in hand, from England. In spite of starvation in Europe, the fishing industry is passing through an unprecedented crisis in Norway.

Spain remains in an extremely critical position as regards the food question, having been drained of men and provisions and horses by France. This state of things leads to stormy manifestations and strikes of the starving masses.

The bourgeoisie firmly relies on the agricultural districts. The bourgeois economists assert that the welfare of the peasantry has been extremely improved. But this is an illusion. It is true that the trading peasantry of all countries had to some extent enriched themselves during the war. They have sold products at high prices, while their debts, which were contracted at the period when money was dear, must now be paid with cheap currency. That is its advantage. But it should be mentioned that the whole of agrarian economy has been dilapidated and disorganised during the war. The agrarian population is in need of manufactured goods, while prices for these have increased in the same proportion as money has reduced in value. State taxes have become extremely great, and threaten to devour the peasant with all his land and products. Thus, after the period of the temporary improvement of the position of the small peasantry, their condition becomes more and more difficult. Their dissatisfaction with the results of the war will continually increase, and, as a permanent army, the small peasantry has many unpleasant surprises for the bourgeoisie.

The economic restoration of Europe, promised

by her ministers, is a lie. Europe is being ruined, and the whole world is being ruined with her.

There is no salvation in the capitalist system. The policy of imperialism does not lead to the abolition of destitution, but to its intensification owing to the plundering of reserves.

Raw material and fuel are international questions. They can be solved only on the basis of systematic, socialised production.

The state debts must necessarily be annulled. Labour and its products must be freed from inordinate tribute to the world plutocracy. This plutocracy must be overthrown. All state barriers which tend to subdivide the entire system of production must be removed. The Supreme Economic Council of the imperialists of the Entente must be replaced by the Supreme Economic Council of the world proletariat, to effect a centralised exploitation of all the economic resources of mankind.

It is essential to destroy imperialism, in order to give mankind an opportunity to live.

III.—The Bourgeois Regime after the War.

The entire power of the privileged classes has been concentrated upon two questions: how to maintain their place in the international struggle, and how to prevent the proletariat from becoming the master of the country. This concentration resulted in the former political groupings of the bourgeoisie losing their power. Not only in Russia, where the banner of the Constitutional Democratic Party, at the decisive moment of the struggle, became the banner of all propertied classes against the Worker-Peasant Revolution, but even in countries with an older and deeper-rooted political culture, the former programs which divided the different strata of the bourgeoisie had lost their distinctions altogether before the Proletarian Revolution broke out.

Lloyd George is the spokesman for the amalgamation of the Conservatives, the Unionists, and the Liberals for a mutual struggle against the approaching domination of the working class. This old demagogue strives to establish the Church as a central electric station which is to feed all the parties of the propertied classes.

In France, the recent and notorious epoch of anti-clericalism has now become a mere phantom; the radicals, royalists, and catholics

have formed a block of a nationalist character against the proletariat which is lifting its head. The French Government, being ready to assist every reactionary force, supports the reactionary black hundred Wrangel and re-establishes diplomatic relations with the Vatican.

Giolitti, neutralist and pro-German, has taken the helm of the Italian Government as the general leader of the interventionists, the neutralists, the clericalists, the Mazzinists, ready to manœuvre with regard to the different questions of foreign and home policy, in order to offer a firm resistance to the attack of the revolutionary proletarians of town and country. The Government of Giolitti justly considers itself the last hope of the Italian bourgeoisie.

The policy of every German Government, and of all the government parties since the overthrow of the Hohenzollerns, has been an attempt to establish, in conjunction with the Entente ruling classes, a general basis of hatred of Bolshevism, i.e., united force against the Proletarian Revolution.

While the Anglo-French Shylock is making endeavours to garrotte the German nation, the German bourgeoisie, without distinction of parties, entreats its enemy to loosen the noose just enough to enable it to strangle the vanguard of the German proletariat with its own hands. This is what the periodical conferences and agreements with regard to disarmament and the transfer of war material amount to.

In the United States, the line of division between the Republicans and the Democrats has been wiped out. These powerful political organisations of the exploiters, adapted to the narrow circle of purely American interrelations, showed their complete lack of policy the instant the American bourgeoisie appeared upon the arena of world plunder. At no other time have the intrigues of individual leaders and cliques, both in the opposition and in the Cabinet, been marked by such open cynicism as now. But, at the same time, all leaders, all cliques, and the bourgeois parties of all countries, form a general front against the revolutionary proletariat.

At the time when the Social-Democratic dullards persist in opposing dictatorship by democracy, the last vestiges of this democracy are being trodden upon and demolished in every part of the world.

Since the war, during which national representation played the part of a powerless though

ostentatious patriotic screen for the ruling imperialist cliques, the parliaments fell into a state of complete prostration. All questions of importance are now decided without parliament. Little is changed in this respect by the apparent widening of the parliamentary prerogatives, as solemnly proclaimed by the imperialist jugglers in Italy and other countries. The actual masters of the fates of nations are Lord Rothschild and Lord Weir, Morgan and Rockefeller, Schneider, and Lusher, Hugo Stiennes and Felix Deutch, Rizello and Agnelli, the gold, coal, petroleum, and metal kings. These are the men who pull the strings and who send their men to parliament to direct their work.

Amusing itself with the procedure of reading thrice insignificant law-projects, the French parliament—most discredited for its rhetoric of lies and the cynicism of its prostitution—unexpectedly learns that the four billions which it appropriated for the restoration of the devastated provinces in France have been used by Clemenceau for entirely different purposes—in particular for the further devastation of Russian provinces.

The majority of members of the supposedly all-powerful British Parliament are no more aware of the actual intentions of Lloyd George and Curzon, with regard to Soviet Russia, or even with regard to France, than are old Hindu women in the Bengali villages.

In the United States, Congress is a docile or grumbling chorus for the President, who is himself the figurehead of the electoral machine, which is in its turn the political apparatus of the trusts. This, by the way, is more generally true now, after the war than previously.

Belated German parliamentarism, an abortion of the bourgeois revolution, in itself an abortion of history, suffers in its infancy from every illness peculiar to senile decay. The most "democratic" Reichstag of the Republic of Ebert is powerless, not only before the baton of Marshal Foch, but even before the Stock Exchange machinations of their own Stinneses as well as before the military conspiracies of their war cliques. German parliamentary democracy is a gulf between two dictatorships.

The composition of the bourgeoisie itself underwent a great change during the war. In the general atmosphere of the impoverishment of the entire world, the concentration of capital suddenly made a great step forward. Firms which were formerly in the background now

became prominent. Solidity, stability, a tendency to "reasonable" compromise, the maintenance of a certain decorum, both in exploitation and in the utilisation of this exploitation—all this was washed away by the waves of the imperialist flood.

New magnates have come upon the stage: war contractors, disreputable speculators, parvenus, international adventurers, smugglers, bejewelled criminals, the unbridled canaille, hunting for luxury and ready to commit all kinds of atrocities against the Proletarian Revolution, from which they can expect nothing but the gallows.

The existing order, the rule of the rich, stands now fully exposed before the masses. The post-war period in America, France, and England has been marked by an indulgence in luxury which has assumed the nature of a mania. Paris, filled with international patriotic parasites, as admitted by the *Temps*, resembles Babylon on the eve of its destruction.

This new bourgeoisie puts its stamp upon politics, courts, the Press, art, and the Church. All restraint has been thrown to the winds. Wilson, Clemenceau, Millerand, Lloyd George, and Churchill do not shrink from the most brazen deceit, the most transparent falsehood; and when exposed they calmly go on to new criminal deeds. In comparison with the policies of the modern bourgeois statesmen, the classic rules of political cunning expounded by old Machiavelli become mere aphorisms of a provincial simpleton. The law courts, which formerly concealed their bourgeois essence under democratic finery, have now openly become the agency of class brutality and counter revolutionary provocation. The judges of the Third Republic have passed a verdict of "not guilty" upon the murderer of Jaurès without a quaver. The law courts of Germany, which has been proclaimed a Socialist Republic, are encouraging the assassins of Liebknecht, Rosa Luxemburg, and other proletarian martyrs. The courts of justice of the bourgeois Democracies solemnly legalises all the crimes of the White Terror.

The bourgeois Press bears the stamp of the golden calf like a trade mark. The leading newspapers of the international bourgeoisie represent a monstrous fabrication of lies, slander and moral adultery.

The state of mind of the bourgeoisie is just as feverish and unsettled as are the prices on its market. During the first few months following

the termination of the war, the international bourgeoisie, especially the French, trembled with fear before the approach of Communism, measuring the degree of its immediate peril by the enormity of the bloody crimes committed by it. It has, however, sustained the first onslaught. The Socialist Parties and Trade Unions of the Second International, bound by ties of common responsibility to the bourgeoisie, shielded the bourgeoisie and made themselves the object of the first wrathful onslaught of the toilers. The bourgeoisie bought a temporary respite at the price of the utter collapse of the Second International. The counter-revolutionary elections to the French Parliament, pushed through by Clemenceau, a few months of unstable equilibrium, the failure of the May strike—all this was sufficient to make the bourgeoisie feel confident of the security of its regime. Its class arrogance is as great to-day as was its fear yesterday.

The only method of persuasion used by the bourgeoisie to-day is that of intimidation. It believes no more in words, it demands action; arrests, confiscations, raids, executions. Wishing to play up to the bourgeoisie, the bourgeois ministers and parliamentarians pose as men of steel. Lloyd George drily recommends to the German ministers to shoot down their Communists, as France did in 1871. It is sufficient for any third-rate official to accompany his inane report by defiant threats against the working class, to receive the loud approval of parliament.

The official government apparatus has become transformed into a bloody weapon for crushing the labour movement. Alongside of it and under its auspices, various private counter-revolutionary organisations have been formed and have started to work. They resort to violence in order to break strikes, to provocations, to trumped-up charges. They raid revolutionary organisations and wreck Communist institutions, organise massacres and resort to incendiarism, murder the revolutionary leaders, and perform other similar deeds, for the purpose of safeguarding private property and democracy.

Scions of the landlords and of the big bourgeoisie, petty bourgeois who have lost their bearings, and the declassed elements—among which the emigrants of the Russian nobility occupy the most prominent place—form an inexhaustible reservoir for the formation of these counter-revolutionary bands. The command of these bands is in the hands of officers who have

gone through the school of the imperialist slaughter.

Following the rebellion of Kapp-Lüttwitz, several thousand professional officers of the Hohenzollern army formed themselves into a strong counter-revolutionary detachment, which cannot be overcome by the German democracy, and which could be crushed only by the sledgehammer of the proletarian dictatorship. This centralised organisation of the old-regime terrorists obtains its reserves from the White partisan bands formed on the Junker estates.

In the United States, the "National Security League," the "Knights of Liberty," and similar organisations constitute the picked armies of capital, at the extreme wings of which operate ordinary bands of brigands in the person of private detective agencies.

In France the "Ligue civique" represents a fashionable organisation of strikebreakers, while the reformist "Confédération du Travail" has been outlawed.

The officers' Mafia of White Hungary, and the counter-revolutionary executioners, patronised by England, have shown to the proletariat of the world a sample of the civilisation and humaneness advocated by Wilson and Lloyd George in opposition to the Soviet Government and revolutionary violence.

The "democratic" governments of Finland and Georgia, Latvia and Esthonia, are trying by all means to live up to this Hungarian example.

In Barcelona there is a band of assassins working under the control of the police. And so it is everywhere.

Even in defeated and devastated Bulgaria, the officers without employment are uniting into secret societies, ready at the first opportunity to demonstrate their patriotism upon the heads of the Bulgarian working men.

The program of the smoothing-over of contrasts, of the co-operation of classes, of parliamentary reforms, of gradual socialisation, of national unity, represents a grim jest in face of the bourgeois regime as it has emerged from the world war.

The bourgeoisie has entirely abandoned the idea of reconciling the proletariat by means of reforms. It contents itself with demoralising the few labour aristocrats by means of bribery, and holding the great masses in subjection by blood and iron.

There is not a single serious problem to-day which is decided by voting. Democracy has left

nothing but a memory of itself in the minds of the reformists. The entire State organisation has been reduced to its primitive form, i.e., armed force. Instead of counting votes, the bourgeoisie counts bayonets, machine-guns, and cannon, which will be at its disposal when the question of power and property will be finally decided.

There can be no room either for co-operation or for mediation. The only salvation is in the overthrow of the bourgeoisie. This can be achieved only by the rising of the proletariat.

IV.—Soviet Russia.

Amidst the unbridled passions of chauvinism, avarice, and destruction, the principle of Communism alone has manifested a high degree of vitality and constructive force. In the course of historical development, a Soviet Government has for the first time been established in the most backward and exhausted country of Europe, surrounded by a host of mighty foes. But, in spite of this, it has not only maintained itself in the struggle against such great odds, but has also demonstrated in reality the great possibilities inherent in Communism. The development and consolidation of the Soviet power in Russia is the most momentous historical event of the period succeeding the foundation of the Communist International.

In the eyes of class society, the creation of an army has usually been regarded as the supreme test of industrial and State construction. The weakness or the strength of the army have been regarded as evidence of the weakness or strength of industry and the State.

In the midst of strife, the Soviet power has created a mighty armed force. The Red Army has demonstrated its superiority, not alone in the struggle with old bourgeois monarchist Russia, which was endeavouring to re-establish imperialism by the aid of the White armies of Koltchak, Denikin, Yudenich, Wrangel; etc., but also in the struggle with the national armies of the "democracies" which world imperialism is planting for its own interests (Finland, Esthonia, Latvia, Poland).

That the Soviet Government has succeeded in maintaining itself during the first three trying years is a miraculous achievement in the economic field. The reason it has withstood all pressure, and continues to develop, is that it has torn the means of production out of the hands of

the bourgeoisie, and has transformed them into instruments for the organisation of industry. Amid the noise of battle, along the endless battle-fronts, Soviet Russia has not failed to take advantage of every opportunity of industrial and cultural construction. In the interval between the crushing defeat of Denikin and the murderous attack of Poland, the Soviet Government proceeded to the extensive organisation of labour conscription. It inaugurated a precise registration of economic forces and resources, with a view to their proper application; it attracted military detachments to the accomplishment of industrial tasks; and, above all, it re-established its transport system.

The monopoly by the Socialist State of the necessities of life, and an indefatigable struggle against speculation, have saved the Russian cities from starvation, and have made it possible to supply food to the Red Army. The centralisation of scattered mills, factories, private railroads, and ships, has assured the possibility of production and transport.

The concentration of industry and of the means of transportation in the hands of the government leads to the standardising of the industrial arts, and makes them the common property of society. Only under a Socialist regime is it possible to fix the minimum number of types of locomotives, cars, and steamers to be built and repaired, and to carry on standard manufacture *en masse* of parts of machinery designed by periodic regulations—thus securing enormous advantages in the matter of productivity. Besides the imperialist assaults from abroad, nothing stands in the way of Soviet Russia's further economic achievements, and nothing is going to prevent her scientific organisation of industry and the introduction of the Taylor system—divested, of course, of its capitalistic features of exploitation and sweating.

While in the rest of the world national interests, clashing with imperialistic encroachments, serve as the source of incessant conflicts, risings and wars, Socialist Russia has shown how easily a Workmen's Government can reconcile national requirements with industrial interests by cleansing the former of chauvinism and the latter of imperialism. Socialism strives to bring about a union of all regions, districts, and nationalities by means of a unified social economy. For economic centralism, freed from the exploitation of one class by another and of one nation by another, and hence beneficial to

all alike, can be brought about without any infringement of the real freedom of national development.

All the oppressed nations and tribes—the peoples of the British dominions, the Egyptians and the Turks, the Hindus and the Persians, the Irish and the Bulgarians, the nations of Central Europe and of the Balkan States—have all convinced themselves by the example of Soviet Russia that the establishment of a Federation of Soviet Republics will make it possible for all the national units of humanity to live together in friendly co-operation.

As a result of the Revolution, Russia has become the first proletarian Power. During the three years of her existence, her boundaries have undergone continual changes; they have shrunk under the external military pressure of international imperialism, and extended again when that pressure relaxed. The struggle for Soviet Russia has become blended with the struggle against world capitalism.

The attitude towards Soviet Russia forms the touchstone by which all Labour organisations are tested. When the German Social Democracy got in control of the government, it sought the protection of Western imperialism instead of throwing in its lot with the revolution in the East; thus adding another most dastardly, treacherous act to those committed by it since August 4, 1914. A Soviet Germany united with Soviet Russia would have represented a combined force exceeding from the very start all the capitalist States taken together.

The cause of Soviet Russia has become the cause of the Communist International. The international proletariat will not sheathe the sword until a Federation of Soviet Republics of the world, linked together with Soviet Russia, will be an accomplished fact.

V.—The Proletarian Revolution and the Communist International.

All over the world civil war is the order of the day. Its watchword is “All power to the Soviets!”

The great masses of humanity have been converted into proletarians by capitalism. Imperialism has thrown these masses out of balance, and started them on the revolutionary road. The very meaning of the term “masses” has undergone a change during these last years. Those elements which were regarded as masses

in the epoch of parliamentarism and Trade Unionism have now become the aristocracy. Millions and tens of millions of those who formerly lived outside political life have now become the revolutionary masses. The war aroused everybody, awakened the political interest of the backward strata, and aroused in them illusions and hopes which were not fulfilled. The social foundations of the old forms of the labour movement, the craft division of labour, the comparative stability of the standard of living of the upper proletarian strata, and the dull apathetic hopelessness among the lower ranks—all this has irretrievably passed away. New millions have joined the struggle. The women who have lost their husbands and fathers, and have been compelled to take their places in the ranks of labour, are streaming into the movement. The working youth, which has grown up under the storm and stress of the World War, meets the Revolution as its native element.

In various countries the struggle is passing through different stages. But it is the final conflict. Not infrequently the waves of the movement rush into obsolete channels of organisation, lending them temporary vitality. On the surface of the stream there are still found, drifting here and there, old-time slogans and obliterated mottos. There is still much confusion of mind. Vacillation, prejudices, and illusions, still prevail. But the movement as a whole is of a profoundly revolutionary character. It is all-embracing and irresistible. It spreads, strengthening and purifying itself, and eliminating all the old rubbish. It will not halt before it brings about the rule of the world proletariat.

The fundamental form of this movement is the strike. Its prime and potent cause lies in the increase of prices of the necessities of life. Not infrequently it arises out of single local conflicts. It also comes as an expression of the masses' impatience with parliamentary Socialist squabbles. It originates in the feeling of solidarity with the oppressed of its own and other countries. Its slogans are both economic and political. It frequently combines fragments of reformism with revolutionary Socialist mottoes. At times this movement calms down, ceases, then breaks out again, shaking the foundations of production and keeping the government apparatus under constant strain, causing the bourgeoisie great anxiety by sending its greetings to Soviet Russia. This anxiety of the exploiters is well founded, for the spontaneous

strike movement is in reality the Social Revolution; it is the roll call and the marshalling of the international proletariat.

The close interdependence of all countries, which has been so catastrophically demonstrated during the war, lends particular significance to the branches of industry serving the needs of communication between different countries, and puts the railwaymen and transport workers in general, in a most prominent position. The transport workers have had occasion to display some of their power in the boycott of White Hungary and White Poland. The strike and the boycott which the workers resorted to at the dawn of the Trade Union movement—that is, before it launched out on parliamentary activity—now assume a new unwonted nature and a new menacing significance, similar to an artillery preparation preceding the final attack.

The ever-increasing helplessness of the single individual before the blindly acting forces of history have driven into the labour Unions not only new elements of working men and women, but also salaried employees, officials, and middle class intellectuals. The course of the Proletarian Revolution will of necessity bring forth the Soviets, which will immediately assume supremacy over the old labour organisations. But, in anticipation of that time, the toilers fill the ranks of the labour unions, tolerating for the time being their old forms, their official programs, and their dominating aristocracy, but introducing into the organisation an ever increasing revolutionary force of millions of members who have heretofore stood outside.

The lowliest of the lowly—the agricultural proletariat—is raising its head. In Italy, Germany, and other countries, we witness a magnificent development of the revolutionary movement among the agricultural labourers, fraternally uniting with the city proletariat.

The poorest elements of the peasants are changing their attitude towards Socialism. The parliamentary reformists have tried in vain to play upon the property interests of the peasants. But the bona fide revolutionary movement of the proletariat, and its implacable struggle against the oppressors, give birth to feelings of hope in the hearts of the most backward, most lowly, and exploited farmers. The ocean of human privation and squalor is bottomless. . . Every social wave rising to the surface leaves beneath it another wave just about to rise. But the vanguard must take the field without waiting

for the rear to come up. Only after the working class has got into power will it accomplish the work of awakening, uplifting, and enlightening its most backward brethren.

The toilers of the colonial and semi-colonial countries have arisen. The gigantic tentacles of the octopus of English imperialism hold in their embrace the vast areas of India, Egypt, Persia; but this tremendous human ocean is agitated by incessant internal disturbances, causing London to experience frequent flutterings of shares as well as of hearts.

The national sentiment frequently blends with the social sentiment in the movement of the colonial countries. Both these elements, however, are directed against imperialism. Under the pressure of modern imperialism and the leadership of the revolutionary proletariat, the colonial and subject countries in general make a rapid march from primitive and weak methods of struggle to more mature ones.

The fraternising of the Mohammedan and non-Mohammedan peoples, all alike suffering under English and foreign domination in general, is fraught with great possibilities. By purifying the movement internally, by doing away with the influence of the clergy and of chauvinist reaction; by simultaneously fighting the foreign exploiter and his native confederates—the feudal lord, the priest, and the usurer—this growing army of colonial rebels is becoming a great historic force and a mighty reserve for the world proletariat.

The pariahs have arisen: their aroused sentiments extend eagerly towards Soviet Russia, to the barricade battles in the streets of German cities, to the growing strike wave in Great Britain, to the Communist International.

The Socialist who aids, directly or indirectly, in maintaining the privileges of one nation at the expense of another, he who acquiesces in colonial slavery, he who draws a line of distinction between races and colours in the matter of human rights, he who helps the bourgeoisie of the metropolis to perpetuate its domination in the colonies, instead of promoting armed uprisings there, the British Socialist who fails to support by all possible means the risings in Ireland, Egypt, and India against the London plutocracy—such a “Socialist” should not only not get a mandate of confidence from the workers, but should be shot or at any rate branded with shame.

At the same time, the international revolu-

tionary proletariat, in its efforts to liberate itself, is being thwarted more by party and Trade Union leaders who have climbed upon its back during the recent period, and by their egotism, conservatism, imbecility, and treachery, than by the remnants of the barbed wire entanglements set up between countries during the war.

The leaders of the old Trade Unions counter-act in all manner of ways, the revolutionary struggle of the masses, and paralyse it. If they cannot do otherwise, they frequently foster a strike, in order to nullify its results by under-hand machinations.

The historic treachery to the cause of the international proletariat committed by the Social-Democracy is unprecedented in the annals of history. The most glaring example of this treachery has been manifested in Germany. The defeat of German imperialism was at the same time the destruction of capitalist economy in the country. There was no class that could pretend to State power other than the proletariat. The development of technical facilities, the high cultural level and numerical strength of the working class, sufficiently guaranteed the ultimate triumph of the Social Revolution. But the German Social Democracy blocked the way. By means of intricate combinations, of cunning and folly, it diverted the energy of the proletariat from its natural and essential task—the conquest of power.

For a number of decades Social Democracy had enjoyed the confidence of the labouring masses, and when the critical moment came it made use of all its accumulated authority in an effort to save bourgeois society, whose existence was at stake.

Compared to the monstrous treachery of the Socialist Parties, the failure of Liberalism and the collapse of bourgeois democracy are but mere episodes. Even the part played by the Church, the central power-house of conservatism as Lloyd George has defined it, cannot be compared with the anti-Socialist rôle of the Second International.

Social-Democracy tried to justify its treachery to the revolution during the war by the slogan of national defence, while its counter-revolutionary policy, following the conclusion of peace, it seeks to hide under the motto of democracy. National defence and democracy—these are the solemn formulæ setting forth the capitulation of the proletariat to the will of the bourgeoisie.

But this does not fathom the whole depth to which social democracy has sunk. Following up its policy of protecting the capitalist State, it is being forced, like the bourgeoisie, to trample under foot both “national defence” and “democracy.” Scheidemann and Ebert are licking the boots of French imperialism, seeking its protection against the Socialist Revolution. Noske has become the personification of the White Terror of the bourgeois counter revolution.

Albert Thomas is the hired servant of the League of Nations, that contemptible agency of imperialism. Vandervelde, the eloquent personification of the superficiality of the Second International, at the head of which he stood, has become the Royal Minister, the confederate of Delachoux—member of the Clerical Party—the advocate of the Belgian Catholic priests, and the defender of capitalist atrocities against the negroes in the Congo.

Henderson, who is aping the great men of the bourgeoisie, who appears on the scene now as Royal Minister, and now again as a Labour opposition to His Majesty; Tom Shaw, who demands that the Soviet Government furnish documentary evidence of the fact that there are robbers, murderers, and liars in the London Government—who are all these gentlemen if not the sworn enemies of the working class?

Renner and Zeitz, Niemetz and Tuszar, Troelstra and Branting, Daszynski and Tchkeidze—every one of them interprets the disgraceful collapse of the Second International in terms of their petty government trickery.

Finally, Karl Kautsky, former theoretician of the Second International and ex-Marxist, has become the senile privy-councillor for the yellow Press of all countries.

The more pliant elements of the old Socialism have changed their appearance and colouring under the pressure of the masses, without, however, changing in essence. They broke away, or are preparing to break away from the Second International, at the same time invariably shrinking from all revolutionary activity of the masses and from every serious preparation for action. The fact that the Polish Socialist Party, led by Daszynski and patronised by Pilsudski,—that party of petty bourgeoisie cynicism and chauvinistic treachery—has proclaimed its break with the Second International, is sufficient to characterise and to brand this masquerade.

The leading parliamentary group of the

French Socialist Party, voting now against the budget and against the Versailles Treaty, essentially remains one of the mainstays of the bourgeois republic. Its pose of opposition goes only so far as is necessary to regain the partial confidence of the more conservative elements of the proletariat.

Regarding the fundamental problems of the class struggle, French parliamentary Socialism continues, as heretofore, to demoralise the will of the working class, suggesting to it that the present moment is not favourable for the seizure of power, because France is too exhausted. Yesterday the reason was the war, while prior to the war it was the industrial revival that interfered, and still earlier it was the industrial crisis. Alongside parliamentary Socialism, and on the same level with it, comes the garrulous and mendacious Syndicalism of Jouhaux and Co.

The creation of a strong, firmly-welded, and disciplined Communist Party in France is of vital importance to the French proletariat.

A new generation of workers is being educated and tempered in the strikes and uprisings in Germany. The number of victims this struggle requires is great, inasmuch as the conservative Social Democrats still retain their influence in the Independent Social-Democrat Party, constantly reverting to the Social Democracy of the times of Bebel, failing to understand the nature of the present revolutionary epoch, flinching from civil war and revolutionary terrorism, and lingering in the train of events, in the expectation of a miracle which is to come to the assistance of their inefficiency. But the party of Rosa Luxemburg and Karl Liebknecht teaches the German workers in the front line of battle how to find the proper road.

The stolidity in the upper ranks of the Labour movement in England is so great that they have not yet even realised the necessity of changing their weapons: the leaders of the British Labour Party stubbornly strive to maintain their position within the Second International. At the time when the march of events during recent years has undermined the stability of economic life in conservative England, and has made the boiling masses most susceptible to a revolutionary program, at this time the official bourgeois State machinery—the Royal power, the House of Lords and Commons, the Church, the Trade Unions, the Labour Party, George V., the Archbishop of Canterbury, and Henderson

—remains intact as a powerful automatic brake on the wheel of progress. Only a Communist Party, closely united with the mass organisations and free from routine and schism, is able to line up the lowly proletarians against this official aristocracy.

In Italy, where the bourgeoisie itself openly admits that the future destiny of the country is in the hands of the Socialist Party, the right wing, headed by Turati, is driving the powerfully developing proletarian revolution into the channel of parliamentary reforms. This internal sabotage represents the greatest menace of the present day.

Workers of Italy, remember the fate of Hungary, which has come down in history as a solemn warning to the proletariat, that, whilst struggling for power, and after the conquest of power, it must stand firm, sweeping away all elements of uncertainty and hesitation, and mercilessly crushing all attempts at treachery!

The upheaval caused by the war, which has led to a profound economic crisis, opens a new chapter in the Labour movement in the United States as well as in the other countries of the American continent. The failure of the Wilsonian bombast and falsehood will destroy at the same time American Socialism, which was made up of a mixture of pacifist illusions and business-like pursuits, which served as a peaceful adjunct to the Trade Unions of Gompers. The closest consolidation of the revolutionary proletarian parties and organisations of the American continent, from the Alaskan peninsula to Cape Horn, into a firmly-welded American Section of the International, which shall stand up against the mighty enemy, American imperialism—this is the task which must be accomplished, and which will be accomplished, in the struggle against all the forces which the Dollar will mobilise in its defence.

The official and semi-official Socialists of various countries attack the Communists, on many occasions on the ground that by their implacable tactics they provoke counter-revolution, and assist it to mobilise its forces. These political accusations are nothing more than belated versions of Liberal complaints. The latter always asserted that the independent struggle of the proletariat is driving the properties classes into the camp of reaction. This is, of course, beyond dispute. Should the working class not encroach upon the foundations

of bourgeois domination, the bourgeoisie would have no need to resort to repressive measures. The very idea of counter-revolution would have no existence if revolutions were unknown to history. If the uprisings of the proletariat have as their inevitable result the organisation of the bourgeoisie for self-defence and counter-attack, this only means that Revolution is a struggle of two irreconcilable classes, which can end only with complete victory of one or the other. Communism has only contempt for the policy of keeping the masses inert by intimidating them with the club of counter-revolution.

In opposition to the disintegration and anarchy of the capitalist world, which is threatening to demolish in its last convulsions all human culture, the Communist International sets up the united struggle of the international proletariat for the abolition of private property in the means of production, and for the reconstruction of national and world economy on a uniform economic plan, instituted and maintained by a society of producers united by common interests and responsibilities. Marshalling millions of toilers in all parts of the world under the banner of the Dictatorship of the Proletariat and the Soviet form of government, the Communist International builds up, organises, and purifies its own ranks in the fire of the struggle.

The Communist International is the party of the revolutionary uprising of the international proletariat. It sweeps aside all those organisations and groups that beguile, weaken, and demoralise the proletariat, openly or in disguise, inducing it to kneel before the fetishes screening the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie, such as legality, democracy, national defence, etc.

Neither can the Communist International admit into its ranks those organisations which have inscribed in their program the Dictatorship of the Proletariat, but which at the same time continue to rely in their tactics upon a peaceful solution of this historical crisis. The mere recognition of the Soviet system of government does not settle the question. The Soviet organisation does not possess any miraculous powers. The revolutionary forces are in the possession of the proletariat itself. The Soviet organisation manifests its qualities as an indispensable weapon in the hands of the proletariat only at the time when it rises to conquer the power of government.

The Communist International demands the expulsion from the Labour movement of such

leaders as are directly or indirectly implicated in political collaboration with the bourgeoisie. We want leaders who have no other attitude towards bourgeois society but one of mortal hatred: who organise the proletariat for an implacable struggle: who are ready to lead the insurgents into the battle front: who are not going to stop half way, whatever happens: and who will not shrink from resorting to severe measures against all those who may attempt to arrest their progress by force.

The Communist International is the international party of proletarian insurrection and proletarian dictatorship. It has no aims and problems other than those of the working class. The pretensions of petty sects, each of which claims to have its own way leading to the salvation of the working class, are foreign and hostile to the spirit of the Communist International. Creating no panaceas, the Communist International bases its policy upon the past and present international experiences of the working class; it purges that experience of all fallacies and deviations from the proper course, it generalises the conquests made, and recognises and adopts only such revolutionary formulas as partake of of the nature of mass action.

The Labour union, the economic and political strike, the boycott, parliamentary and municipal elections, the parliamentary platform, legal and illegal agitation, secret bases in the army, the co-operative, the barricade—none of these forms of organisation and methods of struggle is repudiated by the Communist International, nor is any singled out as a panacea.

The Soviet system of government is not an abstract principle set up by the Communists in opposition to the principle of parliamentarism. The Soviet system is a weapon of the working class which must do away with Parliament, and take its place during the struggle and as a result of the struggle. Carrying on an irreconcilable fight against reformism in the Trade Unions and against parliamentary cretinism and adventurism, the Communist International at the same time condemns the policy of leaving the ranks of the numerous Labour organisations, or of keeping away from parliamentary and municipal institutions. The Communists must not abandon the masses who are being deceived and betrayed by the reformists and patriots, and, carrying on an implacable struggle against the latter, they must make use of the mass organisations and institutions established by bour-

geois society, and thus secure their speedy overthrow.

Under the guise of the Second International, the methods of class organisation and of class struggle, which have been almost exclusively of a legal character, were, in the final analysis, controlled and directed by the bourgeoisie, which made its reformist agencies act as a bridle on the revolutionary proletariat. The Communist International, on the other hand, tears this bridle out of the hands of the bourgeoisie, takes hold of the methods and organisations of the working class, brings them all under a revolutionary leadership, and puts before the proletariat one single goal: the conquest of power for the abolition of the bourgeois State and for the institution of a Communist society.

In all his activity, whether it be as a leader of a revolutionary strike, as an organiser of illegal groups, as secretary of a professional union, as agitator at mass meetings, as deputy, as co-operator, or as barricade fighter, the Communist must always remain true to himself as a disciplined member of the Communist Party, a devoted fighter, a mortal enemy of the capitalist order, together with its economic basis, its forms of government, its democratic falsehood, its religion, and its morality. He must be a self-sacrificing soldier of the Proletarian Revolution, and an indefatigable herald of the new society.

Working Men and Working Women!

There is only one banner on earth under which it is worth while to struggle and to die. It is the banner of the Communist International.

The Second World Congress of the Communist International.

Delegates:

RUSSIA: N. Lenin, G. Zinoviev, N. Bukharin, L. Trotsky.
GERMANY: P. Levy, E. Meyer, J. Walcher, R. Wolfstein.
GERMAN AUSTRIA: K. Steinhardt, K. Toman, Strömer.
FRANCE: A. Rosmer, F. Sadoul, A. Guilbeaux.
ENGLAND: T. Quelch, W. Gallacher, S. Pankhurst, W. Maclaine.
AMERICA: Flynn, A. Fraina, A. Bilan, John Reed.
ITALY: G. M. Serrati, N. Bombacci, Graziadei, A. Bordiga.
NORWAY: A. Friis, Shefflo, A. Madsen.
SWEDEN: K. Dalström, Samuelson, Winberg.
DENMARK: O. Jörgenson, M. Nilsen.
HOLLAND: Wynkoop, Jansen, Van-Leuven.
BELGIUM: Van-Overstraeten.
SPAIN: Pestaña.
SWITZERLAND: Herzog, J. Humbert-Droz.
HUNGARY: Rakoszy, A. Rudnyanszky, Varga.
GALICIA: Levitzky.
POLAND: U. Markhlevsky.
LATVIA: Stuchka, Krastin.
LITHUANIA: Miezkiewicz-Kapsukas.
CZECHO-SLOVAKIA: Vanek, Gula, Zapotozky.
ESTHONIA: R. Wackman, G. Pögelman.
FINLAND: I. Rakhia, Letonmiaki, K. Manner.
BULGARIA: Kabakchiev, Maximov, Shablin.
YUGO-SLAVIA: Milkich.
GEORGIA: M. Chkhakaia.
ARMENIA: Nazaritian.
TURKEY: Nikhad.
PERSIA: Sultan-Zade.
INDIA: Ashtaria, Sheffik, Roy.
DUTCH INDIA: Maring.
CHINA: Laou-Siu-Chiau.
KOREA: Pak-Din-Shoon. Him-Hulin.

OPENING ADDRESS

By COMRADE ZINOVIEV

COMRADES, on behalf of the Executive Committee of the Communist International, I declare the Second World Congress of the Communist International opened. (Thunderous applause, continuing for some time. Cries of "Hurrah!" The band plays the "International").

Comrades, our first word, the word of workers assembled from all over the world, should be consecrated to the memory of our best friends and leaders, who have perished for the cause of the Communist International. You all know that during the past year there is no country in which the blood of the Communist workers, and the best leaders of the working class has not flowed. It is sufficient to remember the names of our Hungarian comrades, it is enough to remember Comrades Levine, Tibor Samuelli, Jogviches, and many others, who have joined the multitude of revolutionaries fallen in the beginning of the German and Russian revolutions. In Finland, Esthonia, Hungary, hundreds and thousands of the best sons of the working class have perished during this time. In opening our Congress, we are first of all doing honour to the memory of those of our best comrades who have perished for the cause of the Communist International.

In honour of our perished comrades, I propose to the Communist International to rise. (All stand up. The band plays the Funeral March.)

Further, we must remember those of our comrades who are at present locked up in the prisons of various bourgeois republics. We must remember our French friends, Comrades Loriot, Monatte, and a whole list of other comrades, cast into prison a short time before our Congress. We send our greetings to all the numerous fighters of the workers' revolution who are languishing in the German, Hungarian, French, British, and American prisons. We send our brotherly greetings to the American Communist workers, who have particularly suffered from persecution this last year. The American bourgeoisie is literally strangling the Communist workers, and all revolutionaries in general. Our friends can-

not find any work in America, they are kept in close stone cells. . . . There is no cruel measure which the American bourgeoisie has not employed against the workers who are in the ranks of the Communists or of the I.W.W., or any other revolutionary organisations following the same route as the Communist International.

We are giving voice to our deepest conviction that the words uttered not long ago by a French comrade, after the arrest of Loriot, Monatte, and others, will become justified. He said: "Yes, we are living in a time when the ruling bourgeoisie, the 'Democrats' and the so-called 'Socialists' are casting the best leaders of Communism into prison, but we are certain that soon the roles will be changed, and those who to-day are seated in the bourgeois Governments will to-morrow be put into prison by the working class, while those who are now in prison by order of the bourgeoisie will be placed in power by the working class." (Applause.)

Comrades, the Communist International was founded fifteen months ago. Naturally, it had first of all to cross swords with the Second International, with whom we entered into a direct struggle. Both our friends and our foes—in the face of to-day's Congress, which is literally a World Congress, attended by representatives from the whole of Europe and America—must recognise that our struggle against the Second International has been crowned with success. To-day we are entitled to proclaim that the Second International has been completely beaten by the Third Communist International. (Thunderous applause.)

Comrades, what does this fact signify? It signifies that we have defeated the Second International. The struggle between us and the Second International was not a struggle between two factions of the same revolutionary movement, not a struggle against doctrinary differences of opinion or against tendencies within the same class camp, it was practically a *struggle of classes*. It is true that in the Second International there are many brothers of our own

class; yet nevertheless our struggle against the Second International is not a warfare between factions within the same class, but something incomparably greater.

The collapse of the Second International is a reflection of the collapse of the bourgeois order itself. Here lies the point of the situation. We have conquered the Second International because the twilight of the gods of capitalism has set in. We have vanquished it because the bourgeoisie of the whole world has not been, and will not be, able to do away with the consequences of the imperialistic war. That is why we are conquering the Second International—because the League of Nations, the Entente, and all the bourgeoisie are powerless to do anything effectual for the restoration of the economical life of Europe. We have defeated the Second International because the bourgeoisie will prove itself powerless to solve the problems standing before it demanding solution, unless it “tenders its resignation” (historically speaking).

The Second International has joined its fate to that of the bourgeoisie ever since the first shot was fired in 1914. The social-patriots of each country supported “their own” bourgeoisie, and “their own” bourgeois “fatherland.” It was so up to the end of the war. And, after the war, the Second International again linked its fate to that of the bourgeoisie, this time particularly with the group of bourgeois countries which had secured the victory in the imperialist war.

You remember the first attempts at reviving the Second International when the imperialist slaughter began? You remember the conferences at Berne and Lucerne, at which the so-called leading part of the Second International desired at all costs to become “akin” to the League of Nations? The leaders of the reviving Second International tried to hold on to Wilson’s coat tails. You remember, comrades, that at the Berne Conference, the Chairman, opening the Conference, greeted Wilson by comparing him to Jaurès, thus insulting the spirit of the fallen tribune of the French workers. Already after the end of the war the Second International desired to join its fate with that of the bourgeoisie, i.e., that part of it which the Second International thought to be the strongest of all—the League of Nations. This was its desire, and that is why all the blows which the working class of the whole world—and its advance guard, the Third International—have

been dealing to the bourgeoisie during this whole year, have been falling also on the Second International. The Yellow Second International has linked its fate indissolubly to a class that is now perishing before our very eyes. That is why our victory over the Second International is so significant. This, we repeat, is not a victory of one faction of the labour movement over the other, nor of one Party over another. No! It is something incomparably greater: *every organisation which attempts to join its fate to that of the bourgeois class must perish also.* That is the historical meaning of the victory of the Communist International over the Second International. The working class, as a young class, is a rising star. It is marching to power. Meantime, the bourgeoisie, its star set, is choking in the blood of the working class. It is growing old and decrepit. And, as a drowning man grasps a living one, so is the bourgeoisie holding to the Second International, and strangling it in its dying clutches. They are both perishing under our very eyes. Both the bourgeoisie and its agent, the Yellow International, are nearing the end (in a historical sense, a year counts for a minute). We can hear their death-rattle. Soon the earth will be free from the bourgeois yoke, from all the organisations which have been holding the working class in moral captivity. Soon our International Workingmen’s Association will be able to proceed peacefully to the construction of a new world, on the basis of the Communist principles of brotherhood.

Comrades, during these last years the idea of “Democracy” has been fading away before our eyes, and is now living out its last days. I consider the theses on the rôle of bourgeois democracy accepted by the first Congress as the most important document of the first Constituent Congress of the Communist International, and even, if you like, the most important document of the Communist movement of these last years. These theses have been read by the whole world. The workers of the world, the class-conscious part of the peasants and soldiers have studied them. And the course of events during these last 15 or 16 months has confirmed at each step the correctness of the analysis made by the first Congress of the Communist International in its estimate of bourgeois democracy, as pointed out in these theses. When the American bourgeoisie, before the eyes of the whole world, annulled all its own laws, all the constitutional guarantees of the

working class; when matters have gone so far that Socialists elected in accordance with all the rules of parliamentary procedure, on the basis of the established laws, are, nevertheless, not admitted into Parliament, but put into prison—when such a classical country of bourgeois democracy as America violates the principles of democracy at each step, then she is giving a practical illustration of how perfectly right the Communist International was in pointing out in its programs, its theses, the real historical rôle of so-called democracy.

Comrades, this is a bona-fide World Congress of the Communist International that we see before us. Our Congress represents the advance-guard of the workers of the whole world. Before this World Congress we shall place a series of questions which are at present in dispute within the depths of the International Communist movement. We have invited to the Congress a whole number of labour organisations which are not quite Communist, which are yet only becoming crystallized. The international situation of the working class after the long war, after the desperate crisis, is such that, in some places, the workers' organisations are standing at cross-roads, and their movements are undecided. They have not finally determined their tactics, they have not finally chosen the road which they will take. We have invited to work with us all the workers' organisations which we are sure really desire to fight honestly against capitalism. We will speak to them as our brothers in the struggle and in our sufferings as brothers of the same class, ready like us to give up their lives for the cause of the liberation of the working class. We shall not resemble the Second International, which did nothing but turn into ridicule and hunt down the revolutionary workers who did not follow its train of thought, and which was a double-faced Janus, showing a sweet smile to the right, and cruelly gaping jaws to the left. We are deeply convinced life will be the workers' teacher. The imperialist war has taught the workers many things. The honest revolutionary elements of syndicalism, anarchism, industrialism, and the Shop Stewards' Committees will pass over and are already passing over to the side of Communism. It is our duty now to help them to do so quickly.

On the other hand, the representatives of the German Independent Party, the French Socialist Party, the American Socialist Party, are

also present at our Congress. They have but recently quitted the ranks of the Second International. With the honest revolutionary workers in the ranks of these parties, we wish to enter into a Communist union.

Comrades, you know that by degrees, as the Third International grew, about ten of the larger old parties—I shall not stop to enumerate them—have left the ranks of the Second International. A new stage is now commencing: The old parties are not only leaving the Second International, but they are making attempts to enter the ranks of the Third. A number of representatives of such parties, as I have said already, are now present among us. The Communist Congress will put all the burning questions squarely before the German and French workers. The Communist Congress will in no wise admit any ideological double-dealing, it will not make any concessions in the question of principles.

The radical questions of the proletarian revolution must be put in a categorical form. We want clearness, absolute clearness. We shall not permit the Third International to become a fad. The questions before us interest millions of workers. We shall expose our views on all the urgent questions of the day before the workers of the French and German Socialist Parties. We shall wait patiently until the vast majority of the French and German workers will have completed the requisite weeding-out in their ranks, and are able to pass into those of the Communist International in such a way that no one might possibly regard them as a simple ballast for the latter; they must come over to us to conduct the joint struggle, together with us, against the bourgeoisie.

We intend to lay before the present Congress the Constitution of the Communist International. We consider that, as in every separate country, in order to conquer the bourgeoisie, the Communists need, first of all, a strong centralised Party, welded out of one piece of metal, so it is time to proceed to such an organisation on an international scale. This struggle against the international bourgeoisie we are carrying on against a whole world of foes, armed to the teeth: and we must have an iron international proletarian organisation which would be able at any given moment to render the maximum of assistance to any of its detachments, which would forge the most powerful, most elastic, most rapid weapons, in order to be fully armed in face of

the enemy with which they will have to contend. In the Draft Constitution we are citing an extract from the Constitution of the first International Workingmen's Association, the leaders of which were Marx and Engels. In this Constitution Marx and Engels said: "If up to now the struggle of the working class has not met with success, it is first of all due to the fact that the workers had no international understanding, no well formed international organisation, no mutual support *on an international scale.*" Yes, comrades, there is the simple truth. But we have had to wait over 50 years, to pass through four years of war, to live through the horrors that mankind has been experiencing during the last period, in order that this simple truth should not only become accessible to individuals or separate groups, but that it should enter the brain and marrow of millions of workers. We are perfectly sure that at present this idea has become the common property of the masses. We understand very well that for victory over the bourgeoisie it is necessary to realise at last this elementary simple idea, voiced by the First International, the first International Workingmen's Association, whose traditions and principles in many questions we are now taking up in order to realise them at once. The representatives of the Petrograd workingmen and women, who were the first to rise in October, 1917, are present here. I say to them: a great historic event is taking place to-day in Petrograd—the Second Congress of the Communist International has entered its name in history at the moment when it opened its sessions. Remember this day. Know that this is the reward for all your resolutions and for all your courageous and steadfast struggle. Tell your children, and explain to them, the meaning of this day. Imprint on your hearts the memory of this solemn moment.

Before us is an accomplished event, and how grand in its simplicity! For what can be simpler: the workers of all the world have united together to free themselves from the yoke of the rich? And at the same time, what can be grander than this? Is it possible, comrades, that you do not hear, as I do, the beating of the wings of victory? Our earth *shall* be free!

Wage-slavery *shall* be suppressed. Communism *will* conquer!

Comrades, in concluding my speech I recollect that in a few months 50 years will have gone by since the first great historical uprising of European workers served as an example for us all. I am speaking of the Paris Commune. I am referring to the heroic uprising of the proletarians of Paris, who, in spite of all their weakness and mistakes (we are trying to avoid them) made a golden record in the history of the international proletarian movement, and opened the way which is now being followed by millions of workers.

Allow me to express the wish that on the fiftieth anniversary of the Paris Commune we shall see in France a French Republic of Soviets. (Loud, thunderous applause.)

Comrades, in an article written immediately after the Constituent Congress of the Communist International entitled: "Prospects of the International Revolution," I happened to say in my enthusiasm that maybe only a year would elapse, and we should be beginning to forget that a struggle had been going on in Europe for the power of Soviets, because this struggle would be definitely ended in Europe, and would have passed over to the other continents. One of the bourgeois German professors dug up this sentence of mine; and quite recently I had occasion to read an article in which he quoted it, and remarked with malignity: "Well, soon a Second Congress will be opened: more than a year has elapsed; but it seems that the Soviet Power has not quite conquered in Europe yet." We can answer to this learned bourgeois that, if he likes, it is so: we went too far in our hopes: perhaps not one year, but two, and even three, will be necessary for all Europe to become a Soviet Power. But if you are so modest that you consider a reprieve of a year or two as an unheard-of piece of luck, we can only wish you joy in your modesty. And we may express our conviction that, sooner or later—we shall bear up for a while—we *shall* have an international Soviet Republic, whose leader will be the Communist International.

Long live the working class of the whole world! Long live the Communist International! (Long and thunderous applause.)

An Appeal to the Workers of the World in Connection with the Russo-Polish War.

THE Second World Congress of the Communist International is assembling at the moment when White Guard Poland, the stronghold of capitalist world reaction, is staggering under the powerful blows of the Red Army of Russian workers and peasants. The ardent wish of all revolutionary workers of the world is fulfilled. The Russian workers and peasants have moved out against the shameless Polish White Guards with the same mighty effort as they used to crush the Russian counter-revolution—the forces of Yudenich, Kolchak, and Denikin. The Polish capitalists and landowners declined the honest peace proposals of Soviet Russia, in the hope of obtaining assistance from world capital; and, fully assured that Soviet Russia had exhausted all her forces in the struggle against the counter-revolution, they threw their troops against Soviet Russia; and now are on the eve of defeat. Their armies have rolled back in panic, and are now beyond the Ukraine and White Russia, and the troops of Soviet Russia are pursuing them.

The robbers of world capitalism—the Polish landowners and capitalists—are now yelling “Poland is in great danger.” They are turning to the representatives of all countries, begging for prompt assistance to save European culture from being destroyed by the barbarians of the Russian revolution.

We see the British Government, which armed the Poles for their criminal campaign against Soviet Russia, and which together with all the Allies refused to compel Poland to begin peace negotiations in London—as proposed by Soviet Russia on April 3—we see the same capitalist England insolently threatening a general attack of all the Allies if Soviet Russia does not consent to a suspension of hostilities between herself and the Polish invaders. The rulers of world capital, playing with the fates of nations as with pawns on a chessboard, are now assuming the rôle of defenders of Poland’s independence; the French Government, which in 1917 was willing to leave Poland to the mercy of the Tsarist Government of Russia, if the latter would recog-

nise the claims of French imperialism to the left bank of the Rhine; the English Government, which many times during the war declared confidentially (by means of its agents) to the German Government that it would give Poland to the Central Powers if only German Imperialism would leave Belgium, where it was a constant threat against England—all these traders in human flesh are now crying out that Soviet Russia is threatening the independence of Poland, thereby trying to work upon the public opinion of the whole world in favour of a new campaign against the Russian workers. Workers of all countries!

We need not explain to you that Soviet Russia does not entertain the slightest plans of conquest in regard to the Polish people. Soviet Russia defended the independence of Poland at the Brest-Litovsk Conference, in the face of the executioners of the Polish people, in the face of Hoffmann and Baeseler. Soviet Russia was ready to conclude a peace even with the Polish capitalists, and, in order to attain peace, not only recognised the independence of Poland, but even granted to Poland large territories beyond her frontier. Soviet Russia is numbering in her ranks thousands of the best fighters from Poland. Soviet Russia is closely bound with the Polish working masses by many years of joint struggle. For Soviet Russia, the right of the Polish people to determine their own fate is a sacred and inviolable right, and if even there were not a single soldier to defend Poland, the Polish lands would remain the property of the Polish people, and the latter would be free to determine their own fate.

But so long as Poland is ruled by a clique of capitalist adventurers and landowners, who have involved the country in a criminal military adventure, so long as the capitalists of the Entente are supplying Poland with arms and munitions. Soviet Russia must carry on a defensive war. Should Soviet Russia accord a respite to the Polish White Guards to-day, should Soviet Russia give them the possibility of reorganising

their defeated army and re-arming it with the help of the Entente, she would be compelled tomorrow again to tear away from their work hundreds of thousands of her best sons, and send them to the battle-front for a new defensive war.

Working men and working women!

If the capitalist rabble of the whole world is now crying out against the danger of Poland's independence in order to prepare a new campaign against Russia, then know one thing: your slave owners are trembling lest one of the pillars of their ruling power, their world régime of reaction, exploitation and oppression, should fall to pieces; they know that, should White Guard Poland be defeated by the Red Army, and the Polish workers take the power into their hands, it would be easier for the German, Austrian, French, and Italian workers to free themselves from their exploiters, and they would be followed also by the workers of England and America.

Let the capitalist rabble bewail the danger threatening the independence of Poland—it is doing so out of fear that your enslavement, your subordinate condition, working men and working women, become replaced by your liberation from the chains of capitalist slavery. The task of the proletarians of the whole world consists in preventing, by all the means in their power, the governments of Great Britain, France, Italy, and America from rendering any assistance to the Polish White Guards.

Proletarians of the countries of the Entente!

Your Governments will, as formerly, try to deceive you; they will assure you, as they have done up to now, that they are not supporting Poland. Your duty is to be on watch at all the sea ports, on all the frontiers, and to see that no railway train, no ship with provisions or munitions, be sent to Poland. Be on your guard: do not let yourself be deceived by any false indications of the points of departure of the cargoes—they may be directed to Poland by roundabout ways. And wherever the Governments or private capitalists will not heed your protests, then organise strikes, use force, and in no wise help the Polish landowners and capitalists to kill your brothers.

Proletariat of Germany!

As soon as White Guard Poland is defeated, the capitalists of the countries of the Entente, together with the German generals and German capitalists, will be able to organise and equip

numerous hired troops, and these latter will crush the German proletariat in order to make of Germany a base of operations against Soviet Russia. The capitalists of the countries of the Entente will not refrain from turning Germany into a heap of ruins in order to make her the advanced outpost for the struggle against Soviet Russia and Soviet Poland.

German working men and working women!

The hour has struck when you can carry out in practice all that you have promised a thousand times during your manifestations—when you can side with your Russian brothers, and together with them fight for your liberation. Do not permit any attempts at helping White Guard Poland on German territory. Do not allow any new conscriptions of hired soldiers. Watch strictly all railway trains going to the East. Watch most carefully all that is going on at Dantzig, and do all that the circumstances may require of you. Not a single railway train, not a single ship, must be allowed to go from Germany to Poland.

Proletarians of all countries!

Think now of White Guard Poland. The task of the hour is to crush the foe.

Proletarians of the world!

Remember that it is not the time now to yield to the deceitful speeches of the traitor or hesitating labour unions, nor to give heed to the false promises of your government; you must act now, you must assemble all your forces to blockade Poland, you must all unite to show the solidarity of the world proletariat with Soviet Russia by deed.

Workmen and workwomen! Your solidarity with Soviet Russia is at the same time a solidarity with the Polish proletariat. The proletariat of Poland has struggled untiringly, under the leadership of the Communist Party, against the war with Soviet Russia; and the Polish prisons are full of our brother Communists of Poland. The defeat of the Polish White Guards is arousing the greatest rapture in the hearts of the Polish workers. A wave of strikes is rising in Poland. The Polish workers are endeavouring to profit by the defeats of their exploiters to deliver a last blow to the inveterate class enemy, to unite with the Russian workers for the joint struggle for liberty. The blockade of Poland, with the help of the struggle for freedom of the Polish workers, is a means for the liberation of Poland from the chains by which

she is bound to the chariot of the victorious capitalists of London and Paris—a means for her to become an independent Republic of Polish workers and peasants.

The Second World Congress of the Communist International sends its greetings to you; go out into the streets and show your governments that you will not permit any assistance to be rendered to White Guard Poland, that you will not allow any intervention in the affairs of Soviet

Russia. Cease all work, stop all traffic, if you see that the capitalist clique of all countries is preparing a new campaign against Soviet Russia in spite of your protests. Do not allow a single ship or railway train to pass through into Poland. Prove that proletarian solidarity is a thing of deeds not words only.

Long live Soviet Russia! Long live the Red Army! Down with White Guard Poland! Long live Soviet Poland!

Against the Executioners of Hungary

To the Proletariat of all Countries

WORKING men and working women! In the days when Soviet Russia is victoriously repulsing the attacks of the criminal clique of the Polish nobility, when in the whole world a wave of indignation is arising against the capitalist governments, when the revolutionary proletarians at the international Congress of the Communists are organising the glorious union of a multi-million labour army, there is one country which is covered with the dead bodies of the advanced fighters of the revolution. That country is Hungary.

International capital, that hideous monster, murdered the young Soviet Republic of Hungary. All the forces of the old world joined in the campaign against her—governmental murderers with generals' epaulets, London bankers, the landlord rabble of Rumania, French usurers, social-traitors of all countries, hired forces among the black races, and civilised "Kulturträger" (culture-bearers). Crushed on all sides, with broken hands and feet, the Soviet Republic of Hungary expired in terrible sufferings on the Golgotha of the counter-revolution, and she can never revive without our help. This brutal counter-revolution, led by officers' gangs of the English flunkey, Admiral Horthy, is now dancing its repulsive dance on the dead bodies of the workers. There is no act of brutality, no act of baseness or brutal cynicism, that the unbridled power of the Christian capitalist régime has not accomplished.

Thousands of people hung or shot. Tens of thousands cast into prisons, murdered, stabbed from behind, thrown down sewers, made away with without a sign, robbed, outraged, crippled through torture. Such is the order which the democratic "League of Nations" has restored with the help of the Second International. "Woe to the conquered," says the English colonel, and shoots down worker-Communists. "Woe to the conquered," cries a brutal landowner, and outrages a workwoman. "Woe to

the conquered," exclaims the gaoler, and locks the prison doors behind the workers who have not yet been killed.

Working men and women, when we hear the crunching of the bones of the perishing Hungarian proletariat, we are bound to raise our voices and stop the criminal hand of the Hungarian executioners, who are stripping the skin from living people, compelling them to eat excrements, outraging women, and cutting open the stomachs of women Communists. Even the flunkeys of capitalism, the heroes of the patriotic unions of Amsterdam, scared by their own baseness, have proclaimed a boycott against White Hungary, and their commission has established thousands of the most brutal acts of the British Government and Horthy's bands.

The Communist International in its World Congress, on the threshold of a world-war against the capitalists, addresses an appeal to the whole proletariat on behalf of millions of workers. Arise for the fight against the executioners of Hungary, use all means of struggle, stop trains with munitions, blow up all military transports going to Hungary to Horthy, and disarm all officers passing through to murder the workers. By means of powerful intermittent strikes disorganise all production of weapons without any exception; arm yourselves; use all your efforts in word and deed to demoralise the armies of imperialism. Surround the country of murderers and hangmen with a wall of hatred!

Workers, by your apathy you are becoming the assistants of the executioners! Enter the ranks of the fighters! Defend your proletarian honour! Defend the long-suffering Hungarian proletariat! Hungarian workers, take courage! The proletarians of the whole world are with you. The Communist International sends you its affectionate and brotherly greetings.

Soviet Hungary is dead. Long live Soviet Hungary!

To the Red Army and Red Fleet of the R.S.F.S.R.

BROTHERS, the Second World Congress of the Communist International sends its heartiest fraternal greetings to the whole Red Army, the Red front, each Red military organisation, from the smallest to the largest, to you, Red soldiers and Red sailors, to all together and each one separately, and especially to all the comrades at the front. The workers of all the world are holding their breath and following with affectionate solicitude your struggle against the capitalists and landowners, the Tsarist generals and imperialists.

The workers of the whole world are suffering in your defeats and triumphing in your victories, together with you. The workers of the world are watching you with admiration, knowing at what a price you have conquered Kolchak, Denikin, Yudenich, Miller, and defeated the intrigues of the French and English capitalists. The Second World Congress now warmly greets the Red Army which at this moment is fighting on the western and south-western fronts against the Polish White Guards, whom the bourgeoisie of the Entente has sent to strangle the Russian Workers' and Peasants' Soviet Republic.

Brothers of the Red Army, know that your war against the Polish capitalists is the most just

war that history has ever known. You are fighting, not only for the interests of Soviet Russia, but for those of all toiling humanity. The working masses cannot throw off the yoke of the rich, and of wage-slavery otherwise than by armed force. You were the first to turn your arms against the oppressors. You were the first to create a well-organised and powerful Red Army. You were the first to show the way to all the oppressed and exploited in all the world. The proletariat of all countries is blessing you for this. The Communist International knows that your victories over the enemies of the workers and peasants are purchased at the price of innumerable sacrifices and privations.

We know that you are not sparing yourselves. We know how many of the best sons of the Red Army have given up their lives for our cause. Your heroism will never be forgotten in history. Know this, comrades: the Red Army is now one of the principal forces of Universal History. Know that you are not alone. The workers of the world are on your side. The time is near when an international Red Army will be created.

Long live the great victorious Red Army!

Long live the army of the Communist International.

To the Workers of Red Petrograd

BROTHERS, the Second World Congress of the Communist International, opening its sessions in Red Petrograd, sends you its warmest greetings—working men and working women, Red soldiers, sailors, and all workers of Petrograd. We, the delegates of the workers' organisations of the world, considered it our duty to open the first session of the Congress in your city in order to pay our tribute of respect and affection to the Proletariat of Red Petrograd which was the first to rise up against the bourgeoisie, and, by a heroic tension of force and will, overthrew the power of capital in one of its most important strongholds in the bourgeois world.

The proletarians of all countries know how much you, proletariat of Petrograd, have suffered during the last three years; how you have hungered, how many of your best sons have perished at the battle fronts, defending the great

cause of Communism. The workers of the world love you especially because, in the moments of the greatest danger for Petrograd and the whole Soviet Republic, you never wavered, but defended the blood-steeped Red banner with lion-like bravery, with undaunted courage and loyalty.

The Communist International says to you: The Petrograd Commune is worthy to continue the work of the Paris Commune, avoiding the weak points and mistakes of the latter, leading the proletarian battalions to the victory. The Communist International is confident that the workers of Red Petrograd will remain the most advanced and best detachment of the international army of labour.

Long live the glorious proletarians of Petrograd!

Long live the Communist International!

The Third International to the Trade Unions of all Countries

WORKERS, members of the Trade Unions of all countries!

The most backward workman, the most unenlightened labour organisation, must recognise at present that the bourgeois world is falling to pieces. The old social relations are broken up, the solidity of the bourgeois order has proved to be a phantom. The bourgeoisie is unable to restore the national economy ruined by the war. A new and free world of labour, liberty, and true brotherhood is being born in the midst of bloody civil war.

All mankind has now become divided into two parts: on the one hand, the excellently organised bourgeoisie, possessing all the technical appliances of a well-appointed State, and penetrated with a high degree of class-consciousness; and, on the other hand, the proletariat, less class-conscious than the bourgeoisie, less well-organised than its class foe, and, what is most important, insufficiently united on an international scale.

The last years have proved, more clearly than ever, the high degree of class-consciousness of the bourgeoisie; and, notwithstanding the acute competition between the national imperialisms of the different countries, notwithstanding their internal economic competition, notwithstanding even the war, the ruling classes of all countries, from the very first days of the October revolution in Russia, have formed a single international anti-labour, anti-revolutionary front. The defeat of the bourgeoisie in one country is now considered by the ruling classes of another country, and quite rightly, as their own defeat. Soviet Russia and Soviet Hungary have felt this class solidarity of the exploiters of all countries on their own shoulders. There is not a single corner of the earth, from Japan to Canada, from Brazil to Norway, including the Great Powers, where the bourgeoisie, and the Press in its pay, have not stormed against the barbarity of the Russian revolution, against the "monstrous pretensions" of the proletariat, and the

"criminal" attempt against the sacred foundations of private ownership. More than that, the countries which were warring but yesterday rapidly found a common language to-day, as soon as the question arose of a proletarian revolution. This was proved by the Spa Conference, at which the English Minister, Lloyd George and the representative of the German bourgeois republic, Simons, both alike approached the question of disarmament from the point of view of the Bolshevik peril. The international bourgeoisie represents one single block as soon as the question concerns its sacred profits. Both the English and French bourgeoisie will be glad to help the German bourgeoisie to crush the revolutionary movement of the workers, just as the German bourgeois and military butchers are ready to drown in blood the Socialist movement in France and England.

This high class-consciousness, this acute sense of the unity of interests, and an excellent organisation, form the fundamental force of the bourgeoisie in its struggle against the working class. But it is not to these alone that the victories of the bourgeoisie on the international front, excepting the Russian, are to be ascribed. The international bourgeoisie is strong not only owing to its organisation and perfectly acting apparatus, but chiefly owing to the insufficient class consciousness and the backwardness of the workers, and *because the bourgeoisie is supported in its struggle against the revolution by some of the labour organisations*. This is monstrous, but it is a historical fact which cannot be contested. It is sufficient to take a look at the principal countries of Europe and America to become convinced that the strength of the bourgeoisie, and its victories, lie in the Trade Unions of these countries.

Indeed, during the long years of war the Trade Unions of almost all countries were the faithful buttresses of the military policy of their governments. Who advanced and supported the idea of a class truce? The neutral Trade

Unions. Who preached that during the war the workers were to refrain from all revolutionary demonstrations, and even from economic strikes? The free Social-Democratic Trade Unions. Who was the advocate for an increase of working hours, an increased exploitation of the labour of women and children, the surrender of previously acquired rights? Who excited the nationalist and jingoist feelings which had taken possession of the wider masses of the population? Who led a cruel and pitiless struggle against those who, faithful to the principles of international solidarity, carried on an agitation against the imperialist war? The "Socialist" and "Syndicalist" Trade Unions. And if the war has continued endlessly, if tens of millions of people have perished on the battlefields of Europe, if mankind has been brought down to the last degree of inanition, if the bourgeoisie has managed to subordinate to itself hundreds of millions of people by this war, and obtain unheard-of profits from the mutual extermination of the nations, then a vast share of the guilt falls on the leaders of the Trade Unions, who have forgotten the elementary principles of class solidarity, and set the seal of the labour organisations to the bloody collisions of the plunderers.

And when the war was "ended," the same leaders of the Trade Unions who had promised wonders to the workers in the event of their government winning the war, these same representatives, who had said that sacred unity and class collaboration were but temporary necessities called forth by the national danger, and that after the war the class struggle would revive again: after the end of the war the same leaders not only did not call the workers to the struggle, but they passed on from a coalition with the bourgeoisie on a national scale to a class collaboration on an international scale.

As soon as the war was ended, the leaders of the national labour movement, Messrs. Legien, Oudegest, Jouhaux, Appleton, Gompers, and others proceeded to the formation of international unions, which were destined to strengthen on an international scale the tactics practised during the armistice with the bourgeoisie.

Two institutions have been formed for this purpose by the experienced traitors of the working class: One of them bears the name of "Labour Office of the League of Nations," the

other—"The International Federation of Trade Unions."

The Labour Office of the League of Nations, consisting of six representatives of the Trade Unions, six representatives of the organised employers, and twelve representatives of the "neutral" governments, has for its object to serve as a vent-hole for the revolutionary movement of different countries. By the help of this Office, the head of which is Albert Thomas—a specialist in the matter of betrayal of the workers—the international bourgeoisie hopes by small sops to the workers to be freed from the social demands of the wider working masses. Here, in the presence of the "neutral" representatives of the bourgeois governments, the representatives of Labour and Capital must come to an agreement and find a common ground. Naturally, the basis of all negotiations and agreements is *the inviolability of private property, the immovability of the rule of capital*. The representatives of the organised employers speak the more willingly of social reforms, since all these speeches do not bind them in any way. They only compel the so-called "workers' representatives" to preach in their own countries a peaceful solution of the social question, and to sow the illusion that the robber "League of Nations" and its organs are able to help the working class to find a way out of the cul-de-sac into which it has been driven by the long imperialist war. And this is all that is necessary to the world bourgeoisie.

Simultaneously with the organisation of the Labour Office of the League of Nations in Berne, foundations were laid in Amsterdam of an International Federation of Trade Unions, headed by the same flunkies who are now running errands for the Imperialist League of Nations. What is the program of the Amsterdam International Federation of Trade Unions? What are the views of this Federation in regard to current events? How does it intend to solve the problems laid before the working class? What is its attitude towards the ever-increasing civil war? What does it think of the social revolution? What has it done to help the struggling proletariat of the different countries? The Amsterdam Federation of Trade Unions would be at a loss to answer these questions. But from all its actions, from its make-up, it is evident that it fully shares the point of view of the Labour Office of the League of Nations, i.e., the same

point of view as the bourgeois League of Nations itself. This may be seen, first, in that the responsible leaders of the Amsterdam International Federation of Trade Unions are, at the same time, also the representatives in the Labour Office of the League of Nations; and, second, in that the May appeal of the Amsterdam International Conference ends with the motto: "Realisation of the Resolutions of the Washington Conference."

Thus, the rule of the social-patriot and renegade elements in the Trade Unions of the largest countries has led to the formation of two *yellow* organisations which are the very best support of the bourgeoisie in its struggle against the revolutionary proletariat. It could not be otherwise, as the Second International, consisting of traitors against the working class of each country, could not be anything else than a union of traitors of all countries. In this way, treachery against the interests of the workers is *now* strengthened on an international scale. The working class has, in its own ranks, the organised representatives of the bourgeoisie. The Amsterdam union is an agency of the bourgeoisie in the camp of the workers. And the working class must know, therefore, that the class struggle does not consist at present only in struggling against the ruling classes, but first of all and chiefly in an implacable relentless warfare against the lieutenants of capital in its own midst.

The struggle against the inheritance bequeathed by the imperialist war, and against the organised representatives of the bourgeoisie in the labour organisations, is facilitated by the fact that the working masses are now entering the Trade Unions in a powerful stream. The unions who numbered their members by hundreds and thousands, now have memberships of tens and hundreds of thousands. The workman is seeking in the Trade Union for answers to all the accursed questions raised by the imperialistic war. The old connections are torn asunder, the old relations broken up. The most backward of the workers—bound to bourgeois culture, imbued with the petty-bourgeois and bourgeois prejudices of a whole epoch—even such workers, thrown out of their usual ruts, turn to the unions in their search for better conditions of life, in search of a strong support in their badly shattered economic situation. The workers join the unions in order to solve collectively the questions standing before each separate prole-

tarian, because every separate worker is still more powerless than he was just before the war.

The working class is filling the Trade Unions. In all the unions of the world there are now over 30 million members. This is a colossal army, on whose activity the fate of mankind depends. If only this army were penetrated with the spirit of the revolutionary class struggle, it might overturn the whole world. Meanwhile, this colossal army, which includes tens of millions of undoubtedly revolutionary proletarians, is still under the doctrinary influence and organised leadership of the old leaders, who have passed over to the side of the bourgeoisie. Who is at the base of the whole bourgeois demagogic policy of Lloyd George? Who is supporting the colonial system of England? The old English Trade Unions. Who supplied the battalions in Germany against the social revolution during the whole period of the revolution? Who, during the most acute crisis in Germany (the reactionary mutiny of Kapp), advocated the abnormal union of the bourgeoisie and the proletariat? Who is voicing the ideology of a social peace and a gradual solution of the social problem in Germany? The German so-called free Trade Unions, headed by Legien and their like. Who is restraining the course of the revolutionary struggle in France at the present moment? Who is impeding the revolutionary movement in that country? The illustrious General Confederation of Labour, an organisation which has for many years been preaching a social revolution, and, the leaders of which, when the social revolution became the order of the day, passed over, bag and baggage, to the camp of the bourgeoisie. We see the same thing in America, Austria, Belgium, Hungary, and other countries. The following monstrous conditions arise: the revolutionised working masses are streaming into the unions, while the latter are continuing their old policy of "class collaboration and social peace" serving as tools in the hands of the bourgeoisie.

In what does the reason of such backwardness of the Trade Unions lie? Why do the Trade Unions in all countries continue to play the rôle of a barrier against the social revolution? Because, in spite of the tremendous addition of new members, in spite of their greatly increased memberships, the unions have preserved their old apparatus; their old forms of organisation, their old customs, their old bourgeois-grown leaders. The workers are joining the unions in

order to put collectively the question of the liberation of labour from the yoke of capital; but, once inside the unions, they meet with bureaucrats who have become compromised during the war, and leaders who have betrayed the workers of their countries, wholesale and retail. And, at the moment when social hatred is growing among the working masses, when their class energy is being aroused, when the working masses are being pushed forward by their growing penury and capitalist barbarity to open revolts, at that moment the unions, which ought to reflect the revolutionary energy of the masses and help to realise it are acting as a conservative restraining force. *The working masses are for the revolution, the old labour organisations are against it.*

What must each revolutionary worker do in the face of such treachery against the Labour movement? What must a revolutionist do when he meets with such conscious sabotage on the part of the leaders? Leave the Unions, abandon these mass organisations, and create his own little Union? Abandon millions of workers, all glowing with class hatred? Leave them under the doctrinary leadership of the old leaders, carrying off from the Unions the more revolutionary and active elements? These would be the tactics of suicide. That is downright harikari. The Second Congress of the Third International knows perfectly well the value of the yellow leaders and the measure of their treachery. Nevertheless, it decisively and categorically pronounces against the leaving of mass labour organisations. The Communist must be where the working masses are. Every worker must know and remember that, in Western Europe and America, a social revolution without the multi-million army of the Trade Unions is impossible, and therefore it is necessary to expel from the ranks of the working class, from its labour organisations, such elements which, at the moment of the most acute collision between Labour and Capital, play the part of strike breakers in respect to their own class. *Not a passive leaving of the Unions, but an active struggle inside the same, and the expulsion therefrom of the treacherous yellow leaders—that is the motto, which must be adhered to with all revolutionary steadfastness and the requisite energy. This struggle against the traitor policy of the leaders of the Labour movement must be conducted by means of the factory committees.*

The task of the day is to win over the factory committees, to place them under the influence of Communist and revolutionary parties, to make them the weapons for the transformation of the Craft Unions into industrial organisations and powerful battering rams, breaking up the entire system of capitalism. This task may be and must be realised in each country by the Communist Party, which will carry away with it all those who clearly understand the great social catastrophe that is taking place before our eyes.

The realisation of this task is facilitated by the fact that the new groups of workers entering the old Unions are not reconciling themselves to the traditions of treachery of the labour leaders. The past year is rich in facts bearing witness to a great upheaval in this respect. In England, Germany, and even America, two very important facts are to be noted: on the one hand, one Union after another is slipping away from the influence of the old leaders who have sold themselves to the bourgeoisie, and are now, although but slowly, moving to the left; and, on the other hand, great strikes are taking place, in spite of and against the resolutions of the Union bureaucracy. These facts prove best of all that the Union bureaucracy, even the most reactionary one, can be held fast in an iron grip: one must only know how to win over the working masses.

To expel the traitors of the Labour movement, and to make of the Trade Unions a powerful weapon for a social revolution on an international scale, is one of the ways of solving the problem. A social revolution is international; the struggle between Labour and Capital, begun in each country separately, will be decided and finally carried out when our international organisations are penetrated with the revolutionary energy and Communist consciousness requisite for the overthrow of international capital. Therefore, simultaneously with the winning over of the Labour movement in each country, the task arising before the members of the Unions in all countries is the *creation of an international centre of the Labour movement*, which, together with the Third Communist International, would make a single compact steel block. This task will become realised when the Unions turn away from the Labour Office of the League of Nations, created by the traitors of the Labour movement in the different countries, and the International Federation of yellow Trade Unions in Amsterdam, which is morally and

materially bound to the capitalist world. The Communist International calls upon all workers adhering to the point of view of a social revolution and the dictatorship of the proletariat to carry on a decisive struggle for the affiliation of their Unions to the International Council of Trade Unions, formed at Moscow on July 15, 1920, by the Trade Unions of Russia, England, Italy, Spain, Yugo-Slavia, Bulgaria, France, and Georgia, and for the separation of the robber's den, known as the International Labour Office of the League of Nations, and the Amsterdam Federation of yellow Trade Unions connected with it.

The program of the International Council of Trade Unions is that of the Communist International, i.e., the revolutionary overthrow of the bourgeoisie, the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat, a world Republic of Soviets, and a close indissoluble Union between the Communist parties and the Trade Unions. Hence, it is clear that the Amsterdam centre of the Trade Unions, the refuge of political invalids from the bankrupt Second International and the last rampart of international capital—this yellow International—must be annihilated. All the revolutionary class Unions must become an integral part of the Third Communist International, through their International Council of Trade Unions.

Rank and file members of the Trade Unions, Communists, revolutionists!

The Second World Congress of the Communist International calls you to an active struggle for

the Unions. Win over the factory committees, reorganise the narrow guild and craft Unions into industrial Unions. Take these powerful organisations into your hands, do not stop before a decisive struggle against those who are converting the Labour organisations into weapons of bourgeois policy. You are often threatened by the prospect of a split or expulsion. But only weak-willed and passive people may be afraid of a split or expulsion. The Communist International does not desire nor seek to cause a split in the Labour movement; but neither does it fear it. The same must be said by every revolutionary worker, every honest-minded Socialist. The Trade Union, like any workers' organisation, is not an end by itself, but a means to an end. And, therefore, neither a split nor a unity are absolute entities. A split in the Labour movement is not necessary, but it is necessary to expel from the Unions traitor groups of leaders who make of the Labour organisation a plaything of imperialism. Such is the task before the Communists of all countries, before all class-conscious, revolutionarily-inclined, and honest-minded proletarians.

Out of the Trade Unions with all the yellow traitor leaders!

Long live the revolutionary proletarian Trade Unions, struggling for the dictatorship of the proletariat!

Long live the indissoluble union between the Communist Parties and the Trade Unions of all countries!

Long live the Communist International!

To all the Members of the French Socialist Party, to all Class-conscious Proletarians of France*

From the Presidium of the Second Congress of the Communist International

THE last congress of the French Socialist Party decided, by a vast majority of votes, to quit the Second International, which is now recognised as a traitor organisation by all the class-conscious workers of the world. But the same Congress, by a two-thirds majority, declined immediately to join the Communist International, and limited itself to passing an ambiguous resolution to enter into relations with the Third International, at the same time proceeding to the organisation of parties intermediary between the Second and the Third Internationals.

Two delegates of the Congress majority, Marcel Cachin and Frossard, came to Russia in order to carry on negotiations with us in regard to the resolution of the above-mentioned Congress. The Executive Committee of the Communist International, in its enlarged body (with the participation of the delegates from Italy, England, America, Austria, Hungary, Germany, Bulgaria, and other countries), devoted two meetings to the elucidation of the questions connected with the arrival of Cachin and Frossard. Besides this, the Executive Committee had a number of more intimate conferences with the two delegates of the French Socialist Party. We received their three written reports, which are now published in the official organ of the Communist International in all languages. We invited Cachin and Frossard to take part in the Second World Congress of the Communist International with a consultative vote. We listened to Cachin and Frossard in the Commission of the Congress. The Executive Committee of the Communist International considers it its duty to treat with the utmost attention all delegates from any party or group which desires to break with the Second International and join the ranks of the Communist International.

We are thankful to the French Socialist Party for sending its delegates and enabling us thereby to speak with you openly, frankly, as befits revolutionaries. From the following you will

see how we regard the state of affairs in France. Our reply, we are sure, will be immediately published in your country, and it will become the subject of discussion for all class-conscious French workers.

We place two circumstances as corner stones in our estimation of the position of the workers' party in France. (1) The international rôle played at the present moment by the French bourgeoisie, (2) the internal situation of the French Socialist Party itself.

Owing to a whole series of circumstances, the French bourgeoisie is now playing the most reactionary rôle in the whole world. The bourgeoisie of France is a rampart of world reaction. French imperialist capital has taken upon itself the rôle of international gendarme before the eyes of the whole world. The French bourgeoisie did more than any one else to strangle the Soviet Republic in Hungary. To the French bourgeoisie belonged, and still belongs, the predominant rôle in the matter of organising a robber campaign against Soviet Russia. It is playing the part of the basest executioner in the Balkans. And, lastly, the French bourgeoisie has undertaken the principal part in the "work" in the crushing of the developing proletarian revolution in Germany. The chief rôle in the elaboration of the robber peace of Versailles belonged to it. It is sending coloured troops to occupy German towns. It has practically united with the German bourgeoisie against the German working class. There is no monstrous crime which the government of the French bourgeoisie has not committed. There is no worse enemy of the developing world revolution than the government of the French capitalists.

This imposes a particularly important international duty on the French workers and their

* This letter was submitted by the Presidium of the Congress to the delegates of the French Socialist Party, Cachin and Frossard.

Party. History decrees that on you, French proletarians, should be laid the hard, highly-responsible, but grateful task of resisting the most furious, the most unrestrainedly reactionary detachment of the international bourgeoisie.

But the Executive Committee of the Communist International is obliged to state with regret—and here we come to the second of the above-mentioned circumstances—that the internal condition of the French Socialist Party is less suited than anything else to aid the French workers in accomplishing the historic mission laid upon them by the course of events.

The advanced proletariat of France will undoubtedly agree with us when we say that during the four years of the imperialist war nowhere, if we except Germany, was Socialism so basely betrayed as in your country, by the former majority of your Party. The conduct of the leaders of the former majority—Renaudel, Thomas, Sembat, and others—after August 4, 1914, was in no wise better than the base, treacherous conduct of Scheidemann and Noske in Germany. The leaders of your Party not only voted for war credits, but they placed all the Party Press, all the Party apparatus, at the service of the robber imperialist bourgeoisie. These leaders of the French Socialist Party poisoned the very soul of the rank-and-file soldiers and workers. They helped the imperialist bourgeoisie to raise muddy waves of the most monstrous jingoism throughout the whole country. They helped the bourgeoisie to establish a chattel-slave régime at the mills and factories, to abolish even the most moderate laws on the protection of labour. They took upon themselves the full responsibility for the imperialist slaughter. They had their seats in the government of the French bourgeoisie. They carried out the basest commissions of the leaders of the Entente. When the February revolution (in 1917) broke out in Russia, Albert Thomas came over and, in the name of your Party, on behalf of the French imperialists, urged the Russian workers and soldiers to continue the imperialist slaughter. Also, the French social-patriots helped the French capitalists to organise the campaign of the Russian white guards, who had declared war against the working class and peasantry of Russia.

As regards the former minority of your Party, it never carried on a consistent, powerful, definitely-pronounced struggle against the repulsive majority, as was its sacred duty to do. Having

become the majority, it is still, up to this very day, carrying on an ambiguous policy, showing neither the requisite firmness, nor the necessary energy, and continuing its former contemptible opportunist line of conduct.

Albert Thomas, Renaudel, Jouhaux, and others continue even now to play the reactionary rôle of flunkies to the bourgeoisie. In the ranks of your Party, not only the acknowledged social-patriots, but many of the well-known representatives of the "Centre" (Longuet and others) still continue to affirm that the robber imperialist slaughter of 1914-1918 was for France a war of national defence. Your Party, in the person of its centrist majority, has not even up to this day said clearly to the workers of France that the world war was, both on the part of the German and of the French bourgeoisie, a war of plunder, of executioners, of robbers. The speeches of Longuet, Favre, Pressemane, and other leaders regarding "national defence" delivered at the Congress of Strassburg are very near to social-patriotism.

We must tell you frankly, comrades, that the internal condition of the French Socialist Party is worse even than that of the German Independent Party. You have remained behind, in comparison even with the German movement. You have not yet split with your acknowledged traitors, the social-patriots. You have not done even what the German Independents did in 1916. You have still in your Party such traitors as Albert Thomas, who does not disdain to occupy a responsible post in the robber League of Nations. Your Party still contains such personages as Pierre Renaudel, the devoted servant of the French bourgeoisie. You are still tolerating such traitors to the labour cause as Jouhaux and his partisans, who are now trying to revive the yellow International of Trade Unions. In your ranks you are enduring people who, by order of the capitalists of the Entente, are playing the comedy of organising an International Labour Office. In your Party you have still as members deputies who had the shamelessness to refrain from voting when the French Chamber of Deputies was discussing the shameful, bloody, robber treaty of Versailles.

You must agree, comrades, that such a state of affairs within the Party can in no wise be conducive to your accomplishing the mission which history has laid upon you.

It is not surprising, comrades, that under such

conditions the present official majority of the French Socialist Party, which considers itself to be international and revolutionist, is, in practice, carrying on a policy of hesitation, ambiguity, and double-dealing.

Let us examine in turns all the most important branches of your present daily work: (1) your parliamentary work, (2) your Press, (3) your propaganda in the villages and in the army, (4) your attitude towards the Trade Unions, (5) your attitude towards the latest acts of violence on the part of the French Government, (6) your attitude towards the Left Communist wing in your own Party, (7) your attitude towards the International.

1. The *parliamentary work* of your Socialist group in the Chamber of Deputies is, as formerly, not revolutionary, not proletarian and not Socialist. Each Socialist deputy acts in the way that the parliamentary group desires as a whole, practically not submitting to the Party. The group carries out only such resolutions of the Party majority which it pleases. It is not the spokesman of the French proletarian masses, which are burning with indignation against the French bourgeoisie. It is not responsible before the working masses. It does not expose the evil doings of the French Government. It does not carry on a revolutionary agitation among the many-millioned masses who participated in the war. It has not set itself the task of explaining to the working masses of France the cruel nature of the imperialist slaughter just ended. It does not call the workers to arm themselves. In a word, it is not only not preparing for a proletarian revolution, but, on the contrary, is sabotaging it by all the means in its power. Many of your parliamentary deputies are only politicians, and not the political fighters of the working class. By their whole conduct, many of your deputies are calling forth a feeling of repulsion against all parliamentary work in the French working masses, and this only brings grist to the mill of the anarchists. By its opportunism, your parliamentary group is only feeding and increasing the mistakes and prejudices of syndicalism. The result of the conduct of your deputies is only to strengthen the contemptuous attitude of the proletarian masses towards all parliamentary intrigues, and towards those who call themselves Socialists, but in reality are working hand in hand with the cruellest foes of the working class.

2. Your *daily Press*, and, first of all the papers, *L'Humanité* and *Le Populaire*, are not revolutionary proletarian publications. We do not see in these organs a daily systematic propaganda and agitation in favour of the ideas of a proletarian revolution. At best, these organs only speak in dry, unfeeling terms of the dictatorship of the proletariat. But these terms are not clothed in flesh and blood in your daily literary agitation. Your organs frequently resemble those of the French bourgeoisie. You also allot the chief place in your papers to parliamentary titbits and minor "events" in the bourgeois "spheres." Your organs do not know how, and do not wish, to become the authentic voices of the accumulated revolutionary ire of the proletarian masses. They do not picture the national disasters which the working masses of France are suffering from as a result of the war. Your organs confine themselves to dry, formal, pedantic, platonic protests. You have entrusted your organ of propaganda among the peasants to the hands of Compère-Morel, an acknowledged social-patriot.

It is necessary that you should desist from the inadmissible method of a proportional representation, which opens the pages of your Party Press to the poisoned writings of Renaudel and Co.

3. The same has to be said of your *agitation in the villages and in the army*. This agitation either does not exist at all, or it bears an ostensibly reformist character. Where and when did your Party explain to the French soldiers their revolutionary proletarian duties? As far as we know *nowhere and never*. If the correlation of forces in France at the present moment is such that the Socialists cannot do this by lawful means, *it is the duty of every honest proletarian to supplement lawful work by illegal work*; but in any case to fulfil his duty to the working class of his own country, and to the proletarians of the whole world.

4. *Your attitude towards the Trade Unions (syndicates)* is full of ambiguity. You are not only not carrying on a systematical theoretical struggle against the social-patriot leaders of the General Confederation of Labour, but you are screening them. When Jouhaux and Co. assisted the bourgeoisie to revive, in Amsterdam, the yellow International of Trade Unions, when the same Jouhaux and Co., together with Albert Thomas, departed for the International Labour Conference organised by the imperialists, when

the leaders of the General Confederation of Labour most treacherously prevented the strike on July 2, 1919, you did not declare war against them, you did not expose them to public scorn before all the workers of France, you did not denounce them as the basest of traitors against the workers' cause. No, you continue to "collaborate" with them. At best, you chide them good humouredly, you do not struggle against them. You do not set yourselves the task of saving the French Unions from the pernicious influence of the agents of capital.

During the big strikes in May, when the government jailed you, and the companies dismissed you, one of your comrades, Paul Boncour, reproached the government in parliament only for having forgotten the patriotic conduct of Jouhaux on August 2, 1914, and his useful services during the war and after.

5. The French bourgeoisie has been committing lately the most unheard of *acts of violence*—particularly against the Left Wing of the French Labour movement. It has cast Loriot, Monatte, Souvarine, and a number of other comrades into prison. What have you done in order to show your resistance to this campaign of the French capitalists? Why do you not sound the alarm? Why do you not begin a campaign throughout the whole country? Why do you limit yourselves only to an almost philanthropic agitation?

6. Your attitude towards the *Left Communist wing* of your own Party leaves much to be desired. You are not seeking to come into closer contact with the French Communists. On the contrary, you are organising a struggle against them. You are planning the affiliation to the Communist International, and at the same time you are doing nothing, or almost nothing, to bring you into closer and friendly relations with the Communists of your own country.

7. And lastly, your attitude towards the *International*. You remained in the ranks of the treacherous yellow Second International until it was left by the German Independents, and until the French workers compelled the present leaders of the French Socialist "Centre" to break with the yellow traitors. You sent your delegates to the illustrious Berne Conference. Some of them, it is true, defended the Russian revolution, but there were also attempts made to save the agonising Second International. You tried to create a new

intermediate tendency of so-called "Reconstructors." At the present moment, you do not assert openly your wish to join the Communist International. You have proclaimed your breach with the Second International, but at the same time you declare your solidarity with the Belgian Socialists—that is to say, with the social-traitor, Vandervelde, the leader of the Second International. You have declared your wish to join the Third International, and, at the same time, during the Kapp uprising, your official representative, Mistral, signed the declaration, together with the Bureau of the Second International, in which the German proletariat was called to defend the Republic of Noske and Scheidemann. You either ignore the existence of the Third International, or you carry on a half-concealed propaganda against it.

Your representative, Frossard, in his report handed to us in Moscow, even now continues to explain your non-affiliation to the Communist International by the fact that the larger parties of Western Europe have not yet joined our International. But you should not forget that, if among the largest parties of Western Europe you include such parties as are still infected with social-patriotism, we do not want such parties, and we shall never receive them in the ranks of the Communist International. All the bonafide revolutionary parties of Europe and America are already in our ranks.

The Communist International has become such a great power, that for some Socialists it is becoming the "fashion." Some of the adherents of the "Centre" begin to call themselves Communists, and they think that it is possible to join the Third International while continuing to carry on the former half-reformist policy. This the Communist International cannot admit. We shall not allow our organisation to become diluted. The Communist International must remain the *militant international association of communist workers*.

We pass now on to the direct questions put to us in the first written report of your representative Frossard. This report, among other things, asks what is our attitude towards the Trade Unions (syndicates) in France. This is a very important question, and it is necessary to give some space to it.

From our theses and other official documents of the Communist International, you know that we are most decisively protesting against the not

very numerous "Left" Communists, who are proposing that we should leave the ranks of the reactionary Trade Unions, shake their dust from off our feet, and organise as a counterblast to them a kind of new, shapeless "General Labour Union." This point of view of ours includes not only the free yellow Social-Democratic Unions of Legien & Co., but also the French Unions with Jouhaux & Co. at their head. *We are against* Revolutionists and Communists leaving the mass Trade Unions, even when these Unions have the misfortune to be the followers of Legien and Jouhaux. Revolutionists and Communists must be in parties where there are the working masses. The Russian Communists were for a long time in the minority in the Trade Unions. They knew how to struggle for their ideas within the limits of the most backward and even directly reactionary labour organisations.

We demand from our adherents in France that they should in no case *leave* the ranks of the Syndicalists. On the contrary, if they desire to accomplish their duty to the Communist International they are bound to increase the work within the Unions.

The Trade Unions are the last refuge of the social-patriots at the present moment. The Second International has fallen to pieces, as a political organisation, like a house of cards; but the new Amsterdam International of yellow Trade Unions is still an important base of operations for the social traitors. The Amsterdam yellow International is more harmful and dangerous to the world revolution than the League of Nations. By means of the Legiens, Gompers, and Jouhaux, the bourgeoisie is striving to turn the Amsterdam International of Trade Unions into the same tool for its robber aims, as were the Social-Democratic parties of the whole world during the imperialist war.

This imposes on us, Communists, the duty of increasing tenfold our attention to the Labour movement. We must at all costs wrench these Trade Unions out of the hands of the capitalists and social-traitors. For this purpose we must be *within* these Unions, and we must send all our best forces there.

Our partisans will remain in the Unions, but they will not act there separately, or each one by himself. *In each Union, in each Union branch, we must organise a Communist group, a Communist nucleus.* Inside the Unions, on the

ground of the daily struggle, we must denounce all the tricks of the great and small Jouhaux. We must open the eyes of the rank and file of the Unions. We must expel all the social-traitor leaders from the Unions. By means of a systematic and obdurate struggle, we must withdraw the Unions one after another from the influence of the social-traitors and yellow leaders of the Jouhaux type. The Russian Bolsheviks managed to accomplish this task by long-continued work. Even on the very eve of the October revolution, Russian Communists were in the minority in the Unions. After seizing power and giving new means of propaganda to the class-conscious workers, the Russian Bolsheviks managed, during a short time *after* the revolution, to win over a vast majority in the Trade Unions. The Communists and Revolutionists must follow this line of conduct throughout the whole world.

If, in his written report for Moscow, Frossard declares: "The General Confederation of Labour will not carry out a revolution without us (the Party), we shall not carry out a revolution without them (the Unions)." This phrase is, to say the least, not sufficiently clear. A revolution cannot be carried out with those who do not desire it. You will not effect a proletarian revolution with Messrs. Jouhaux, who have given up all their thoughts, all their efforts, to the task of preventing a proletarian revolution. You can only carry out a proletarian revolution *in spite of and against* Jouhaux, and in spite of Albert Thomas and Pierre Renaudel. If you will clear the Party of opportunism, if your deputies in Parliament will carry on a Communist propaganda, if you will expel the yellow members of your own Party, if you will become Communists, in a word then the rank and file workers, members of the syndicates, will follow your lead against Jouhaux. The sooner you do away with your own opportunism, the sooner will you overcome syndicalist prejudices.

The Red Trade Unions are beginning to organise on an international scale. On the invitation of the Executive Committee of the Communist International, the Radical Left Trade Unions of Italy, Russia and England have formed a triple alliance, which is convening an international congress of Red Labour Unions in August or September, and setting itself against the Amsterdam International of yellow Trade Unions. Support this undertaking in France.

See to it that all your syndicates join the International of Red Trade Unions, and once for all break with the yellow Unions. Such is the task of the bona-fide revolutionists in France.

Frossard's report contains a question, in a half-reproachful form, as to whether we insist on the expulsion of certain persons from your Party.

This is a question of serious importance, naturally, but it is not the only condition that defines our attitude towards you. Yes, we tell you frankly: you are lagging behind in comparison, even with the Independents of Germany. Whereas the German Independents have already raised the question regarding the expulsion of Kautsky, and consequently the followers of Kautskianism, your Party still includes among its members Albert Thomas and Renaudel, i.e., the French Noske and Scheidemann. Yes, we declare quite definitely that, in spite of the struggle which Longuet is carrying on in favour of the Russian Revolution, in spite of the verbal acknowledgment of the dictatorship of the proletariat, the ideological position and general activity of Longuet in the Press and in Parliament really resembles the propaganda which is carried on in Germany by Kautsky. Yes, we shall have to part with a whole number of your Right Wing leaders, who are thoroughly infected with reformism.

But the chief question is not that of the expulsion of certain persons, it is that of a rupture with a definite reformist tradition. The Communist International does not demand of you that you should immediately "make" a Soviet revolution. Anyone who represents the demands of the Communists in such a light, distorts our position. We demand only one thing: that in your daily work in the Press, in the Unions, in Parliament, at meetings, you should systematically and undeviatingly carry on an honest straightforward propaganda in favour of the ideas of dictatorship and Communism, that you should clear the way, for the proletarian revolution, that you should conscientiously struggle against all bourgeois-reformist ideas.

These are the principal things that we wished to say to you, comrades.

Your delegates Cachin and Frossard declared to us officially the day before their departure that they agree to the conditions stipulated by the Second Congress of the Communist International. They asserted that, on their return to France, they would propose to the French So-

cialist Party to break radically with the old reformist tactics, and to adopt a Communist line of conduct.

It is not necessary to add that we shall be very pleased if the French Labour movement will at last really find its way out into the broad highway. We shall carefully watch the further course of events in the French Socialist Party. The Congress will empower the Executive Committee to receive your Party into the ranks of the Communist International, if the conditions proposed by the Congress are accepted by you and effectively carried out.

In conclusion, we are formulating several definite paragraphs which we consider to be important, and to which we shall await your clear and precise answer.

We fully confirm our reply to the German Independent Party, which is also published in the Paris Communist Press. This reply is almost wholly addressed also to you, the present majority of the French Socialist Party.

In respect to your conditions in France we advance the following ten propositions:

1. The French Socialist Party must effect a radical change in the nature of its daily propaganda and agitation in the Press, in the spirit indicated above.

2. In the question of the colonies, a specially distinct and clear line of conduct is necessary on the part of all parties in countries where the bourgeoisie holds sway over colonial nations. The French Party must denounce relentlessly all the deals of the French imperialists in the colonies, and support, by word and deed, all movements towards liberation, popularising the motto: "Imperialists, away from the colonies"; it must teach the workers of France to consider the working population of the colonies as their own brothers, and carry on a systematic agitation in the French army against the oppression of the colonies.

3. The French Party must expose the deceitfulness and hypocrisy of social-pacifism, systematically proving to the workers that without a revolutionary overthrow of capitalism no international arbitration, no talk of disarmament, can save mankind from new imperialist wars.

4. The French Socialist Party must begin to organise revolutionary Communist elements within the General Confederation of Labour for the struggle against the social-traitor leaders of the Confederation,

5. The French Socialist Party must establish, not in words only, but in practice, the strictest subordination of the parliamentary group to the Party in general. It must acknowledge as belonging to the Party only such deputies as will conscientiously carry out the resolutions of the Party, and will modify all their daily parliamentary work as indicated above.

6. The present majority of the French Socialist Party must radically modify its attitude towards the Left Communist wing of the French labour movement. The Party must allow the representatives of the Communists to have access to the pages of all its organs. The present majority must seek to enter into close and sincere relations with the Communist elements of France.

7. The French Socialist Party must break with reformism, and carry out a systematical weeding-out of all elements which are not willing to move along the new revolutionary lines.

8. The French Socialist Party must change its name also, and become known to the whole world as the Communist Party of France.

9. The French comrades must admit the necessity of a combination of legal and illegal work, at a time when the bourgeoisie introduces martial law against the workers and their leaders.

10. The French Party, like all other parties desirous of joining the Third International, must recognise the resolutions of the Communist International as absolutely binding on the Party. The Communist International understands fully all the diversity of conditions under which the workers of different countries have to carry on their struggle. The Congress of the Communist International will always take note of these conditions, and pass generally-binding resolutions only in matters in which such resolutions can be passed.

We ask you to acquaint all the French workers with this answer of ours.

Comrades, we have quite frankly told you our opinion on a whole series of important questions. We know that only a small number of your leaders will acquiesce in what we have just said. But we are sure that a vast majority of the class-conscious worker Socialists and honest revolutionary syndicalists of France are with us in their hearts. In whatever way our mutual relations may develop in the immediate future, we are firmly convinced that the French proletariat will create a powerful Communist Party, and occupy one of the first places in the international army of the struggling proletariat. It cannot be that the revolutionary working class of France, with its wonderful revolutionary traditions, its high degree of culture, its readiness for self-sacrifice, its excellent militant temperament, will not create a mighty Communist Party at the moment when the extinction of the bourgeois order has obviously begun.

Comrades, next year the international proletariat will celebrate the fiftieth anniversary of the Paris Commune—that great uprising of the workers whose continuation is the proletarian revolution in Russia. With all our hearts we wish for the French proletariat that the fiftieth anniversary of the great Paris Commune should find you organised into a mighty proletarian Communist Party, continuing the best traditions of the Paris Commune, and ready to storm the strongholds of capital.

Long live the working class of France!

Long live a single and powerful French Communist Party!

With friendly greetings:

**G. Zinoviev, N. Lenin, G. Serrati,
P. Levy, A. Rosmer.**

July 29, 1920.

The Second Congress of the Communist International

Comrade Zinoviev's Address at the Session of the Petrograd Soviet
on August 12, 1920

COMRADES allow me to present to you a report on what took place at our Second World Congress of the Communist International. I must mention, however, that I have not been able to prepare all the documents, and therefore shall give you only a general outline of the work of the Congress.

Comrades, we called our Congress a World Congress: and now, when you have the possibility of obtaining information from one of the participators in the Congress, you will see that it is no vain boast on our part, but that the Congress was verily a WORLD one.

I have before me a list of all the organisations which took part in the Congress. I shall read it to you, enumerating the names of the countries only. There were representatives from: England, Germany, France, Sweden, Spain, Hungary, Portugal, Italy, Mexico, Switzerland, Turkey, Poland, East Galicia, Lithuania, White Russia, Georgia, Latvia, Persia, Korea, America, Holland, India, Norway, Denmark, Finland, Esthonia, Czecho-Slovakia, Armenia, Belgium, Azerbeidjan, and naturally our Russia. Thus, you see that all the important countries in which there is a Labour movement, and even a revolutionary movement in general, including also the national-revolutionary movements, have sent representatives to our Congress: and therefore we are fully entitled to call it a World Congress.

At the same time as the Communist International held its Congress, that of the Second Yellow International took place, or is even still taking place, at Geneva. We do not know yet what Parties are represented at that Congress; but if we subtract from the total sum of Labour Parties those which were at Moscow, not in Geneva, the figure for Geneva will not be far from zero. We can say beforehand that the Geneva Congress was attended either by intentionally Yellow "Socialist" Parties, which have

long ago become bourgeois agencies, or by completely fictitious groups. Of the former, the representatives of the German Social-Democratic Party of Noske and Scheidemann are at Geneva; from Hungary there are two delegates—I do not remember their names, unfortunately—but it will be sufficient to inform you that one of them was denounced as simply a provocator during the bourgeois republic, and the other continues to remain in the service of Admiral Horthy—and he went to the International Congress at Geneva. A striking contrast was presented by the two Congresses: on the one hand, in Moscow, an assembly of all the revolutionary, militant spirit of the international working class; and on the other hand, in Geneva, in the capital of a small, petty-bourgeois "Democratic" Republic, the representatives of the old, decaying Social-Democracy. In the persons of these traitors we had a whole museum out of the land of shadows: we might find there Mr. Vanderfelde, and we might meet "Socialist" detectives, people who had taken part in the tortures inflicted at Budapest, etc. And all this honourable company bears the name of the Second International.

We are not in a position to make you acquainted with the resolutions passed at Geneva; only one communication reached us, namely, that in Geneva the diplomat of Holland, the opportunist Troelstra, proposed a resolution to the effect that it had been decided that the working class shall be entitled to have recourse to a general strike in order to achieve its ends. Troelstra is trying to gild his black and yellow International in order to show it up to the working class as an organisation which ought to be more or less acceptable. He is endeavouring to keep pace with the international movement, and declares generously that the working class may have recourse to general strikes. And this

is said now, when the working class has long ago outgrown the general strike. I am speaking not only of Russia but of Hungary, Finland, Latvia, and Germany—it has frequently even recurred to armed risings as a last resource. Therefore to say now that the final weapon is a general strike means to help the bourgeoisie. The latter does not desire a general strike, it is true; but certainly it would prefer that we should regard as a final weapon the theory of folded arms.

What remains in the Second International is dragging the proletariat back to the theory of folded arms. Those who assembled under the banner of the Third International are leading the international proletariat forward, pointing out that an armed rising, as an already tested measure must be applied again and again until the advance guard of the world proletariat will have liberated mankind from the yoke of capitalism by means of fire and iron.

Comrades, the parties and groups attending this Congress were not completely homogeneous. Every class-conscious worker understands that, after such a crisis as the international working class has passed through in connection with the imperialist war, after the collapse of the Second International which buried the best hopes of the advanced proletariat of all countries, after all that we experienced four or five years ago, after tens and hundreds of the old leaders of Socialism have passed over to the side of the bourgeoisie, after in the Second International all the old conceptions and ideas have become confused and entangled, and black has been called white, it is natural that the working class had to pass through a great mental crisis. It would have been wonderful indeed if everything would have gone on smoothly at once on new lines. The working class had to find its way and evolve new leaders from its ranks, it had to reform its organisations against the bourgeoisie and the social traitors, it had to find its bearings after the end of the war in extraordinarily complicated circumstances. It is quite natural that several new groupings, new tendencies, have come to life in the working class, and now these groups and tendencies were represented at the Second Congress of the Communist International.

We had there a *series* of groups: the primary nucleus were the Parties which are purely Communist by their traditions, their history, and organisation; and we had at the same time representatives of not definitely formed organisations—tendencies and shades of Labour thought

which have been evolved from the ruins of the Second International and the gigantic crisis of capitalist society. We had the representatives of the best part of the new movement, known under the name of Shop Stewards' Committees in England and Australia, the movement known under the name of Industrial Workers of the World in America and in other countries, etc. These groups are not purely Communist in their programs. They have passed through a different history from us in Russia, or from our Hungarian comrades. They were born as a result of the world war. They represent, as I have said before in one of my articles, a clenched fist raised over the capitalist order, but they have no clear program in their heads, nor sufficient clearness in their organisations. They are labouring under a number of syndicalist and anarchist prejudices. Some of the adherents of those organisations disagree with us in the question as to whether we should make use of the Parliamentary tribune for the purposes of a Communist revolutionary agitation; others, entertaining special views in regard to Labour Unions, presume that a Labour Union may act as a substitute for the Party. And there is a whole number of points of discord between these groups and ourselves.

The question before us, comrades, stood thus: Should we admit into our midst this new, rather large group, which I repeat has no strictly defined organisation, but which exercises a spiritual influence over hundreds of thousands of workers of different countries. Should we fence ourselves off from them because they had not sufficiently matured towards a clear conception of Communism, or should we receive them into our ranks, in order that they might learn within the walls of the Third International, outgrow their prejudices in our ranks, and become true Communists?

The Second International had its special traditions. Anyone who is acquainted with its history knows that, as soon as any group of workers attempted to disagree with the conventional views of the Second International, they were ostracised, ridiculed, not allowed to attend the Congress, pointed at. It was said of them: "They are Syndicalists; we are not such sinners as those poor publicans," and so on.

The Third International could not follow this course. We have struggled, and we shall struggle, against all Syndicalist misconceptions, confusions, and prejudices which the organisa-

tions that I have mentioned above are suffering from; but we shall not forget that tens and hundreds of thousands of proletarians are struggling in their ranks, and honestly desiring the overthrow of the capitalist order; they will be ready to mount the barricades with us against international capital, they are as much enemies of the bourgeois order as we are—and that is undoubtedly the principal thing for the moment. With such revolutionary groups, which, although they do not belong to our Party in England, America, Australia, and France, still openly stand up for the dictatorship of the proletariat, honestly supporting the Soviet form of government, striving to enter the ranks of the Third International, and engaging themselves to comply with its decisions—with such workers we shall become fellow travellers, and we invite them to join our ranks, so that they may get rid painlessly of their prejudices.

I must say that this resolution was not passed without a struggle. Some of the representatives of the Communist Parties, and first of all the most influential representative of the German Communist Party—I have had occasion to write of this in the papers—said: “We have been delegated to a Congress of Communists, and you wish to flood this Congress with representatives of the Shop Stewards’ Committees, the Industrial Workers of the World, etc. You are distorting the Second Congress of the Communist International—this is not what we expected.” They pointed out to us that it was necessary for us first of all to unite a group of partisans, but not to strive after numerical force. And when we, by an overpowering majority in the Executive Committee, passed a resolution inviting these groups, the same representative of the doctrinaire tendency made a speech to the effect that we had “buried” the Third International!

I am telling you of this episode because it has an international significance, and we have to decide whether the course adopted by our Party and followed by the Congress was the right one. We laughed at the assertion that the Third International had perished.

It seems to me, comrades, that anyone who will consider the situation will agree that the result of our decision cannot and will not cause the ruin of the Third International.

We have allowed our ranks to be joined by the representatives of *labour* organisations, of *labour* parties, which are honestly adhering to the Third International, and which came flying

to Moscow like moths to the light, in order to follow the directions that Moscow is giving, and which in their own countries, during and after the war, have shown by their actions that they are bona-fide revolutionary fighters against capitalism. Can we close our doors in the face of workers’ groups which are coming to us now, when the working class is finding its way, when it is beginning to organise on an international scale, and when the last decisive fights are being prepared? Shall we close the doors at such a moment, when the theoretical superiority of Communism has been acknowledged by all, when its principal essential force is represented by the Russian proletariat, led by the Communist Party? At such a moment, can we close our doors in the face of *proletarian* groups, which are only not quite rid of certain prejudices, called forth partly by the past history of the Second International, and partly by the present conditions in Europe? But even the parties which call themselves Communist are frequently not at all Communist.

I shall take for example the *Italian* Party. This Party is one of the best, the workers are revolutionarily inclined, and ready for a proletarian revolution; and, nevertheless, there is a large Reformist-Menshevik wing in the Party. In their Socialist parliamentary group, they have about a hundred semi-bourgeois lawyers who are ready to betray the workers’ cause any day. The old functionaries of the labour movement are reformists, and, if they are supporting Communism, they do so compulsorily, because the workers are forcing their hand. Comrades, is it astonishing that, with such a state of affairs in Italy, there are two hundred thousand revolutionary workers who are ready for the revolution but who do not belong to the Communist Party and are followers of the anarchist-syndicalists? One may easily understand that the revolutionary workers, whose blood is up, and who are willing to engage in a final fight with the Italian bourgeoisie, do not like a Party which has reformists among its members. It is under such conditions that a group of revolutionary workers is created outside the Communist Party. And in Italy there has been organised a union of unions at the head of which are syndicalists and anarchists, with most confused revolutionary ideas, but for the most part bona-fide revolutionary workers, ready at any moment to enter into the final fight against the bourgeoisie.

It is the same thing in England and in America.

You all know that neither in England nor in America is there a Communist Party of any importance. Opportunism is so shameless there, it has so far subordinated the labour movement, that it was impossible to create a serious Communist Party. All that is revolutionary and against opportunism in England and America is seeking for other outlets, and forming different groups, such as the Shop Stewards' Committees, the Industrial Workers of the World, etc. And, in a roundabout way, this movement is verging towards the formation of a Communist Party. History sometimes takes these winding ways.

From the point of view of the International, we have to take account of the fact that in such countries as England and America, there is no strong Communist Workers' Party; there is a scarcely formed but ostensibly proletarian revolutionary movement which is developing towards Communism, and with which we are bound to unite, which we are bound to organise in order to teach, and give it a strictly defined organisation and mottoes.

Starting from this standpoint, we maintained that this new, hardly-formed, movement is the obvious result of the transitional period after the war, and that it must be taken in tow by us because these people are desirous of adhering to the Third International and to fight together with us against the bourgeoisie. To this, the groups which I call doctrinaire replied: "We are bound to struggle against both the Right and Left deviations from Communism." We replied: "No, no, and a thousand times no!" We are bound to struggle against deviations from Communism both to the Right and to the Left, but in no wise with the same measures, or with the same methods. We must struggle against reformism and Social-pacifism. Against these the struggle must be a destructive one. This is a class foe. Although individual reformists, as individuals, are worthy of respect, at the present moment they are the greatest hindrance to the Communist movement. Against them we must use a destructive struggle and the ultimative demand: their expulsion from the ranks of the Communist Party. Against the "Left" opposition—we say Left in quotations, because there can be no *more* Left tendency than the Communists—other measures must be adopted. Here we have to do with people who are the Communists of to-morrow; they are the nucleus of the revolutionary workers, who wish to march with us. We did not enter into a coalition with

the doctrinaire tendency. At the final vote in the Executive Committee, all except three or four votes adopted the views of our Party, which maintained that these are new groups belonging to the transitional period, they are proletarian groups which we are bound to invite into our ranks. And we did invite them.

After a fortnight of work—a Congress is always a serious school for all of us—we may say with satisfaction that we have acted rightly. We parted with this "Left Wing"—we call it "Left" conditionally—like friends, and they will go on to England, to America and other countries, to defend our views there, and to help their adherents to get rid of the prejudices under which they had been labouring up to now.

I consider this the most important achievement of the work of our Second Congress. We have won over new *bona fide*, honest, and purely proletarian workers to our side. We have won over the representatives of new tens, and perhaps hundreds, of thousands to-morrow, perhaps millions of workers, who have learnt to wish to engage in a decisive fight against the bourgeoisie, but who do not know *how* to organise for the purpose, who have no clear program.

This program will be given to them by the Communist International. With our help, these organisations will plan the character of the fight. We have not driven back this transitional group, but we have received it into the Third International, so as to help the workers of other countries to gain a firm footing.

Comrades, we had another special group at the Congress. This was the group of repentant sinners: the representatives of the French Socialist Party and the representatives of the German Independent Party.

The French Party is the official Party of French Socialists, which sided completely with the bourgeoisie during the war, but part of which is now pulling itself together, voting against war credits and against the treaty of Versailles, and has recently expressed its wish to join the Third International. The German Party numbers one million of organised workers, and is the strongest labour Party in Germany as to its numerical force.

These two groups were represented by their official delegates at our Congress. The question of what attitude to assume towards them was of the highest importance, because on this depended the direction of the Communist movement. I am therefore dwelling at greater length

on our attitude towards the French and the German Socialist Parties.

The French Party delegated Cachin and Frossard. The former is the Editor of the Socialist organ, the latter the Secretary of the Party. Cachin belonged to those who, at the beginning of the Russian revolution, were for the continuation of the war against Germany, the advance inspired by Kerensky; but who are now honestly repenting. He is a sincere partisan of the working class, and an absolutely disinterested man; but nevertheless he wrought irreparable harm by his tactics during the war. At a meeting in Moscow, before the beginning of the Congress, he declared publicly that he *acknowledged* his mistakes, and that in the name of his friends he asks the Russian working class to forgive him. He said: "I ask your pardon." Certainly, comrades, a sin confessed is half forgiven, and the only thing remaining for us to do was to accept his apologies.

But the political side of the matter is of importance in this case. The French Party has a certain number of men like Cachin who are repenting sincerely and asking to be forgiven, but there are also some persons who are coming to us for the sake of diplomacy, who feel that the ground is slipping away from under their feet, and that their only safety lies in the Third International. Such men are accustomed to opportunism. They are not used to struggle for their ideas; and once the Third International has carried the field, they wish to catch hold of it somehow and await events; perhaps, the cloud may pass away, the bourgeois sun will shine again, warming the old bones of international opportunism. Many of these "diplomats" declare that they are standing on the platform of the Communist International. This, comrades, is the same thing as happened a year ago, when the representatives of the bourgeoisie said in Moscow and Petrograd that they stood on the platform of the Soviet Power. One will stand on any platform if there is nothing else to stand upon—and so the leaders of international opportunism declare that they are standing on our platform.

We invited them to our Congress in order to allow the Russian and international proletariat to have a look at them, to show them up as on a screen, that the workers might know them and express their opinion of them. They attended the Congress, and also our Commission, almost till the end. We gave them a definite answer:

"We have drawn up 21 conditions for the admission to the Communist International. *Twenty-one conditions.* We racked our brains in vain to invent ten conditions more, to make it more difficult for them; but our inventive faculties could do no more. We presume, however, that this will be enough for them: twenty-one conditions.

If we say it is not easy for a camel to pass through a needle's eye, then the opportunist will find it still more difficult to pass through the twenty-one conditions. The first condition stipulates that all newspapers should be edited by trustworthy Communists. This condition is disagreeable to them, because they are all doctors, writers, and they live by their writings. Besides this, we demand that their posts be occupied by firm and reliable Communists, past supporters of the Third International. We demand that those who vote against the twenty-one conditions should be expelled. We demand that all doubtful elements be expelled, etc., etc.

When the French delegates were leaving Russia we gave Cachin an open letter to the French workers, in which we opened up all the sores of the French Socialist Party. We pointed out that their Party as a whole was counter-revolutionary, that their papers are carrying on a petty-bourgeois, not a revolutionary policy. We enumerated by name all the "Socialists" who are at the head of their parties, and who first lead the proletariat directly to the slaughter, at the order of the bourgeoisie, and now are veering round towards the Communist International. We gave them this letter, and they promised to publish it in the papers, so that they should publicly avow themselves beaten. This letter gives such descriptive details that every class-conscious worker, when he reads it, will say: "Ha! these are all old friends!" We did this in order that the process of purification in the Socialist Party of France should continue further, and the honest revolutionary elements become separated. We have not introduced this Party into the Communist International, and we shall not receive it, until all the opportunists will have left it. The Congress spoke of the necessity of a "purification."

Yes, comrades, we demand that all the organizations which have done such harm to the international proletarian revolution be well weeded-out. We did not receive the French Party itself into our ranks; but we have shown every rank and file worker that the way to the Third Inter-

national is free; only at first he must *purge* his Party, eliminating therefrom all those who are leading it to the side of the bourgeoisie.

We maintained the same tactics in regard to the German Independent Party, which is the largest of all. Its membership amounts to 1,000,000. According to its contingent, it is undoubtedly a proletarian Party. At the present, comparatively peaceful moment in Germany, several thousand members of the Party are in prison. Naturally, when we hear of such a fact, we bow in respect before these thousands of workers sitting in the bourgeois prisons of Germany, and we say: once there is such a number of militant revolutionists, it is clear that many of them wish to conduct a serious revolutionary struggle. Our friends arriving from Germany all unanimously assert that, during the mass demonstration of the workers, the majority of Independent workers go hand in hand with us, and it is difficult to distinguish a Communist worker from an Independent worker, especially a Left Winger. This is a fact we have to reckon with.

In view of this, our object was to divide the delegates of the German Independent Party into two wings. The Left Wing of the Independents does not exist yet, as a separate organisation. They have not been able to organise, nor to form a centralised group; but theoretically they are nevertheless beginning to congregate together, and definitely to parry the measures of the Right Wing, compelling the latter to retreat more and more under the blows of the class struggle. Two Left Wingers and two Right Wingers, or Centrists, came to our Congress. We allowed all of them to take part in it, with a consultative vote, in spite of the fact that certain clamourers considered that this was a desecration of the Congress. But we thought that, for the sake of the German workers, it is necessary that all the intricate workings within the Independent Party should be exposed before such an audience as the International Congress, and that this indistinct hidden struggle between the two tendencies should be laid bare, so that we could put our questions clearly.

I cannot stop to relate all the events of the struggle, but I wish to state that, at the last meeting of the Communist International after the Congress, we saw how a split occurred between the delegates of the German Independent Party. One half, the centrists Dittman and Crispian, declared that, although on the one hand they "were

not unwilling to admit" and on the other hand "quite ready to acknowledge" and so forth, they thought we were demanding too much, etc., etc. At the same time, the other half of the delegation—bona-fide revolutionists, but as yet without a definite program, and with no definite line of conduct—declared that they (Däumig and Stoecker) accepted all the conditions stipulated by the Congress, would demand at all their congresses the unconditional recognition of the Communist International, and that they fully join in all our conditions. (In the said conditions we demand the expulsion of Kautsky and Hilferding.)

Comrades, this split is significant in so far that it will undoubtedly penetrate into the very depths of the working masses, where we are sure that we will acquire a vast majority of the workers—of those who take part in demonstrations with the Communists, mount the barricades, and so on. We are convinced that division among the leaders will involve an accelerated division in the masses. We are sure that we will succeed in obtaining the formation of a *mass* Communist Party in Germany, in which will be united the Spartacists and the present Communist Labour Party. (We also urgently invited the latter to our Congress, with the right of a decisive vote, but it did not take part in the Congress. The Party sent two delegates, Paul and Merkes, who fled at the last moment, fearing that they would not be able to sustain a theoretical struggle against us.) We hope that the best part of the Independents and Spartacists, under the leadership of the Communist International, will be able to organise in the immediate future a *mass* Communist Party, which will be supported by hundreds of thousands of organised members of the proletariat, evolved from the feeble Left Wing of the Independents, and adopting the program drawn up by the Second Congress of the Communist International. This is what I had to say in regard to the separate groups and the theoretical struggle of the Congress.

Our work in general and on the whole is known to you from the papers. The first question of importance was that of *the rôle of the Communist Party in the proletarian revolution*. This question is quite clear in Russia, because we have had occasion to prove it by experience; but on an international scale it has not been decided yet.

There are some revolutionary groups which consider that a Communist Party is not necessary. Our good friends, the Left Syndicalists of

France, are writing articles entitled: "All power to the Industrial Unions." They say: "Yes, Soviet Power is necessary; all that it has done is necessary; but what is the use of a Party? All can be done by an Industrial Union!" This is also being said by the I.W.W., the Shop Stewards' Committees, and similar organisations.

This erroneous view may be explained quite simply: a scalded cat fears cold water. Our comrades in England, France, and America, scalded by the "Social-Democratic" Parties which were the assistants of the capitalists, now think that there can be no Parties which would not turn traitors, there can be no Party which in Parliament would remain true to the Red banner. A political struggle and a parliamentary struggle are synonymous to them. If ever a Party obtains access into parliament, it must necessarily slip on the slippery floor. We may understand this point of view, but we must combat it by means of propaganda and by our own actions. We must show in practice that not only is the existence of a proletarian Party possible, but that there exists already a bona fide Communist proletarian Party, welded out of one piece of metal, with an iron discipline, by its proletarian leaders, and destined to be at the head of the working class, to lead it in all the most critical moments.

We can only persuade the workers by means of actions and facts. At the Congress we said to these "Left Wingers": you do not believe that there are other political labour Parties than Scheidemann's Henderson's, and such as those. But see, here is the Communist Party of Russia, here is its attitude towards the working class, here is its specific gravity in the world struggle! You do not believe in the existence of honest political Parties. But here is the German Communist Party, here is its parliamentary leader Karl Liebknecht, who knew how to hold the Red banner and to die for it. Here is the Communist Party of Germany which has revived after severe defeats. You are not sure that there are Parties of another calibre than the old formal Social-Democratic Parties? Here is the Hungarian Communist Party, which managed to seize power at the most difficult moment, then to resume its illegal position, and now to prepare as an illegal Party for the inevitable new struggle. We pointed out that even in the smaller countries new Communist Parties are forming. We said: the new epoch will put forward new proletarians, who will be faithful in parliament or anywhere

else whither the working class may send them: to-day they will stand by their machine guns, afterwards they will be in the Red Army, after that at the head of the Food Commission, and so on: but all the time they remain true to their class and ready to die for it at the decisive moment. And, comrades, *this* argument took effect on these people. If we had closed our doors in their faces, and said "We are undefiled Communists, you are not such; please go away and stay away until you understand us"—then certainly we would have rendered a great service to the bourgeoisie. But when we opened for them the doors of the Communist International; when we invited them to our Commissions; when we related to them the gigantic history of our own Russian revolution; when we related the circumstances of our own struggle in the Russian Labour movement, how the unions were first Menshevik Unions, what rôle the Soviets played in Kerensky's time, and what a gigantic rôle the Party minority played when it helped the Soviets to gain the highroad; when we illustrated the rôle of the *present* Communist Party as the advance leader of the proletariat revolution; when we showed this rôle *up to the moment* and *at the moment of the uprising* and *after the victory*, when it was necessary to organise the power and the army; then they understood our point of view. We said: "You think that Industrial Unions can do all this, that they are sufficient? But how was the Red Army organised? Do you think it was according to the different trades, i.e., a Red Army of weavers, of tanners, of metallists, etc? No, it must be *one* Red Army; and, if so, then there must be *one* power to organise it. Only the Party can be such a power." These arguments of ours were evolved out of the experiences of the most titanic proletarian revolution, which I may say has now involved the whole world—and they could not but influence our comrades who are sincerely desirous of a proletarian revolution. The majority of them came over to our side, as we expected. The Commission drew up a resolution on the rôle of the proletarian Party which was passed unanimously. It was voted for by Rosmer, the representative of the French minority in the syndicalist Unions, and by the representatives of the English syndicalist tendency, Comrade Ramsay, who voiced the frame of mind of the whole Anglo-American group.

This was the hardest blow that could be dealt to the old ideology, the most powerful blow to

the Second International. We thus saved ourselves from the danger that, within the present Labour movement, new groups might have been formed which might have become toys in the hands of the bourgeoisie. In this way we achieved the greatest moral victory of Communism in this question, and of the Communist nucleus; and I consider that this is one of the main achievements of the Congress.

The debates on parliamentarism, which I touch on but slightly, were carried on on the same plane. We proposed that *revolutionary parliamentarism should be recognised* as one of the methods of our struggle. When we were told that there can be no revolutionary parliamentarism, we mentioned Karl Liebknecht and the example shown by the Russian Bolshevik Deputies in the Czarist Duma. We were told: "Yes, but the situation in Russia was different, it was revolutionary."

We replied to them: "But the revolution is beginning everywhere. The world revolution is a fact. In this respect, there is no difference between you and Russia. The revolutionary epoch has begun everywhere; everywhere new conditions are being created, in the parliaments new speeches are being made, there is a possibility there for sharp draughts, and stormy winds, and new revolutionary tempests.

On this question we also obtained a maximum of unanimity. We obtained that the workers of all the world have joined us and said that we must not allow our hands to be tied.

Certainly our chief method is the general strike and the armed rising. That is what *decides* the struggle. But at the time when the working class is cowed it would be ridiculous if we were to abandon the possibility of calling out to it from the bourgeois parliamentary tribune: "Organise! Prepare for the struggle!"

Comrade Bukharin at the Congress compared the rôle of revolutionary deputies in the bourgeois parliament with that of scouts and spies in a war. According to my opinion, the comparison is a good one, although it may offend the ears of some of the old pious parliamentarians. Yes, we must send out scouts into the enemy's bourgeois camp, men who may help the working class as Liebknecht did. The working class must cherish each slightest possibility for the organisation of our forces; because the curse of our class is that we are not organised, that we do not always act like a compact mass, that we are not always sure of our way.

We discussed the *agrarian question*, and there was a moment, comrades when the debates became most interesting. The representatives of the German Independent Right Wing (through Crispin), attempted to censure our agrarian program as a petty bourgeois one, in that we say that, when the working class takes the power, it must adopt a number of measures that would make the middle and small peasant feel that he had acquired something from the revolution, and that in this sense we cannot refuse to divide some of the larger estates, domains, etc. We referred them to the Hungarian example. We were told by our Hungarian comrades that on the next day of the Hungarian revolution *no* changes were to be seen in the Hungarian villages. Consequently the peasants in the villages did not feel that any changes had taken place: the same landowners, the same village policemen remained.

This was one of the greatest obstacles to the proletarian revolution: the Hungarian workers got no help from the peasants. Fancy what would have happened if in Russia the villages had remained unchanged, and the peasants, on awakening on the morrow after the October revolution, had found themselves as before in the power of their former landlords and the village police. Would the peasants have been on our side? The villages give us our Red Army, the villages are the foundation without which the proletariat cannot win the victory. Therefore, in our agrarian resolution, we showed the workers of other countries that they must follow the Russian way.

On this point also some of the Marxist doctrinaires argued: "Agricultural production on a large scale is more profitable than on the small estates. How can a Marxist consent to a distribution of land?" The naive doctrinaires do not understand that this is a question wholly subordinate to the general interests of the revolution. In places where land concentration has already taken place, where we have a concentrated agricultural production, we will not need to parcel out the land in pieces, because there are many village proletarians there, and we shall be able to create a Soviet economic management. The proletarian revolution needs reserves to carry on the struggle, and these inexhaustible reserves are supplied by the middle peasantry. The proletariat must lead part of the peasantry behind it, and at least neutralise the other part. The Italian professor-Communist Graziadei, at the Congress, said that the Marxist theory on the

agrarian question has not been justified. We have proved that this is not so. In the new circumstances, in the revolution taking place before our eyes, we are applying the Marxist theory in the agrarian question. The Congress passed an unanimous resolution on the agrarian question, and only a few people abstained from voting.

We rendered a good service to the international proletariat by giving an answer to the most difficult question: how should we—the Party of the proletarian masses in the towns—act in order to obtain from the very first day ever new reserves from the villages.

Further: the *national and colonial question*. The East is awakening—new hundreds of millions of people who trust only in the Third International. They have been deceived too deeply and too often. They were always looked upon as a lower race. The yellow and the black people were considered to be inferior to the whites. At our Congress we had the first swallows—the first Communist representatives from the East. By the side of the delegates from Ireland, where together with the national movement a Communist one is just commencing, we saw the representatives of the national movement in India, Turkey, Persia, Korea, and a whole series of other oppressed countries. And with them we elaborated the theses on the basis of which we are to continue the struggle together.

These oppressed people have been awakened by the Russian revolution. When they arise, when they understand that their hour has come, the whole earth will shudder, and it will become clear to all that the last hour has struck for capitalism. We have won the full confidence of the advanced groups of the awakening East. It is the merit of the Communist International. The nucleus of the organised proletarians of the West will be the leaders of the multi-millioned masses of the East.

In our theses we proclaimed, on the initiative of Lenin, that the Soviet order is possible also in countries where there are no industrial workers, and where the majority of the population are peasants. Why should the system of Peasants Soviets be impossible in such countries as Persia, India, Turkey? Why should it be impossible at such a time, when international imperialism is breaking up on all sides, and when the popular masses *have* to invent a new system of government? The Soviet power is *possible* also in the purely peasant, colonial, backward countries.

I am convinced that each step of a bona-fide revolutionary movement in these countries will prove this.

Lastly, we discussed the question of *Trade Unions and factory committees*. In this question we at times met with a most vexatious resistance on the part of certain American and English groups, which may be explained, however, by the lack of development of the Communist movement in these countries. These delegates did not understand that a factory committee cannot be set against an industrial union; they did not understand that at a certain moment the factory committees help to seize the power, afterwards becoming the basis of industrial unions; they did not conceive that the Party must lead the unions—that the Party in which the advance guard of the working class is organised must lead *all* the working organisations, in whatever branch they may be working.

The animated debates on this question sometimes reflected only the various stages of the movements in different countries. As a result, we summarised the experience of all the countries in order to give directions to the workers of the whole world. In Russia we also have people who consider that Trade Unions are not necessary. That is a harmful view. I had a very instructive conversation with Comrade Bela Kun on the subject. He said that at the beginning of the Hungarian revolution some of the Communists had asserted that the Trade Unions were not necessary, and had thus greatly weakened our position in the labour movement. I think that the voice of the International Congress must ring out sufficiently authoritatively for the few who are still in doubt, and who are hesitating up to now.

We adopted the Constitution of the Communist International; its substance is that we form a *single International Communist Party* of the whole world, which has its branches in Russia, Germany, France, Italy, etc. We must create an iron discipline on an international scale. We confirmed the Constitution, which entitles the Executive Committee to expel whole parties and groups from the Party if they should in any way infringe the international discipline. We declared that we need a single centralised international organisation of the working class. The struggle for the centralisation, for the formation of a complete international unity, will be a hard one.

The Second International was an empty sound, a post box: into which separate parties threw their papers and declarations, which the secretary afterwards took out to summarise their contents. We said to the opponents of centralisation: "You wish to have such a box again, only larger in dimensions and painted red. But we want an International of bona-fide, harmonious, unified action. We are aware that we are beginning a struggle against the bourgeoisie, which will cling to power with its teeth, which will tear and scratch us until we kill it."

In beginning this struggle, we must be organised, we must have every man registered. We must have an international discipline. We know what a civil war is. Without the strictest discipline we, in Russia, would have perished long ago. This iron discipline is the first commandment of the Communists. We said: "You are ready to worship the Russian revolution, and now we propose to you to profit by its experience. Let us create on an international scale an organisation which would be able to lead its detachments to the fight according to an organised well-planned system, which would know exactly what forces are at its disposal, and which, at any given moment, would be able to give the maximum of assistance to any detachment that might find itself in a difficult position."

In the end, the Congress accepted our point of view, and the separate voices which attempted to talk of "independence" and "autonomy"—that it was impossible to allow such a "dependence" of the separate parties on the Executive Committee—sounded very solitary; and the Congress accepted the line of conduct which has been advanced by the Russian proletarian revolution.

Such are the results of the work of the Second Congress. The work was conducted on a most

interesting background. On the one hand, we saw parties with a million membership, which were formerly adherents of the Second International, coming to our Congress, taking off their hats with respect, and saying: "We repent, we have sinned, but we ask you to say in your verdict: 'guilty but deserving of condescension.'" Our young, just arising to power, Communist Parties, reflecting the stormy protest of the revolutionary workers, tore and swore, with just indignation, against these representatives of the old Social-Democracy, who are now being pushed into the Third International by the working masses. Such was the background within the walls of the Congress. Beyond these walls the battle is storming at the front, which is becoming decisive.

The League of Nations is falling to pieces. The bourgeoisies of the Entente are intriguing one against the other. Bourgeois England is playing a close game against France and vice versa. And what were we doing all the time? We were working at the international world Congress of workers and the best part of the peasantry, forging a single program and single tactics. And we were feeling every hour that the brotherly link between us and the proletariat of the whole world is becoming stronger, and that the ties between the bourgeoisies of all countries are becoming weaker—that the bourgeois are becoming ever more decrepit, and showing their senility to the whole world.

That is the background on which the International Congress was taking place, and I think that I will not be wrong if I express my conviction that this Second International Congress of the Communist International was the precursor of the great World Congress of International Soviet Republics. (Thunderous applause.)

Letter to a French Syndicalist on the Communist Party

By L. TROTSKY

DEAR FRIEND!

You are in great doubt regarding the Third International, in view of its political and party character. You are afraid that the French syndicalist movement may be taken in tow by a political party. Allow me to expose my views on the subject.

First of all I must say that the French syndicalist movement, whose independence is causing you such anxiety, is already completely in the tow of a political party. Naturally, neither Jouhaux, nor his nearest assistants (Dumoulin, Merrheim, and others) are members of parliament as yet, and formally are not members of any political Party. But this is simply a division of Labour. In fact, in the matter of the syndicalist movement, Jouhaux is carrying on the same *policy* of coalition with the bourgeoisie as the French Socialism of the Renaudel-Longuet type is carrying on in parliament. Should the Board of the present Socialist Party be requested to give a program to the General Confederation of Labour and to appoint its leading personnel, there is no doubt that the Party would approve the present program of Jouhaux-Dumoulin-Merrheim, and allow these gentlemen to continue to occupy their posts. Should Jouhaux and Co. be elected as members of parliament, and Renaudel and Longuet placed at the head of the Confederation of Labour, nothing whatever would be changed in the internal life of France or in the fate of the French working class. You certainly will not deny this. The above-mentioned circumstances prove, however, that it is not a question of parliamentarism or anti-parliamentarism, or of a formal party membership. All the old labels are worn out, and do not answer to the new contents. Jouhaux's anti-parliamentarism resembles Renaudel's parliamentary cretinism as much as one drop of water resembles another. Official syndicalism may repudiate the Party—by tradition—as much as it

likes; but the bourgeois parties of France, in the secret depths of their hearts, can wish for no better representative at the head of the French syndicalist movement than Jouhaux, as they cannot wish for any better "Socialist" parliamentarians than Renaudel-Longuet. Naturally, they criticise and blame them. But this is done only in order not to weaken altogether their position in the labour movement. The matter lies not in parliamentarism, or in syndicalism—these are only the forms—but in the substance of the policy which the advance guard of the working class is carrying out by means of the syndicates, as well as by parliament. A bona-fide Communist policy—that is to say, a policy directed towards the overthrow of the rule of the bourgeoisie and its State—will find its revolutionary expression in all branches of life of the working class, in all organisations, institutions and organs into which its representatives may penetrate: in Unions, mass meetings, in the Press, in the party organisations of Communists, in the secret revolutionary circles, working in the army or preparing an uprising, and, lastly, in the parliamentary tribune, if the advanced workers will elect a bona-fide revolutionary representative.

The task of the working class is to expel the bourgeoisie from power, to annihilate its apparatus of violence and oppression, to create organs of its own labour dictatorship for crushing all resistance on the part of the bourgeoisie, and for a more rapid reconstruction of all social relations in the spirit of Communism. Whoever, under the pretext of anarchism, repudiates this task—the dictatorship of the proletariat—is no revolutionist, but a petty-bourgeois grumbler. There is no place for him in our midst. We shall speak of this, however, later on.

Hence the task of the proletariat consists in suppressing the bourgeois order by means of a revolutionary dictatorship. But in the working

class itself, as you know, there are different levels of class consciousness. The task of the Communist revolution in its totality is clear only to the more class-conscious revolutionary minority of the proletariat. The strength of this minority lies in this: that the more firmly, the more decisively and assuredly it acts, the more support does it find on the part of the numerous and more backward masses of the workers. But in order that millions of workers who are artificially retained by capitalism, the Church, democracy, etc., in the mire of prejudices, should not lose their way, but should find the requisite expression for their desire to obtain complete emancipation, it is necessary that *in all branches of life*, the working class should find at its head its best, most class-conscious representatives, who always remain true to their colours, and are always ready to give up their lives for the cause of the working class.

You, revolutionary French syndicalists, have approached the question rightly when you stated that the unions alone, including the wider circles of the working masses are not sufficient for the revolution, and that an *initiative minority* is necessary which should educate the masses and give them, in each concrete case, a definite program of action.

What must such an initiative minority be? It is clear that it cannot be grouped according to professional or local distinctions. The question is not one of the advanced metalworkers, railwaymen, or joiners, but of the most class-conscious proletarians of the whole country. They must unite, draw up a definite program of action, strengthen their unity by a firm internal discipline, and thus secure their controlling influence over the whole struggle of the working class, all its organisations, and, first and foremost, over the Trade Unions.

How, then, would you call this initiative minority of the proletariat, united by the Communist program and preparing to lead the working class to an open attack against the fortress of capitalism? We call it the Communist Party.

"But," you might say, "in such case this party has nothing in common with the present French Socialist Party?" That is quite correct. That is why, to make the difference appear stronger, we speak of a Communist Party, not of a Socialist Party.

"However, you still speak of a *party*?"

Of a party, yes. Certainly, one might most

successfully prove that the word "party" has been greatly compromised by parliamentarians, professional chatterboxes, petty-bourgeois charlatans, etc., etc. But this relates not only to parties. We have already agreed with you that the labour unions (French syndicates, English Trade Unions, German Gewerkschaften) have been sufficiently compromised by the shameful rôle which they, in the person of their leaders, played during the war, and for the most part are playing now. However, that is not a reason for repudiating the word "union." You will agree that the question lies not in the terminology, but in the substance of the matter. Under the name of Communist Party we understand a union of the proletarian advance-guard, in the name of the dictatorship of the proletariat and a Communist revolution.

Very often, under arguments directed against politics and party, an anarchistic non-comprehension of the rôle of the State in the class struggle is concealed. Proudhon used to say that the workshop (*l'atelier*) would eliminate the State. This is in so far correct, that the society of the future will become a gigantic workshop, liberated from all State elements: because the State is a compulsory organisation of class rule, whereas Communism will suppress all classes. But the whole question is, *by what paths* shall we arrive at a Communist society? Proudhon thought that the workshop would gradually, by means of association, supplant capitalism and the State. This proved to be a purely utopian idea: the workshop was supplanted by the powerful factories, and over the latter rose the monopolising trust. The French syndicalists thought, and even now partly think, that the unions as such would suppress all capitalist property and abolish the bourgeois State. But this is not correct. Syndicates are a powerful weapon in a general strike, because the ways and methods of a general strike coincide with those of a syndicalist organisation. But, in order that a strike should really become a general one, an "initiative minority" is necessary, which would, day by day and hour by hour, carry on a revolutionary educational work among the masses.

This minority, evidently, must be grouped not in accordance with guild or industrial distinctions, but on the basis of a definite program of proletarian revolutionary action. This, as we have said, is the Communist Party.

But a general strike, which may be conducted best by means of the union apparatus, is not sufficient for the overthrow of the rule of the bourgeoisie.* A general strike is a means of defence, not a means of offence. We must bring down the bourgeoisie, wrench the State apparatus out of its hands. The bourgeoisie, in the person of its State, is supported by the army. Only an open rising, in which the proletariat collides face to face with the army, dealing cruel blows to its counter-revolutionary elements and carrying away with itself its best part—only such an open rising of the proletariat is able to make it master of the situation in a country. But, for such a rising, an energetic, intense, preparatory work is necessary: agitational, organising, technical. It is necessary day by day to denounce the crimes and baseness of the bourgeoisie in all the domains of social life: internal politics, colonial brutalities, internal despotism of the capitalist oligarchy, baseness of the bourgeois Press—all this must constitute the material for a bona-fide revolutionary denunciation, with all the ensuing revolutionary conclusions. These themes are broader than a syndicalist organisation and its tasks. At the same time, it is necessary to create organised supports for the rising of the proletariat. It is necessary that in each local syndicate, at each factory, in every workshop, there should be a group of workers closely bound together by a unity of ideas, and capable at the decisive moment by their unanimous movement to carry along with them the masses, to show them the right way, keep them from making mistakes, and guarantee their victory. It is necessary to penetrate into the army. In every regiment there must be a closely-welded group of revolutionary soldiers, ready and capable of passing over to the side of the people at the moment of collision, and of calling to the whole regiment to follow them. These groups of revolutionary proletarians, united in their ideas, and organised, can act with complete success only as nuclei of a single centralised Communist Party. If we succeed in having, in the different governmental and military institutions, our own faithful friends, open or secret, who would be informed of all events, all the plans and machinations of the ruling cliques, and informed us duly of all, this would naturally be of great advantage to us. Equally we would only strengthen our own position if we could succeed in sending into parliament but a group of workers, true and loyal to

the cause of the Communist revolution, working in close unity with the legal and illegal organisations of our Party, absolutely subordinate to the Party discipline, playing the part of scouts of the revolutionary proletariat in parliament—one of the political general headquarters of the bourgeoisie—and ready at any moment to exchange the parliamentary tribune for the barricades.

Certainly, dear friend, this is not Renaudel, nor Sembat, nor Varenne. But we have Karl Liebknecht. He also was a member of parliament. The capitalists and social-patriotic rabble tried to drown his voice. But the few words of denunciation and appeal which he succeeded in throwing out over the heads of the German oppressors awakened the class consciousness and conscience of hundreds of thousands of German workers. From parliament, Karl Liebknecht went out to the Potsdam square, calling the proletarian masses to an open fight. From the square he was taken to prison, from there he went on to the barricades of the revolution. An ardent partisan of the Soviet power and the dictatorship of the proletariat, he considered it necessary to take part in the elections to the German Constituent Assembly, and at the same time he was organising Communist soldiers. He perished at his revolutionary post. Who was Karl Liebknecht? A syndicalist? Parliamentarian? Journalist? No, he was a revolutionary Communist, who finds his way to the proletariat through all obstacles. He appealed to the syndicates, denouncing the German Jouhaux and Merrheims. He conducted the work of the Party among the soldiers, preparing the insurrection. He published revolutionary newspapers and appeals, legal and illegal. He went into Parliament to serve the same cause which at other hours he served in secret.

So long as the best element of the French proletariat will not create for itself a centralised Communist Party it will not gain possession of the State power, and it will not suppress the bourgeois police, the bourgeois army, and private ownership of the means of production. And

*One must say, however, that history has known general strikes which have been carried through almost without the help of the Unions (the October strike in 1905). On the other hand, the attempts of the French syndicates to carry through a general strike ended generally in non-success, in consequence of the absence in France of a leading revolutionary organisation (a Communist Party), which would have day by day systematically prepared the uprising of the proletariat, and not only attempted simply from time to time to improvise decorative mass demonstrations.

without all this . . . the workshop will never supplant the State. Whoever has not mastered this, after the Russian revolution, is altogether hopeless. But even after a victorious insurrection has given State power into the hands of the proletariat, the latter will not be able to liquidate the State immediately by transferring legislative power to the industrial Unions. The industrial Unions are the organisers of the higher stratifications of workers according to trades and industries. The ruling power must voice the revolutionary interests and needs of the working class as a whole. That is why not Unions, but Soviets must be an organ of proletarian dictatorship, because they are elected by all the workers, including millions of such of them as never belonged to any unions, and who have been awakened for the very first time by the revolution. And it is not enough to create Soviets. It is necessary that the Soviets should carry on a definite revolutionary policy. They must clearly distinguish between friends and foes. They must be capable of decisive, and, if need be, relentless measures. The bourgeoisie, as the experience of the Russian revolution and the Hungarian and Bavarian as well, shows, does not lay down its arms after the first defeat. On the contrary: when it begins to see how much it has lost, its despair doubles and trebles its energy. The Soviet régime is that of a harsh struggle against the counter-revolution, both in its own and foreign countries. Who will be able to give the Soviets, elected by the workers of different degrees of class consciousness, a clear and distinct program of action? Who will help them to make distinctions among the confused and tangled international conditions, and choose the right way? Evidently, only the more class-conscious, more experienced, advanced proletarians closely united by their single program. This is the Communist Party.

Some simpletons (or perhaps they are the sly ones) point out with horror that in Russia the Party is "in command" over the Soviets and industrial Unions. "The French Unions," say some syndicalists, demand independence, and they will not suffer that any party should be in command over them." How then, dear friend, I repeat, do the French Unions allow Jouhaux to command them—a direct agent of French and American capital? The formal independence of the French Unions does not preserve them from being under the command of the bourgeoisie.

The Russian Unions abandoned such independence. They overthrew the bourgeoisie. They achieved this by driving away from their midst such gentlemen as Jouhaux, Merrheim, Dumoulin, and replacing them by loyal, experienced, and reliable fighters—that is, Communists. In this way they guaranteed, not only their independence of the bourgeoisie, but their victory over the latter.

It is quite correct that our Party leads the Labour Unions, the Soviets. Was it always so? No: the Party acquired its leading position by dint of a constant struggle against the petty-bourgeois parties—the Mensheviks, Socialist Revolutionaries, and against the non-party, i.e., backward or unprincipled elements. It is true, the Mensheviks whom we have defeated say that we obtain our majorities by "force." But how do the working masses—who overthrew the rule of the Tsar, and afterwards that of the bourgeoisie and the Coalition government, although the latter all possessed the apparatus of force—how do they now not only suffer the "enforced" power of the Communist Party, leading the Soviets, but are even entering our ranks in ever greater numbers? This is to be explained exclusively by the fact that, during the course of the last years, the Russian working class has passed through a great experience, and has had occasion to verify in practice the policy of the various parties, groups, cliques, and to collate their words and actions, and thus come to the final conclusion that the only party which has remained true to itself at all moments of the revolution, during ill-success as well as success, was and remains the Communist Party. It is only natural that at all elections, meetings of workers, labour conferences, the masses elect Communists to the most responsible posts. That is how the leading rôle of the Communist Party is to be explained.

At the present moment, the revolutionary syndicalists—or more rightly, the Communists—like Monatte, Rosmer, and others, constitute a minority within the Trade Union organisations. They are in the opposition, criticising and denouncing the machinations of the ruling majority, which is carrying through reformist, that is to say, purely bourgeois tendencies. The French Communists occupy the same position within the Socialist Party, which supports the ideas of petty-bourgeois reformism.

Have Monatte and Jouhaux the same syndi-

calist policy? No, they are enemies. One of them serves the proletariat, the other carries through bourgeois tendencies in a masked form. Have Lorient and Renaudel-Longuet the same policy? No, one is leading the proletariat to a revolutionary dictatorship, the other is subordinating the working masses to a national bourgeois democracy.

In what, then, does the policy of Monatte differ from that of Lorient? Only in one thing—namely, that Monatte is operating on a syndicalist basis, Lorient chiefly in political organisations. But it is only a simple distribution of labour. A bona-fide revolutionary syndicalist, like a bona-fide revolutionary Socialist, must become united in a Communist Party. They must cease to be in the opposition within other organisations. They must, as an independent organisation, adhering to the banner of the Third International,

stand face to face with the broader masses, giving clear and precise answers to all their questions, leading them in their struggle, directing it on its way to a Communist revolution. Syndicalist organisations, co-operative stores, political organisations, the Press, illegal circles within the army, the parliamentary tribune, municipalities, etc., etc.—all these are only forms, methods, different points of support. The struggle remains the same as to its substance, whatever branch it may occupy. The bearer of this struggle is the working class. Its leading advance guard is the Communist Party, in which the bona-fide revolutionary syndicalists should occupy a place of honour.

Yours,

L. Trotsky.

Moscow, July 31, 1920.

Communism and Production

By LUCIEN DESLINIERES

IN general, the theorists of Communism have never considered it from the point of view of its positive sides. They have represented it as a principle of struggle between the exploited and the exploiters for the purpose of abolishing the privileges of capital and of establishing a more equitable social order, in which, there being no more parasites, all the workers will divide among themselves the whole product created by their labour. It is particularly in the suppression of capitalist profits, in the justice which must preside at the distribution of the fruits of labour among those who have a right to them, that the theorists generally demonstrate the superiority of Communism. This superiority is undeniable, but there is another side, which has not been sufficiently noted, and which is at least equal to the first in importance; namely, that Communism is an improved scientific economic organisation, possessing a formidable power, capable of developing industrial and agricultural production to unsuspected proportions, and not only not demanding a greater effort, but gradually reducing the duration and intensity of labour.

It is easy to prove this :

In the first place, Communism will transform into productive workers not only the non-workers, who are living on their incomes, but also the host of intermediaries who have been rendered necessary by the individualist anarchy, and who work without producing—as, for instance, the personnel of the banks, the insurance companies, business men of all kinds, etc. By a methodical organisation of labour, it will do away with unemployment. The sum-total of the forces which are wasted to-day, and which Communism will gather up and put into use, is very considerable. I have estimated it for France, on the basis of official statistics and documents, at forty per cent. of the active population: and these figures, which have been published long ago, have never been contested. The proportion cannot be very different for the other countries. Thus, Communism will increase, if not immedi-

ately, at least after a generation, the contingent of producers, and consequently the quantum of production, by forty per cent. The result is not an insignificant one, and it represents but a small portion of the progress which will be realised by Communism.

Under the bourgeois régime, industrial and agricultural production and transport are entrusted to small, middle-sized, and large private enterprises. The totality of the small and middle-sized concerns, and even part of the larger ones, employ material, instruments and technical methods which absorb a great quantity of human labour, and bring quite tiny results in comparison with the methods of modern technique. It is a mistake to think that capitalist concentration has already effected the disappearance of the greater part of the small and middle-sized enterprises. In France, out of 278,000 workshops or factories, 272,000 belong to these categories still; only about 6,000 factories employ over 1,000 workers; and factories of 1,000 to 2,000 workers cannot employ the powerful machinery of gigantic mills.

Communism will suppress, in agriculture, industry, and transport, not only all the small and middling enterprises, but even almost all the larger ones, and replace them by vast Communist undertakings, provided with the most improved instruments, which will attain the maximum of production allowed by the progress of science. It is difficult to imagine the increase of production which will result from this transformation. In many industries a worker, manipulating modern machinery, produces fifty, or even one hundred times, more than a worker employing hand tools. Moreover, in agriculture all the lands which now remain uncultivated, owing frequently to individual carelessness, will be utilised: some of them are not cultivated in consequence of the general belief that they must lie fallow a year or two after having given a harvest—a mistaken idea, as by means of the requisite fertilisers all the elements of fertility which they have lost may be recovered. Others

lie idle because they are in need of preliminary labour: clearance, drainage, irrigation, etc.

An American economist wrote twenty-five years ago, on the basis of the technical data of the time, greatly improved since then, that if all capable men would give themselves up to work, and employ improved material and technical methods, three hours of work per day would be sufficient for mankind to live in abundance. This seemed paradoxical to the narrow minds of the bourgeoisie; but, nevertheless, it is a fact which can be easily realised by Communism.

It will manage this without difficulty because it will place at the service of mankind all the forces which nature offers: white coal (the power of waterfalls), blue coal (the power of the tides and waves), the power of the wind, the deposits of peat, naphtha, and coal, which are able to give electric power transportable to long distances. The moment will arrive when mankind will be freed from all hard labour, when man will only have to watch the machines executing the work for him.

Such magnificent results are impossible with the capitalist system, in which all technical improvements only serve to augment the revenue of the masters without profiting the workers, or with but very little profits for them, and even, in some cases, doing them harm: as, for instance, when the introduction of improved machinery brings unemployment to great numbers of workers. The proletariat will be able to enjoy all these advantages only when it has taken possession of all the means of production and exchange.

Under the Communist system, not only will all the able-bodied workers profit by the created abundance, but all those who cannot work, children, old or sick people, cripples, women with child, etc., will have their share in virtue of the fundamental Communist principle of human

solidarity. They will be in the charge of society, which will provide for their needs as if they had taken part in the general work.

Even in the capitalist régime, in the countries where various branches of production have attained a great development, it would be sufficient to abolish the revenues of parasitic capital, and to distribute among the workers and peasants the totality of the fruits of their labour, to suppress poverty, the hideous social wound which brings a whole cortège of evils in its train. With the enormous increase of production which will be the result of Communism, not only will absolute necessities be secured to all human beings, without any exception, but luxuries, too, which make life pleasant, will also be theirs.

Our enemies laugh, comparing this joyous picture of the future with the destitution in which Soviet Russia is now struggling. They call the chimera what is for us an absolute certainty, based on scientific data. They do not see, or they pretend not to see, that even the best of régimes cannot in a few days restore prosperity to a country ruined by six years of war and a pitiless blockade. Let them laugh and enjoy their stupid jokes. Already, by the mighty power of the Communist organisation, and in spite of the difficulties which would have been insurmountable for any other régime, economic improvement is showing itself with undeniable force. The most critical period is already behind us; every day brings an improvement. When the war against the Polish nobility is ended, and the blockade weakened or lifted completely—which will be the unavoidable consequence of the end of the war—then the progress already achieved will show itself with marked rapidity. Soon the workers and peasants of the Soviet Republic will gather the fruits of their admirable heroism and daring efforts.

The Soul of Victory

By CH. RAKOVSKY

It will soon be three years since the period of revolutionary wars began; and for three years the Russian Soviet Federation has been repulsing the furious attacks of its internal and external mortal foes. When this period will end, it is difficult to say. It will depend, first of all, on the development of the revolution in other countries. But we may affirm now with assurance that during this period the Soviet Federation has been victorious, and in the person of its Red Army it has the best guarantee that in future it will also be the conqueror in the war which is being forced upon it.

The existence of the Red Army is the best proof of the political capacities of the worker and peasant masses. What Saint Simon said of the French proletariat in his celebrated "Letters from Geneva" in 1808—when he accused it of not having been able to create anything but famine, in the days of its effectual rule, during the first Commune of Chaumette—is not applicable to the present proletariat. In Russia, the most backward of all capitalist countries, the working class has managed to create, in spite of incredible difficulties, a powerful fighting apparatus which is the terror of all the imperialist governments.

The Red Army was created gradually. The process of its organisation is not ended yet. It leaves much to be desired in regard to its administration, its supply department, and its technical preparedness. But it is just this that constitutes the difference between the Red Army and the permanent armies of the capitalist countries: that, while the latter, which have been created after tens of years of organising work, gave their maximum of productivity in the beginning of the war, and then during the course of the war gradually melted away, the Red Army, continuing its process of organisation during the war itself, on the contrary, is improving day by day in all respects.

In creating the Red Army, the Soviet State was faced first of all by the task of assembling a commanding staff and organising the administrative and economic apparatus. In the

absence of its own commanding staff and specialists, it was compelled to utilise the more trustworthy and less compromised commanding staff of the former Tsarist army. In order to weld it closer to the Soviet Power, the latter established the institution of Commissaries. On the other hand, it was necessary also to unite to the Soviet Power, and to imbue with the proper revolutionary spirit, the Red Army itself, which, with the development of the theatre of war, could not consist of volunteers alone, but had to be completed by the mobilisation of wider circles of workers and peasants. For this purpose a vast institution became gradually organised, which developed into a regular Commissariat—namely, the Political Administration of the Republic (P.U.R.). The duties of the Political Administration of the Republic being chiefly political, it enters into the general scheme of the War Commissariat and at the same time remains under the jurisdiction of the Central Committee of the Communist Party. The Chief of the Political Administration of the Republic is generally a member of the Executive Committee of the Communist Party and at the same time a member of the Revolutionary Military Council of the Republic.

The Political Administration of the Republic is undoubtedly an institution belonging exclusively to the Red Army. All the attempts of the White Guards to create similar institutions in their armies have been, and were bound to be, complete failures. The reason lies in the fact that the Red Army is the only army in which a man entering the service does not cease to be a citizen: because only in the Soviet State is there no contradiction between the tasks of the army and the interests of the working masses. While in the Red Army military discipline is founded on an ever-increasing consciousness of the rights of the men, in the bourgeois-capitalist armies the discipline is based exclusively on a blind submission to the orders of the authorities. The bourgeois-capitalist army is strong in so far as the workers and peasants entering it will follow the motto: "No discussion." On the contrary,

in the Red Army, the more the worker or peasant will "discuss" his interests, the clearer will he comprehend the necessity for him to be an honest and efficient Red soldier.

If the war against the Russian and foreign counter-revolution, which has now been raging for almost three years, could not but hinder the work of Socialist economic construction, and increase the economic crisis Russia inherited, it had also its positive sides. It has served as a great revolutionary school; it has served to unite the masses of the towns and villages. Millions and millions of peasants, whom otherwise it would have been necessary to visit in their remote country homes, in order to act on their psychology, were brought under the direct influence of our Communist propaganda in the barracks, bivouacs, trenches, hospitals, etc.

The Political Administration of the Republic is a vast organisation including in its central administration about 600, and in its branches in the army and the military institutions about 16,000, collaborators. In respect of organisation, the Political Administration of the Republic is a hierarchical organisation adapted to the entire military hierarchy. The Revolutionary Military Council of the Republic has under its immediate direction and control the Revolutionary Councils of the various fronts: the latter direct and control the Revolutionary Military Councils of the armies, the latter again the Revolutionary Military Councils of the divisions, and so on. In the same way the Political Administration of the Republic has under its direction and control the political administration of the fronts, the latter, the political administration of the armies, which in turn has under its control the political sections of the divisions, to which are subordinated the political commissaries of the brigades, and to the latter the political commissaries of the regiments. After the December Congress of Political Workers, it was decided to create political commissaries, or as they are now called, "political instructors" of companies; and this measure was immediately carried out. These instructors have under their immediate direction and control the Communist nuclei in the companies. This relates to the active field army.

The structure of the army in the rear, behind the battle fronts, is analogous. The district war commissariats have district Political-Enlightenment Sections, which are directly subordinated to the Political Administration of the Republic.

To the district Political-Enlightenment Sections are subordinated the Enlightenment Sections of a given government, to which were formerly subordinated, in their turn, the county sections which are now abolished everywhere, except in the Ukraine.

The duties of the Political Sections of the armies are not limited only to political work among the Red soldiers. These Political sections work also among the population in the regions of the army's operations. In the territories evacuated by the White Guards, their duties consist in creating a provisional local administrative-economic apparatus, operating until the moment when it can be replaced by elective Soviets. These provisional administrative-economic organs are called Revolutionary Committees. Besides the region immediately adjoining the front, they may be established behind the front regions if the war conditions necessitate this. The Revolutionary Committees are subordinated to the Political Sections of the corresponding Revolutionary Military Council, and simultaneously, in the hierarchical line, to the next higher *administrative* apparatus—the Executive Committee of the province (or directly to the Commissariat of the Interior, if the Revolutionary Committee is created for the entire province). As the Political Sections of the army are Party organisations, but only on military lines, they must be connected with the local organisation of the Party. Therefore, the Regulations of the Party Committees and Political Sections of the fronts, armies, and divisions provide that the Chief of the Political Section should be a member of the local Party Committee, with the right of a decisive vote.

In order to give an idea of the work of the Political Administration of the Republic, we shall cite a few figures from the last report of the Political Administration, which was laid before the Congress of Political Workers in December, 1919.

For the six months from June to December, the budget of the Political Administration of the Republic amounted to 664,217,000 roubles. Out of this sum 215,000,000 roubles were assigned to the Political Sections of the fronts, and 106,000,000 to the military districts. Out of this sum 47,000,000 were assigned exclusively for the maintenance of schools for reading and writing: out of which 33,100,000 roubles for the existing schools and 14,000,000 roubles for new ones to be opened. The third important item of

expenses in the financial estimate of the Political Administration of the Republic is the supplying of agitational libraries, literature, and newspapers to the Red soldiers and the population of the territories adjoining the fronts. These expenses amounted to 159,000,000 roubles. The maintenance of the Central apparatus demanded 18,000,000 roubles. For the period of August-September-October the fronts, armies, and separate army sections were supplied with the following: literature, 6,519,000 copies; school and sporting appurtenances, 153,864 articles; theatrical-musical and moving-picture appurtenances, 24,000 articles. By November 1 the stock in hand of the Political Administration contained: the literary department, 7,280,000 copies; the school and sporting department, 167,000 articles; and the theatrical, moving-picture, and musical department, 25,000 articles. The amount of literature mailed during these three months attained about 60,000 poods. This quantity includes 3,700 libraries, averaging each about 140 volumes—total 518,000 volumes. This figure covers agitational pamphlets, leaflets, placards sent directly by the Political Administration of the Republic through its dispatching apparatus. Besides this, 520,000 copies of newspapers are dispatched daily from Moscow to the armies and military circuits for distribution among the Red soldiers and the population of the regions adjoining the fronts. These papers are dispatched by the Central Organisation of the Press, and are not included in the above mentioned 60,000 poods. *Bednotà* (Poor People) has the greatest circulation, 383,000 copies, *Pravda* (The Truth) 70,000 copies, and the *Izvestia* (News) of the Central Executive Committee 40,000 copies. Over and above this, 25 daily papers are published in the armies, and circulate daily 250,000 copies. In this way 800,000 copies of all the papers are daily circulated in the Red Army. However, these figures are not sufficient. Simultaneously with the newspapers, the Political Sections of the fronts and armies publish daily an enormous quantity of leaflets, pamphlets, placards, the number of which in general surpasses by several times the publications of the Political Administration of the Republic.

The above mentioned budget of 664,000,000 roubles proved to be insufficient; for the first six months of 1920 the draft budget of the Political Administration of the Republic amounts already to 4,000,000,000 roubles.

The cultural-educational work of the Political Administration consisted in the opening of schools, courses of study, Red Army universities, clubs, theatres, cinematographs, dramatic and musical circles, libraries, and reading-rooms for the peasants. The number of schools grew from 674 by May 1st, 1919, to 3,800 by October 1st; the number of theatres from 642 to 1,415; cinematographs from 133 to 250; dramatic circles from 12 to 161; libraries from 1,614 to 2,492. Besides, by the first of October there were three Red Army universities, eight courses of study, 400 village reading-rooms. These figures cover only the courses of general educational character, and they do not include the Courses for Instructors, which exist in the Political Sections of the fronts and armies.

As we have said above, the Political Sections of the army direct the work of the Communist nuclei. By October 1st the number of Communists in the active army amounted to 60,000, and in the other military organisations to the same figure. In October, November, and December, in all the armies a Party week was arranged, during which hundreds of thousands of Red soldiers joined the Communist Party. The proportion of the new members averaged from 20 to 25 per cent. of the entire Red Army. In some regiments, as, for instance, the Taman regiment, all the men joined the Party. If we bear in mind that the Party week was carried out in October, at the most difficult moment for the Soviet State and the Red Army, when the White Guards had passed Orel and were moving on Tula, one may positively assert that the best elements of the Red Army joined the Communist Party.

The Political Administration and the Political Sections penetrate into all the military institutions, beginning with the All-Russian General Staff and ending with the hospitals and ambulances. The Army, Navy (the sea, river and air fleets), lines of communication, munition factories, supply organs,—are all within the sphere of the political influence and political control of the Political Administration and its organs.

For agitation purposes, the Political Administration has at its disposal agitational trains. At all the important railway junctions there are so-called "agitational points," which supply the passing military echelons with printed matter, information, etc., working also at the same time among the local population. The Political

Administration shares the direction of these points with the People's Commissariat of Public Instruction and the Political Administration of the Railways.*

This vast army of "Politworkers"—such is the general and already favourite name of the Political Section collaborators—together with the Communist nuclei and the staff of commissaries, constitute the very soul of the Red Army. Even our enemies, who are unsuccessfully trying to organise analogous institutions in their armies, speak of their decisive influence in the victories of the Red Army. Kotamin, an officer who deserted the Red Army for the White

Guards, in his report to Kolchak which fell into our hands at the time of our advance on Tobolsk, ascribes the victories of the Red Army to the "fanaticism" of our commissaries, that is to say, of our "Politworkers"—and he is right. The invincibility of the Red Army is due to its strong and powerful Communist organisation!

*NOTE.—The Political Administration of the Railways is an institution which is analogous to the Political Administration of the Republic. At present, in connection with the militarisation of industry, political sections will be organised in its various branches. Thus, for instance, there is already a political section of militarised coal mining industry, in the Donetz River basin.

The Socialist Movement in Italy

A Report to the Executive Committee of the Third International

By SERRATI

My report on the Socialist movement in Italy will be very short. The attitude of our Party towards the war from the very beginning is sufficiently well known. Owing to the experience of the Tripolitan war, our Party was not caught unawares by the world war, and it was able to take up the same uncompromising class position which it occupied during the Libyan war. From the very first days we pointed out to the Italian masses the imperialistic nature of the war, and, guided by the resolutions of the Bâle Congress, we set ourselves resolutely against it. Not a single vote did the members of our parliamentary group give in favour of the war credits, and all the branches of our Party—there are 2,500 branches in all—never swerved for a single moment in their negative and inimical attitude towards the war. The few members of the Party who showed some hesitation on this question were excluded from the Party, and the only member of the parliamentary group who volunteered for the army and went to the battle front was compelled to leave the ranks of the Party immediately.

Together with the struggle against the war, which we conducted in Italy itself, we undertook a whole series of attempts to revive the proletarian International. Together with the Swiss Socialists, we convened the first International Conference at Lugano (in October, 1914), during which we declared war against war and demanded the convocation of the International Bureau. Later on, together with our Russian comrades, we convened the Zimmerwald and Kienthal Conferences, and carried out in Italy the resolutions passed at these conferences.

We were against all collaboration of the classes, and held strictly to this rule even after the defeat at Caporetto. Our central organ, *Avanti*, adopted the implacable revolutionary point of view, and never swerved in its attitude, although its circulation fell from 46,000 copies (before the war) to 16,000 copies, and circulation

was prohibited in twenty-two provinces. The bourgeoisie attempted to annihilate the paper entirely several times. On May 6, 1919, a band of nationalists assailed the editorial office of the *Avanti*, devastated the premises, and destroyed the printing machines. In answer to this, the working masses collected among themselves 1,500,000 liras within the space of six months. The circulation of the paper is now 400,000 copies, and it might be even more, were it not for the lack of paper and machinery.

With the suspension of hostilities, the situation in Italy became more complicated and acute. All the factions of the bourgeoisie have now recognised that the war has ended in a general bankruptcy and a complete refutation of the principles, for the realisation of which, according to its partisans, it had been waged. As regards the masses, their irritation and discontent developed from day to day, and the reason for this discontent, as well as the forms in which it was manifested, was not of an economic, but of a social-psychological nature, as evidenced most of all by their unflinching motto: "We do not wish to work for the masters."

The bourgeoisie, greatly disturbed by such a frame of mind of the masses, strove to pacify them by all possible means. Thus, for instance, a most generous amnesty was proclaimed in Italy, and in a few days parliament will pass a law on an eight-hour working day. The economic situation, not only of the middle and poorer peasantry, but of the labourers and industrial workers, was improved. The Italian Labour Confederation has established by statistical data that in no other country has the pay for work been raised so high, in comparison with the rise of prices, as in Italy.

Notwithstanding all this, the whole country is flooded by a wave of strikes of a political, rather than economic, nature; and some of them, as, for instance, the strike as a sign of solidarity

with Russia, which took place on July 21, 1919, paralysed the whole life of the country. All the workmen and peasants stopped work, including the workers of the government institutions. The railwaymen decided, however, at the last moment not to take part in the strike, because the Italian government, having received a telegraphic message from the French government that the French workers would not participate in the strike, published the telegram in Rome, with the remark that the French workers had betrayed the Italians. After the end of the strike the bourgeoisie, desiring to instil mistrust among the working masses towards the Socialist Party, reproached us for not having made a "revolution." We were pursuing a completely definite aim; we wished to show by this strike our complete and unreserved solidarity with Russia, without intending at all to carry out a revolution at the moment when this was desired by the bourgeoisie.

Even before July 21, when we went to Paris with Comrade Darragona in order to settle the question of the strike on July 21 with the French Labour Confederation, a strike movement broke out in Italy; the mob devastated the shops, and organised Soviets and factory committees. At present a whole network of such committees is organised in Italy, and the question of their technical and juridical structure is warmly debated by the Press. Quite recently several factories and mills—metallurgical and textile—have been requisitioned, and one of them was completely under the control of the workers during a whole fortnight, until the capitalists agreed to make concessions and satisfy the demands which had called forth the strike and the requisition of the factories.

In regard to the Russian revolution, the Italian masses are completely on its side. The Russian revolution, its leaders and its representatives, especially Comrade Lenin, are very popular among the masses. The revolutionary movement is maturing everywhere, and rapidly developing in breadth and depth. We are straining all our efforts in order to render it invincible, to prepare the ground for it and to guarantee its success.

The Labour movement is growing rapidly. The Labour Confederation numbers already 2,000,000 members, out of which 800,000 are peasants. The co-operatives are also increasing, and handing over a share of their profits to

their members. Their cash turnover amounts to tens of millions.

The number of members of our Party has grown since the cessation of the war from 42,000 to 165,000; and it must be borne in mind that not one of those who stood for the war or for collaboration of the classes has been received into the Party. In 350 towns the administration is in the hands of Socialists—as, for instance, in Milan, Alexandria, Novarra—and at the forthcoming election the number of towns with Socialist administrations will undoubtedly be increased several times.

The November Congress in Bologna was very important. The Congress revised and supplemented the program of the Party, which was founded in 1892. Since that time the social-political situation in Italy has undergone a radical change. At that time the objects in view were a complete severance from the opportunists and the entrance of the Party into a period of parliamentary struggle; at present the problem is to establish the Communist order by means of the dictatorship of the proletariat. At the Congress of Bologna, the latter idea was upheld by the majority (49,000 votes). Against it were the adherents of Lazzari-Turati, united under the motto, "Unitary Maximalism" ("Massimalismo Unitaria"), supporting the idea of a democratic revolution and repudiating all violence. Lazzari separated from the Communists because the latter insisted upon the inevitableness of violence and the necessity of preparing for the same. The tendency of Bordiga obtained 3,000 votes on two questions: first, regarding boycott of parliament, and, second, regarding the exclusion of Turati, Modigliani, and others from the Party. In regard to the joining of the Third International, the decision to join it was passed unanimously by the whole Congress.

The election campaign throughout Italy bore a clearly-defined class character; its mottoes were: "Struggle against all bourgeois groups," "For Soviet Russia," "For the revolution." One hundred and fifty-eight members of the Socialist Party were elected to Parliament.

This rapid development had also its negative sides; the candidatures were put forward by local organisations. The Central Committee of the Party was not able to control them sufficiently, and, therefore, it is quite possible that some of the new members have proclaimed themselves to be extreme left because of opportunistic con-

siderations only, as otherwise the masses would not have elected them. The first step of the newly-elected group was to elaborate a series of law projects, the carrying out of which is absolutely impossible under the capitalist régime, and the object of which is to show to the masses the impossibility of reconciling the interests of the proletariat with the existence of the old order. Several of the Socialist members were commissioned to draw up programs for the socialisation of the land and similar measures, which are radically inconsistent with the essential principles of the bourgeois order.

In regard to foreign policy, the Party not only demanded the suspension of the blockade, and pronounced itself against all intervention, but from the very first days it insisted on a recognition of Soviet Russia. The results of its insistence are to be seen in the alteration of the attitude of the imperialistic governments, not only of Italy, but of all the countries of the Entente.* The new ministry of Giolitti signifies an attempt to establish at least a temporary reconciliation with the working classes. But it will not be successful, because even the extreme Right elements will not agree to coalition with the government. The Party will never allow this. The consequence will probably be new elections, that will lead to new successes of our Party, which is moving undeviatingly towards the realisation of its final aim. Our chief obstacle is a lack of comrades possessing a fuller revolutionary experience, and also a lack of organisation inside the army, into which we are penetrating but slowly. But even in this respect we have started energetic work among the soldiers and officers. Not long ago over 500

former officers—Socialists—met under our auspices.

The letter of Comrade Lenin was of great use to us; it suited our conditions so well that many suspected it had not been written by Lenin, but by us, Italian Socialists. The directions given in this letter correspond completely to our conditions and to the program of our Party. The advice regarding the necessity of a struggle in parliament was the more effective because the opportunist movement in Italy is comparatively strong, and it has its own daily paper with a circulation of 45,000 copies. The Syndicalists (Unione Sindicale) are not the leaders of the working masses—especially now, after the war, during which part of the Syndicalists passed over to the side of the imperialists.

Our Party is marching steadily and consciously to its final aim, which is a Socialist revolution through the dictatorship of the proletariat. We are moving towards this goal continuously, unhesitatingly, consistently, without stopping before anything. The Executive Committee of the Communist International must have full confidence in our Party, which has voluntarily taken the same road as the Committee did: through Zimmerwald and Kienthal to the Third International, regarding which we have fulfilled our duty conscientiously.

SERRATI.

Kremlin, June 19, 1920.

*The Party is also carrying on an energetic campaign against the White Guard régime in Hungary. Colossal meetings of protest, speeches in Parliament, and the dispatch of representatives of the Party to Hungary, bear witness to this campaign, the result of which is the right to reside in Italy accorded to Hungarian Communists.

The Reformist Opposition to the Communist Revolution in Italy

By NICOLO BOMBACCI

THE conclusions at which I arrive in the present article necessitate a few preliminary historical remarks regarding the formation and development of the Italian Socialist Party. I wish to show that the Italian Socialist Party is not in a position to carry out a Communist revolution owing both to the precepts by which it is guided and to its composition.

The Socialist movement in Italy was, until quite recently, divided into three tendencies. The representatives of the first tendency are Andrea Costa, Kasler, and Enrico Malatesta. These are the defenders of the Bakunin ideology, which puts forward the motto of insurrection. Constantino Lazzari represents the second tendency. He created a labour party with a clearly-defined program of a class struggle in open opposition to democracy (Cavallotti). The third tendency is represented by Philip Turati, who, in constant collaboration with Anna Koulishev, has studied the Marxian theory, and is propagating its doctrines under a literary-picturesque and politically-distorted aspect.

These three nuclei came together in Genoa in 1892, and formed the Italian Socialist Party. After a stormy meeting the group of Bakuninists split. The followers of Costa joined the new Italian Socialist Party, while the Malatesta group, pronouncing itself against all lawful methods of struggle, constituted the group of Anarchist-Communists.

From its very beginning, the Italian Party was the result of a union between three different ideological tendencies. It always had an inclination towards unity, although at times separate members, or groups of the three tendencies, left the Party during the acutest moments of discord. The supremacy belonged generally to the group of Turati (not so much among the masses as among the leaders of the Party), excluding the periods of economic crisis and the popular discontent with the colonial war. It was this group which created the theoretical tendency in the

Party proclaiming, not the forcible seizure of power and the dictatorship of the proletariat, but a purely legal struggle, by means of which it hoped to take possession of the parliament, the municipalities, and the government. In view of the frame of mind which this group succeeded in awakening even among the masses, the labour movement, at the head of which almost always stood the reformists, deviated ever more and more from the principles of an implacable class struggle, and avoided strikes, preferring to decide conflicts by arbitration. It was then that the doctrine of Syndicalism was promulgated, and a Syndicalist organisation formed which, as a matter of fact, did not represent a political force. Considering its origin, so foreign to the Italian people, and its anarchistic nature, as well as the men standing at its head, one may affirm with assurance that it would not have obtained such success among the masses, if it had not appeared as a natural reaction after the lulling, pacifying policy of the reformist faction.

The struggle for political power was carried on not by the proletarian forces alone; almost all the sections entered into deals with the Left bourgeois parties. Such coalitions not only hindered the development of a clear class-consciousness, but served to develop a tendency which advocated co-operation with the Left wing of the bourgeoisie. (And this in a monarchic State, too!) "The Fox of Droneo"—Giovanni Giolitti—who made an attempt to present Turati himself to the King, did all that he could in order that Bissolati, who was at the time the chief editor of *Avanti*, should cross the Rubicon. The war in Libya, and the question of universal suffrage, accelerated the advent of the psychological crisis in the Party, which matured finally owing to the following fact: Bissolati received a position as Royal Councillor, and accepted it. Such open treason against Socialism should have been punished by an immediate expulsion from the Party; but this did not take place, in spite of the

agitation which this fact had stirred up among the proletarian masses. The leaders of the Party, although not quite agreeing in the estimation of this fact, nevertheless felt themselves bound by their own policy, and could not venture to adopt radical measures.

This circumstance, however, helped the uncompromising revolutionary element to start the struggle for the leading rôle in the Party. A newspaper was founded in Rome, an organ of the revolutionary element, and open propaganda was carried on in the Party which demanded the exclusion of Bissolati, Podrechi, and others who had advocated the Libyan war. This revival of the revolutionary movement obtained its first victory by the convocation of an extraordinary Congress at Modena, at which the editorship of the *Avanti* was transferred to Treves, who, although a reformist, was against the Libyan war. A year later, at the Congress of Reggio Emilio, the revolutionary elements obtained the exclusion of Bissolati from the Central Committee and the *Avanti*. Thus ended the first phase of the development of the Italian Socialist Party.

After the Congress at Reggio Emilio, it seemed that the Party would move forward resolutely under the leadership of the revolutionary element; but, as a matter of fact, this was realised only to a very small extent. The revolutionary element succeeded in getting its members elected into the editor's office of the *Avanti* and the Central Committee of the Party; but all the other institutions, including also the Labour Unions, remained as before in the hands of the reformists. A total absence of discipline, and freedom of opinion, manifesting themselves in the domain of both Socialist theory and practice, had made, and are now making, such anachronisms possible in Italy. Discipline in political life is possible only among those who are actuated by the same aims. This is confirmed by the whole history of the Italian Socialist movement, from the year 1912 up to the present day. Have the reformists, profiting by the right accorded to them by their membership in the Party, ceased to affirm that their method of struggle is better than the one which was approved by the Congress, in spite of their having recognised the necessity of discipline? Have they in any way modified their former line of conduct in their parliamentary or literary activity? Not in the least. The reformist leaders have remained true to their ideas and

their tactics. But if this serves to show a good trait in their nature, it also, and to a greater extent, tends to prove the harm which they are doing to the revolutionary movement.

Here are a few facts. When Italy declared war in 1915, the Central Committee of the Party desired to express its protest and disgust at the insane policy of militarism by proclaiming a general 24-hours' strike throughout the country. But at the Congress of Bologna, owing to the long and violent orations of the most influential members of the reformist element, who strongly opposed this, the Central Committee could not obtain a majority of votes.

And even when the war had already broken out, when the struggle between the militarist bourgeoisie and the Left wing of the Party became more obdurate, when the Bolsheviks seized power in Russia and when the Italian troops had experienced a defeat at Caporetto, the reformists not only failed to consider it necessary to proclaim resolutely their solidarity with the comrades who had fallen victims to the reaction, but they did not refrain from writing and preaching against the revolutionists, although the latter were members of the Central Committee, which was defending the class struggle and the dictatorship of the proletariat, and had sided with Lenin against Kerensky.

Matters went so far that, during the political trial in consequence of which Lazzari and the author of this article were sentenced to two years' imprisonment, the Attorney General was able to prove practically that the anti-patriotic propaganda of the accused was not only condemned by the bourgeoisie, but that it was even contrary to *real* Socialism—that is to say, the Socialism professed by Rigola and Turati. The attorney cited the old organ of the Labour movement and of Turati, the *Critica Sociale*. I could cite plenty of other instances; but wishing to be concise, I consider what I have said sufficient.

At present the Italian Socialist Party is divided into two different parts, in contradistinction to the proletariat, which is almost all united in its enthusiastic preparation for a revolutionary outbreak. On the one hand, the Maximalists, who are convinced that at the present historical moment, not only in Italy, but in the whole of Europe, world capital will have to cede political and economic power to the proletariat; that this can be realised only by means of a dictatorship

of the proletariat and a Communist reorganisation of the social order by means of Soviets; and, on the other hand, the Reformists, who are repudiating the possibility of such a reorganisation of the social order, and directing all their efforts towards a lawful entering into possession of parliament, and a gradual nationalisation of large industry and the larger landed estates. Can two such opposite tendencies exist together within one party at such a grave historical moment, when philosophy in politics should be replaced by deeds, and theorising should give way to reality? It is impossible. These various and contrary forces are paralysing one another, and, instead of arousing in the proletariat a revolutionary consciousness and readiness for sacrifice, they are breeding scepticism and confusion. And thus we see, on the one hand only petty reforms and a general demoralisation of the proletariat, and, on the other hand, the unorganised Anarchist elements, who are utilising the desperate and mutinous frame of mind of the masses in order to carry out numerous fruitless attempts and demonstrations which, instead of weakening the bourgeoisie only sow discord and hatred among the proletariat.

Italy, even more than Russia, needs to have her own Kerensky. In Italy such men are represented by the reformist members of the Italian Socialist Party. They hope to win the masses over to their side, especially, if the Communist experiment in Russia should prove a failure. Therefore, in the interests of the revolution we must have courage to come to a resolute decision. If the Italian Socialist Party remains united then the revolution will be seriously compromised. The doctrine of universal suffrage in Italy, as in the whole of Western Europe, cannot be recognised as having outlived its time by the persons who have during more than forty years believed in it as in the bible. One cannot expect them to commit suicide. One must in open and honest fight put an end to this living corpse, which still continues to exist, not because of its intrinsic worth, but because it is borne like a holy relic on the shoulders of such honest and good men as Turati and his kind. This union with Reformism absorbs a great deal of energy in current political work which might serve with much more advantage for the psychological and material preparation of the proletariat instead of assisting the growth of pessimism and uncertainty.

In conclusion one must say that if the Italian

Socialist Party really wishes to preserve the sympathies and influence which it enjoyed among the working masses during the last ten years, and if it wishes to direct this influence towards the attainment of revolutionary aims; if it seriously desires to prepare for the fight for these aims, and to remove all obstacles on the part of the internal inimical elements which are undermining the Party's activity by their secret demoralising work, it must get rid of all persons who openly proclaim themselves to be against the dictatorship of the proletariat, both in theory and in practice. And if the Third International does not wish to repeat the blunders of the Second it must demand from the sections which have joined it that the principles proclaimed by the Third International be not only accepted as a formal expression of the will of the aggregate majority, but that they should be put practically and conscientiously into execution by all the members of these sections. This may not please some people, but it is the only method of acquiring the possibility of giving oneself honestly and freely to the work which is dictated to us by our revolutionary conscience and will. I am well acquainted with the objections raised by such of our comrades, Italian Socialists, who think that it is possible by means of a general idea of discipline to maintain the unity of direction in the Party and to avoid the struggle between the various tendencies in this critical moment of the work. They are greatly mistaken. First, if the reformists remain in the Party then the Left Communists will leave it; and the Party will lose the very men who are working with faith and enthusiasm for the realisation of Communism. Secondly, worse than that, the Party, on losing its Left Wing will again fall under the influence of reformism, albeit disguised under the mask of "united Maximalism," which means *de facto* to destroy the results of the Congress of Bologna and to return to the program of Lazzari-Turati of 1902. If one looks reality direct in the face and does not judge only on the ground of superficial observations one must acknowledge that in Italy reformism still rules the ideology of the leaders of Socialism, and only fools may think that those who personify this reformism can act hand in hand with those who think quite otherwise. And it may happen that the same thing will come to pass in Italy as did in Germany, that is, that the struggle will be carried out into the streets. Then the reformists

will come into power owing to the heroic efforts of the revolution, and uniting with the bourgeois democracy they will turn their arms against the Communist proletariat. This danger is no chimera. If we do not wish to give ourselves up to useless regrets later on, when it will be too late, we must conquer reformism now, at once, by

separating definitely from those who do not believe in Communism, and who, in this historical moment, do not wish for the advent of a Communist revolution in Italy, or anywhere else in the world.

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Moscow, June, 1920.

For the Renovation of the Italian Socialist Party

Editorial Note.—We call the attention of all comrades—and especially of the Italian workers—to this document, which is of paramount importance. Comrade Lenin, in his theses, has already pointed out that the authors of this document, our Turin comrades, are quite right in their criticism of the present official line of the conduct of the Italian Party. The Communist International must at all costs demand that the reformists be expelled from the ranks of the Party, in order that the latter may move on Communist lines. The frame of mind of the Italian proletariat is unreservedly Communist. It is also necessary that the Party should lead it forward to Communism, and not draw it back into the slough of official "Socialism."

THE present report, which was published in *Ordine Nuovo*, May 8, 1920, was laid before the National Council in Milan by the representatives of the Socialist Section of the provincial federation of Turin, and it served as a basis for the criticism of the general activity of the Central Committee.

1. The nature of the class struggle in Italy at the present moment is determined, first of all, by the following circumstance of general importance, namely, that the industrial and agricultural workers of the whole country are compelled, clearly and definitely, to raise the question of the ownership of the means of production. The national and international political crisis, which is gradually annihilating the value of money, is a proof of the bankruptcy of capitalist management, the present method of production and distribution not being able to satisfy even the most elementary demands of life, and continuing to exist only because it is protected by the armed forces of the bourgeois order: The movement of the Italian working class is striving irrepressibly to bring about a gigantic economic revolution, which shall introduce new methods of production and a new order in the very process of production and distribution, liberating the latter from the power of capitalists and landowners.

2. At the present moment, under the existing order, the factory owners and landed proprietors have shown a maximum of solidarity, discipline, and class power: every order issued by the Chief Confederation of Italian Manufacturers is

immediately carried out in each factory. This is quite natural. It is not in vain that every bourgeois State keeps a hired army, always ready for action, as an executive organ of the will of this new and powerful organisation of the class of owners, which is endeavouring, by means of lock-outs and terror, to retain in its hands the rights of ownership over the means of production, depriving the exploited workers and peasants of the greater part of the products of their labour, and compelling them by force to be reconciled with such robbery. The last lock-out at the metal factories of Turin was one of the episodes of this struggle between capital and labour, by which the factory owners tried to place the yoke on the necks of the workers. In the given instance they took advantage of the lack of revolutionary unity and solidarity among the Italian labour forces in order to attempt, on the one hand, to sow dissension among the proletariat of Turin; and, on the other hand, to prejudice the minds of the workers against the prestige and authority of the Factory Committees and Commissaries (*Consigli e Commissari di Reparto*), who had started the struggle for workers' control. The long duration of the strike of the agricultural labourers in Navarese and Lomelline bears witness to the fact that the landowners were even willing to allow the cessation of all production, and the death by famine of the agricultural proletariat, in order to force it to submit to the most cruel and humiliating conditions of life and labour.

3. The present phase of the class struggle in

Italy is a moment which is the precursor either of the seizure of power by the revolutionary proletariat, for the purpose of passing over to a new method of production and distribution and for the revival of production, or of the passage to blackest reaction on the part of the class of proprietors and the bureaucracy. In the latter case, all measures of violence will be allowed full play in order to subjugate the industrial and agricultural proletariat to the slavery of wage-labour; all the organs of political struggle of the working class (the Socialist Parties) will be most relentlessly suppressed, whereas the economic organisations (Trade Unions and Co-operatives) will become an integral part of the whole machinery of the bourgeois State.

4. The forces of the workers and peasants are not co-ordinated and not sufficiently united. The fault lies with the directing organs of the Socialist Party, who have proved that they do not in the least understand the present phase of historical development through which national and international life is now passing; nor have they any conception of the immediate tasks facing the fighting organisations of the revolutionary proletariat. The Socialist Party seems only to be playing the rôle of spectator, watching great events develop; it has not yet declared its attitude on these events in a fashion corresponding to the revolutionary principles of Marxism and the Communist International; it has not proclaimed a single slogan which might be accepted by the masses, nor given a general direction to the movement; it has not unified or co-ordinated the revolutionary action. The Socialist Party, as the political organisation of the advance-guard of the working class, is bound to develop a widespread activity in order to prepare the possibility of a victory for the working class in the revolution, and a solid victory at that. The Socialist Party, constituted of that part of the working class which has not submitted finally to the physical and moral yoke of the capitalist order, but has been able to preserve its mental independence and class-conscious initiative and discipline, ought at the same time to embody the watchfulness and revolutionary consciousness of the whole exploited class represented by it. Its task is to attract the whole working masses to the cause, to see that its guiding directions should become general slogans, to acquire the full confidence of the proletariat, to become its leader, its brain. Therefore, the Party must necessarily always be in the very

thick of the class struggle carried on by the industrial and agricultural proletariat in order to follow its various stages, episodes, manifestations, to seize the unity in all this variety, to be able to give a single definite direction to all the separate demonstrations; and to persuade the masses that the present terrific crisis in social life can only be replaced by a régime which, when carried into practice, will renovate human society, and again make labour a means for the satisfaction of the elementary demands of life and for the further development of culture.

Meanwhile, even after the Congress of Bologna, the Socialist Party remains a purely parliamentary Party, rigidly immovable within the narrow limits of bourgeois democracy, whose exclusive care is the external support of the ruling class; it has not become the independent party of the revolutionary proletariat, and is not the representative of the latter alone.

5. After the Congress of Bologna the central organs of the Party were pledged to start immediately an energetic activity and further to develop the same to its utmost limits for the purpose of creating a close and indissoluble bond between the members of the Party, and to make the latter definitely Communist, realising in practice the principles of the Third International. However, no attempt was even made to break definitely with the reformists and opportunists. Neither the Central Committee nor the *Avanti* has employed their own revolutionary tactics against the reformists' constant propaganda in parliament and the Trade Unions. Nothing has been done on the part of the central organs of the Party for the political training of the masses in the Communist spirit, to make them expel the reformists and opportunists from their central committees, Trade Unions, and Co-operatives, to teach the more active sections and groups similar tactics and a definite method of action. That is why, at the time when the revolutionary majority of the Party did not have one member in the Central Committee and the central organs to express its views or to carry out its will, the opportunist elements organised themselves, profiting by the prestige and authority of the Party, for the reinforcement of their own position, both in Parliament and in the Trade Unions. The Central Committee allowed them to unite and vote for resolutions which were contrary to the principles and tactics of the Third International, and totally incompatible with the general direction of the Party; the leading organs

of the Party accorded to their subordinate organisations sufficient liberty to develop an activity which was opposed to the direction of the Party, and to propagate views contrary to the principles and tactics of the Third International. The Central Committee of the Party has systematically fenced itself off from the life and activity of the separate branches, organs, and comrades. The confusion which reigned in the Party before the Bologna Congress, and which was explained partly by the militarist régime in the country, not only did not disappear but grew to a most terrific extent. Naturally, under such conditions, the confidence of the masses in the Party disappeared, and in many places Anarchist tendencies began to acquire the upper hand.

6. The Party took no part in the international movement. Meanwhile the class struggle is acquiring gigantic proportions in the whole world; the proletariat is compelled to renovate its methods everywhere, breaking out into armed insurrection, as, for instance, in Germany after the military revolt. The Party does not take sufficient notice of these facts; it does not explain to the Italian working masses the importance of such events; it does not throw any light on them from the point of view of the Third International; it does not develop in its agitation any educational activity among them, in order to make the Italian working masses comprehend that the proletarian revolution is a universal fact, and that each separate instance or occurrence ought to be examined and discussed only from the point of view of the general development of the world revolution. The representatives of the Third International have met in Western Europe twice already—in December, 1919, in one of the German towns, and in February, 1920, at Amsterdam; but the Italian Party had no representatives at either of these meetings; moreover, the members of the Italian Party were not apprised by their central organs of the discussions held at these meetings, or of the resolutions passed. Furthermore, in the midst of the Third International, debates are being carried on in regard to Communist doctrines and tactics, which are leading to splits in some places—as, for instance, in Germany. The Italian Socialist Party, however, is completely out of this contest of opinions, in which the revolutionary consciousness becomes tempered, and a unity of thought and a general basis for the revolu-

tionary activity of the proletariat of all countries is created.

The central organ of the Party has not its own correspondents in France, England, or Germany, or even in Switzerland. This is rather strange for the organ of a Socialist Party representing in Italy the interests of the international proletariat; and a peculiar position is thus created for the Italian working class, which is obliged to gather all its information from the prejudiced and wilfully distorted news given by the bourgeois papers. The *Avanti*, as the organ of the Party, should be at the same time the organ of the Third International; in the *Avanti* all the proletarian problems which interest the Third International should be subjected to detailed examination, deliberation, and discussion; and the *Avanti* should carry on a systematic and continuous campaign against all opportunist tendencies and compromises. Instead of this, the *Avanti* sets a special value on such manifestations of opportunist tendencies as the recent parliamentary speech of Treves, which was penetrated by petty bourgeois views on international relations, and developed a counter-revolutionary theory capable of killing all the energy of the proletariat.

Complete carelessness in regard to a regular information of the proletariat concerning the events and theoretical discussions of the Third International is a characteristic feature, not only of the central organs, but also of all the publishers of the Party. Unimportant pamphlets and books are being published, which propagate the views and opinions of the Second International; while the publications of the Third International are allowed to remain without notice. Works of the Russian comrades, which are necessary for the understanding of the Bolshevik revolution, have been translated in Switzerland, England, and Germany, but are totally unknown in Italy—as, for instance, Lenin's book, "The State and Revolution"; lastly, such pamphlets as have been translated into Italian are almost incomprehensible, owing to the extremely bad translation and the grammatical mistakes which frequently completely distort the meaning.

7. From the above it may be seen what should be the work of renovation and reorganisation which we consider necessary for the Party to accomplish. It must acquire its own clear and definite physiognomy. From a parliamentary

petty bourgeois party it must be transformed into a party of the revolutionary proletariat, struggling for the creation of a new Communist society through the medium of the workers' State; into a single, solidly-welded Party, with perfectly-defined theory and tactics, with its own severe and relentless discipline. All those who are not revolutionary Communists should be expelled from the Party; and the Central Committee, freed from the care of preserving unity and equipoise among the various tendencies and mutual relations between the various "leaders," should direct all its energy towards the organisation of the working masses on a military footing. Every event in proletarian national or international life must be immediately elucidated in appeals and circular letters of the Central Committee, so as to extract from it material for Communist propaganda and development of revolutionary consciousness. The Central Committee, acting in constant unity with the branches, must become the moving centre of all the proletarian movement in all its manifestations. The branches must participate in the organisation of Communist groups in all the factories, syndicates, co-operatives, barracks—and such groups must, gradually but unceasingly, spread among their members the theoretical and tactical principles of the Party; they must form factory committees for the control of production in industry and rural economy, and develop the necessary propaganda activity for the purpose of winning over to their side all the Trade Unions, trades councils, and the General Labour Confederation, so as to obtain the confidence of the masses and become their mouthpiece, and be charged by them to organise political Soviets and realise the dictatorship of the proletariat. The existence of a closely-welded and disciplined Communist Party, the Central Committee of which will direct and unite all the revolutionary activity of the proletariat by means of the factory committee nuclei, the Trade Unions, and the co-operatives, is a fundamental and necessary premise to any formation whatever of Soviets. In the absence of such a condition, any attempt to organise Soviets must be repudiated as an absurd idea, which may

be useful only to the enemies of the Soviet system. The proposition to form "a small Socialist parliament" must also be rejected, because such a parliament would soon become a tool in the hands of the reformist and opportunist majority of the parliamentary group, for the propagation of democratic utopian ideas and counter-revolutionary projects.

8. The Central Committee must immediately study, draw up, and publish a Socialist program of revolutionary power containing the practical resolutions which the proletariat will have to put into execution after acquiring the power, and which concern all the problems (economic, political, religious, educational, etc.) interesting the various groups of the Italian working class. Starting from the standpoint that the Party considers the basis of its force and the possibility of revolutionary action to lie only in the class of industrial and agricultural workers with no private property of their own—all the other groups of the working population being regarded only as auxiliaries of the purely proletarian class—the Party must, in the first place, publish an appeal clearly stating the necessity of a revolutionary seizure of political power, and containing a call for the arming of the industrial and agricultural proletariat, indicating at the same time the essential points of Communist theory concerning the problems of the day; that is to say, control of the proletariat over production and distribution, the disarmament of hired armed corps, and control of the workers' organisations over the municipalities.

9. On the ground of the above-stated principles, the Socialist section of Turin intends to enter into an agreement with such groups and comrades of all branches as will be willing to form organisations in order to discuss and accept them. This agreement ought, on the one hand, to serve for the preparation of a Congress to be convened in the immediate future for the discussion of the problems, tactics, and the organisation of the proletariat, and, on the other hand—prior to the convocation of the Congress—to serve as a basis for guiding the work of the executive organs of the Party.

The Situation in Germany

By CLARA ZETKIN

THE military-monarchist mutiny of Kapp-Lüttwitz was an inevitable stage of development in the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie under the disguise of democracy and social-democracy; its object was to revive the capitalist régime and to prevent the establishment of a dictatorship of the proletariat and the realisation of the Soviet order. The National Assembly, the coalition government, as well as the deceptive laws on socialisation and the factory committees, had prepared the ground for this mutiny, and the government of Noske collected and armed the requisite fighting detachments. The régime introduced by this government was really the bloody class terror of the bourgeoisie under the mask of democracy. The mutiny cast this mask aside, and laid bare the class dictatorship of militarism. Kapp's partisans are striving for the class dictatorship of the bourgeoisie, under which the junkers and the representatives of the larger industry might play the leading rôle, and which would be realised in the form of a monarchist power by means of the military apparatus. The partisans of Ebert desire a dictatorship of the bourgeoisie under which the leading and ruling rôle would be played by the representatives of other branches of industry, of commercial and financial capital, and which would take the form of a bourgeois democracy. The only reliable guarantee of victory over monarchist militarism would be the destruction of the very ground in which it is rooted, and which feeds it; and for this purpose a further development of the proletarian revolution is absolutely necessary—the arming of the workers, the disarmament of the well-to-do classes, and consequently, a radical extermination of the newly reviving militarism, which has been so fondly cultivated by Noske. The government of the bourgeoisie and the Majority Socialists were afraid to take this course. It was aware that by this means it would break the sword which defends and supports the class power of the capitalists, and at the same time it would help to arm the mortal enemy of this class power for a deadly blow. . . .

Occupying the standpoint of political collaboration between the exploited and the exploiters, and considering it its duty to protect the bourgeois order and bourgeois property, this government would be fated to merely a senseless and pusillanimous marking of time. It is understood, however, that only the proletariat alone is in a position to overthrow the military-monarchist clique, and to defend successfully the so-called "achievements of the revolution" and the revolution itself. But for this government, the "achievements of the revolution" consisted of ministers' portfolios, and government positions for its Party adherents and for its political clients. By means of a martial law, arrests, censorship, court-martials, general conscription, corps of volunteers, etc., it reduced these "achievements" to a lower level than that of the ordinary bourgeois-democratic liberty; and, by closing a series of railway-workshops, by introducing compulsory or voluntary piece-work, by organising a "Technical Emergency Aid" (Technische Nothilfe), by the laws on workers' councils, and by the shooting of strikers, it again repaired the almost tottering capitalistic front.

Not for the sake of the revolution, but exclusively for the prolongation of their own ministerial well-being, did Ebert and Noske call the proletariat to a general strike which they but the day before had condemned as the basest of crimes against the German nation. The idea of arming the proletariat awakened a feeling of mortal terror in their hearts. They knew perfectly well that the armed proletariat, once roused to the defence of the revolution and the republic, would not stop at the attainment of its nearest object—rendering harmless the Kapps and Lüttwitzes, and that its movement would inevitably pass into a struggle against capitalism and against the coalition government, which exists only, thanks to the bourgeoisie, to defend the latter's interests. And thus, on the first day of the crisis, it became evident that the Government, having nothing against being saved

by the workers on strike, was totally averse to allowing the armed workers to be carried away by the struggle for Socialism and the dictatorship of the proletariat. Its flight from Berlin under cover of the motto, "In a civil war not a single drop of blood should be shed," had a symptomatic meaning. But its motto was sharply contradicted by the relentlessly harsh measures with which the Ebertists, in no wise stopped by the bloody civil war, mercilessly put down, by means of guns and machine guns, all revolutionary attempts of the proletariat. This flight only served to prove the fact that the Government was willing to enter into an agreement with the mutinous imperialists, and that all the bourgeois democrats, with the exception of a small group of no influence at all, were in their secret hearts passionately desirous of uniting with the restored militarist power for the oppression of the proletariat. It became evident also that the protection of bourgeois property was much more important for these gentlemen than the much-lauded welfare of bourgeois democracy, to the defence of which the coalition Party called them.

In this way the proletariat found itself compelled to enter into the fight against the militarist counter-revolution without deceiving itself by any illusions in regard to the general situation or the intentions of its enemies, but inspired only by the clear consciousness of its historical mission and class interests, which demanded the further development of the revolution. The proletarian masses felt and understood that they ought to put down militarism in order to wrench this weapon out of the hands of the capitalist exploiters, who were defending the class rule of the bourgeoisie; that by means of the disarmament of the State militia, the provisional army of volunteers, the civil and citizen militia, in a word, by means of a complete disarmament of the well-to-do classes and the arming of the workers they would acquire a position strong enough to make it a basis for the seizure of the political power. Without the arming of the workers, no realisation of the Soviet order, no dictatorship of the proletariat, could be possible. Such was the general conviction of all the representatives of the advance guard of the proletariat; and now the masses became convinced of this as well. And another fact became clear to the masses: neither the Government nor the bourgeois democracy could realise these demands for the disarmament of the bourgeoisie and the

arming of the workers. This must be accomplished by the proletariat itself. Political Workers' Councils and Fighting Committees arose which became the organisers and leaders of the new struggle.

In a grand impulse, and with heroic courage, the workers everywhere rushed to the fight. A general strike passed over the whole country. Even the technical personnel, the shop employees and the government officials were caught by the general wave. The railwaymen, the employees of the street-car traffic, the post and telegraph workers, stopped work. Enormous agricultural strikes took place. It is true also that for some categories of the proletariat—and first of all for the employees and officials—the inducements to participate in the strike were the mottoes of the Majority, Social-Democrats and the Democrats, namely, "For the Republic, for democracy, for the Constitution, against the restoration of the Monarchy." But it is also unquestionable that the wider circles of the masses did not enter the strike in favour of the bourgeois order. Their motto was: "Down with Kapp and Hindenburg, and with Bauer and Ebert; down with both Lüttwitz and Noske." The masses understood clearly that it was not bourgeois democracy, nor the harmonious political "collaboration" of the exploited and the exploiters, that should be the object of their struggle: but that this object, both in the present and in the future, must be the establishment of a proletarian class-dictatorship. They in no wise deceived themselves as to the fact that this aim cannot yet be the concrete object of the struggle at the present historical moment. At the present moment they had only to see to the strengthening of the proletarian position for the conquest of the government.

The strike was carried on everywhere under the watchword of the disarmament of the bourgeoisie and the arming of the workers. To this were added the demands for the immediate liberation of all condemned or detained revolutionists, for the immediate cessation of all pending lawsuits against the fighters for the revolution, for the cessation of martial law, the suppression of censorship, etc. Notwithstanding the diversity of the fighting mottoes proclaimed by the various Socialist parties and Labour organisations, the proletarian masses formed one common battle-front; they were united, not by resolutions written on paper, or formulas invented by the leaders, but were closely welded by the process

of the revolutionary action brought about by the experience of the consciousness of their class position. This remarkable fact was slightly shadowed and concealed by the participation in the strike of followers of the Social Democratic Majority Party, and the mottoes of the Labour bureaucracy. The social-patriot leaders consciously tried to mask and conceal the importance of the single front. But, notwithstanding all their efforts, or in spite of them, the above fact exercised a great influence on the consciousness of the proletarian masses, who partly mentally, partly by intuition, comprehended all its significance.

During this crisis the importance of the line of the Main, as a social-political frontier, became evident. It was not accidental that the Ebert government fled to Stuttgart. The government found here a defence against the counter-revolution from the right, and against the still threatening danger of a revolution from the left, not in a few thousands of militaristically inclined State militia, but in the "public safety militia" and a militia of citizens, consisting of students, sons of bourgeois, petty bourgeois, peasants fighting on their own account, all defending democracy against the attempts of "Bolshevism." It was perfectly clear that, as the Marxists had always affirmed, at the given stage of social development the political democracy of South Germany is a result of economic backwardness, not political progress.

Notwithstanding the class-consciousness and courage evinced by the Communist Party in Würtemberg, which boldly raised the banner of proletarian revolt, in South Germany the influence of the badly developed industry and class distinctions, and the absence of proletarian masses welded together by the consciousness of their numbers and their force, made itself felt in the course of the revolution, owing to the existence of wide strata of petty-bourgeoisie and peasantry. It is even possible that, during the coming revolutionary fights, the province lying south of the line of the Main will play the rôle of a "Democratic Vendée," in which will be revived, *mutatis mutandis*, the idea of "the Rhine League"—the whole force of the movement being directed against the revolutionary proletariat of the industrial north.

It was sufficient for the giant proletariat to declare a strike, and the phantom of the mutinous Kapp-Lüttwitz government dispersed like smoke. The decisive rôle was played not only by the

universality of the strike, but the unexampled staunchness and solidarity with which the strike was carried out at Berlin. But, although Kapp and Lüttwitz were soon driven away, there are Kapps and Lüttwitzes still in Germany. It has not been possible to annihilate militarism completely, because the bourgeoisie, desirous of retaining its own power, cannot dispense with its services. It was not possible either to obtain the disarmament of the bourgeois counter-revolution, or the arming of the workers, with the exception of places where the proletariat had seized the arms, dispersed all the State militia, and disarmed the public guards, the civil and citizen militia, and the provisional volunteers. It was thus in Central Germany—namely, in Thuringia, some parts of Saxony, the Rhine—Westphalian region, where numerous closely-welded masses of industrial workers are concentrated. They are numerous here, and conscious of their own power; and here the industrial proletariat, taught by experience, is free from all illusions regarding bourgeois democracy and coalition government. The "revolution" passed quietly here, without bloodshed and even without "violence," in places where (as in Chemnitz and the mining region) the proletariat was led by the well-organised Communist Party, clearly cognisant of its aims and the paths leading towards them. In Thuringia, in Leipzig, and in Central Germany, in the brown coal region, the revolution, after a stubborn defence on the part of the proletariat, ended in a régime of White Terror. This was due to the open or scarcely concealed treachery of the Social-Democratic majority and the Trade Union bureaucracy: and not without fault were the leaders of the Independent Socialist Party, who with religious fanaticism remained faithful to the old mistakes of the Party: not having any clear tactics, they fluctuated all the time between a refusal to fight and breaking out into attempts. They entered into negotiations at the very moment when it was necessary to act, and thus weakened the effect of the onslaught and paralysed the energy of the fighters.

Nevertheless, the crisis in general ended in the victory of the revolutionary workers. After the collapse of the government of Kapp-Lüttwitz, that of Bauer-Noske fell, too. Undoubtedly, this was not much of a success. The men who stood at the helm of the government, playing the part of puppets in the hands of the ruling bourgeoisie, were replaced by others, while the pr

gram of the government and the whole system of the bourgeois class order remained the same. The State Chancellor Müller is continuing the work of Bauer. For the protection and further glorification of the bourgeois and exploiters' régime based on capitalistic property, he continues to oppress, deceive, and shoot down the workers. Noske is not there, but "Noskeism" still continues to exist, and triumphant White Terror is flourishing. The fault of all this lies, first of all, in the criminal mode of action of the Trade Union bureaucracy, which, with the social-traitor, Legien, at its head, has managed by its speeches to deceive the workers to such an extent that they were satisfied with the verbal promises of the government to carry out the nine most modest demands put forward by the Trade Unions, and even still more reduced in the course of the negotiation. These gentlemen beat then a retreat, demanding the ending of the strike, which had not had time to attain its fullest development.

This result was also the fault of the leaders of the Right Wing of the Independent Socialist Party, who had bound indissolubly the fate of the activity of the Party with the activity of the Trade Union bureaucracy and the social-democratic majority; and, moreover, the fault lay in the weakness of the revolutionary consciousness, and the lack of energy, of the "Left" leaders of the Independent Socialists, who had not been able to withstand the Hilferdings and Crispiens. But, nevertheless, in the same way as falsehood is a covert acknowledgment of the superiority of virtue over vice, the change of government bears witness to the recognition of growing might of the proletariat, a concession to its force. In the depths of capitalistic society, a certain upheaval has taken place in the inter-relations between the class forces struggling against each other for power—an upheaval which is showing its cracks and splits in the external political covering. The social order has not fallen to pieces yet, but the threatening premonitory cracks are to be heard.

The enforcement of the power of the bourgeois democracy, and the formation of a new coalition government, are but fleeting successes purchased at the price of a submission to militarism. The outbreak of the revolutionary proletariat has brought together in a political union the bourgeois democracy and the militarist-monarchist conspirators. They have extended a brotherly hand to each other, frightened by the common

danger of a proletarian dictatorship. The merging of all counter-revolutionary elements into one mass, inimically inclined towards the working class, is a patent fact. This mass covers all but a certain insignificant minority of bourgeois democrats preaching the necessity of a struggle against the danger from the "Right" and insisting on the necessity of concessions and compromises in respect to the "Left"; the organ of this group is the *Frankfurter Zeitung*; the same must be said of several circles of small peasants, employees, and so on, who are manifesting an inclination to flirt with "nationalist Bolshevism." The motto of the democrats in general now is not the struggle against militarism, but rather a joint struggle with the militarists against "Bolshevism." This course of development, which led to a counter-revolutionary dénouement, must, sooner or later, end in the fall of bourgeois democracy. It is undermining the latter's bases, destroying the last illusions, annihilating the blind confidence on the part of the workers, rendering the class struggle more acute, and directing it towards its historically inevitable end.

At the other pole of the social order, a colossal consolidation of forces has also taken place. Since the time of the revolutionary fights in 1919, the process of the deepening of the revolutionary self-consciousness and solidarity of the proletariat has progressed enormously. Revolutionary will, fighting capacity, and readiness for self-sacrifice are growing in the working masses, together with revolutionary consciousness. The tactics and strategy of the masses have become firmer and more definite; their estimation of the mutual relations between the conflicting forces more accurate; their vision has become clearer as to the distinction between the unvarying object of the fight and its temporary aims; they are recognising more thoroughly the necessity of solidarity and co-ordination in all actions and demonstrations. The experiences of the revolutionary period have taught the proletariat, as a whole, very much. The force of revolutionary tradition, acquired in the fights of last year, is showing itself now in practice. The revolutionary advance-guard of the working class has gained considerably as to numbers, consciousness, and the force of its decisive influence on the wider masses. This may be explained not only by the great and profitable lessons given by events, but to a considerable degree also by the

agitation and the whole activity of the Communist Party, which was spread not only over the members of the Party, but also over proletarian masses that had up to then been standing apart from the proletarian class struggle—as, for instance, the numerous adherents of the Independent Social Democratic Party, and especially its Left Wing. Owing to the last fights, the proletariat has acquired a greater consciousness of its own forces; it has come out of them with a clearer understanding of how to find support for its forces only in self-armament, and of the necessity of having its own revolutionary fighting organisations—the Workers' Councils—in order to realise such arming. To preserve the Workers' Councils which have arisen during the struggle and for the struggle, to breathe life into them, to make them capable of fighting by means of revolutionary demonstrations and not by means of dead formulas, is one of the most important tasks of the revolutionary advance-guard. In accomplishing this task, the advance-guard must direct the impetuous revolutionary life of the present historical moment, and even accelerate its pace still more. The struggle of the present period will in all probability acquire other forms during the forthcoming elections; which will not then be traditional parliamentary elections in the generally accepted sense of the word, but will be *revolutionary* elections.

It is possible, even, that the Reichstag will be elected only to be dissolved, dispersed. . . .

How far the course of events will modify the political situation in the Rhine-Westphalian province we cannot as yet foresee, because of the indefiniteness and inaccuracy of the information arriving from there. Up to now, evidently, the struggle between the bourgeois and the proletariat has been not only of a more obdurate and wider nature, but it differed also as to its inner purport. In this struggle the new coalition government existing, thanks to Legien and with

the blessing of the Trade Unions, has manifested all its dishonesty and falsehood. It entered into agreements in Bielefeld and Münster only for the purpose of violating them. The object of these agreements was to postpone the struggle, to gain time to the end of the Easter holidays, in the hope that it would be impossible to bring the workers who had gone home for the holidays again together for the renewal of the struggle. At the same time the new coalition government demonstrated a readiness to serve the interests of the capitalists with a blind fury and shortsighted zeal. It provoked the demonstrations of the French at Frankfurt and Darmstadt, by sending its White Guard into the neutral zone for the pacification of the workers.

How will the struggle end? This depends not on the degree of wisdom of the government, which consists of social-patriots, representatives of the centre, and the Democrats; nor on the intensity of the friction going on inside it. The result of the struggle does not depend upon the fierce character of the military reprisals which the government will apply for the defence of the magnates of capital and the bourgeois order. It will depend exclusively on the class-consciousness, readiness for self-sacrifice, and revolutionary will manifested by the proletariat of the whole of Germany in defending the cause for which their brothers in the Rhine-Westphalian province are fighting with such heroism and the courage of despair. They may conquer, they may acquire a very strong position in the struggle for political power, if they only wish this, if they only act. Have the revolutionary consciousness and revolutionary will of the German proletariat attained such a height that it will venture, immediately after the great fights just ended, to try its forces in this new gigantic warfare? . . .

This is the fatal question, the answer to which can be given only by the proletariat itself.

CLARA ZETKIN.

Workers' Councils in German Austria

By HILDA WERTHEIM

IMMEDIATELY after the revolution, the Workers' Councils in German Austria had unlimited scope for action before them. Not only the factory workers took part in the elections, which were held soon after the revolution, but whole strata of the petty bourgeoisie, the civil functionaries, employees, men of learned professions, all strove to participate in the new institution, which evidently had a future before it. However, notwithstanding the elevation of public spirit which followed the collapse of Austrian militarism, the greater majority of the Workers' Councils still continued to remain under the influence of the Social-Democratic Party, which adopted peculiar tactics for deceiving and restraining the revolutionary class. Thus, the Workers' Councils, after preparing to send their representatives into all the institutions and organs of the government, partly for the purpose of control and at the same time for the practical study of the vital functions in the economic life of the nation, did not carry their intention into effect, obeying the authoritative command of the Social-Democratic central organisation in the Workers' Councils. In this way, from the very beginning, the sessions of the Workers' Councils became meetings for mere political discussion. Only several months later, when the newly elected National Assembly manifested a marked change in social inter-relations in favour of the bourgeoisie, did the Workers' Councils proceed to form Commissions and to intervene in the economic life of the country. From that moment nothing else remained to do, even for the plenary meetings, than, properly speaking, to hear the reports of the Commissions and to determine the attitude of the Workers' Councils as a whole in relation to concrete questions. But, in these respects also the Workers' Councils remained fully under the tutelage of the Social-Democrats; and, as before in questions of politics, now in the economic struggle, their actions were remarkable for their timidity and irresolution. The first attacks of the bourgeois Press, which did not take long to appear, filled the Workers' Councils with such

awe that, at each new proposition, they started such endless discussions of all the consequences which might follow, that the first zeal generally cooled down, or the best moment for the proposed action was allowed to pass.

At that time, during the as yet unsettled general conditions, the bourgeoisie, although not concealing its hatred toward the Workers' Councils, and on the contrary unremittingly abusing them, still did not venture to proceed to active measures, which might have served as a test of the practical correlation of forces. Just at that moment the Workers' Councils could have carried out an almost unlimited intervention in the economic life in the interests of the working class. They limited their activity, however, to patching up deficiencies—and even that they did badly, and as though unwillingly. Under these conditions, life became more and more difficult for the lower classes of the population, the devaluation of money leading to an extreme rise in the prices of necessities. Winter found the proletarian masses of Vienna without food or clothing, without lighting materials, and without fuel. From time to time it became necessary to stop the tramcar traffic, owing to absence of coal, and the working masses had to walk cold and hungry to their places of business. The Workers' Councils looked on at all these conditions with folded arms; the workers soon began to treat the Soviets with indifference, then with enmity, and finally stormily demanded re-elections.

The new Workers' Council, elected in October and November of 1919, differed from the preceding one in that it contained already a considerable Communist minority. The Communists endeavoured to rouse the new Workers' Council out of its passive condition, and to induce it to proceed to decisive action. They insisted on energetic measures being adopted against the speculators in coal and foodstuffs, and demanded that all concealed goods be requisitioned and sold immediately to the hungry and cold proletariat. They demanded the requisitioning of the

uninhabited or only partly inhabited larger houses and palaces, as dwellings for the proletarian families which were sheltered in barracks. They demanded the requisitioning of all private motor cars and carriages during the interruption of the tramcar traffic, for the transport of all workers to their place of work. But these demands fell through—in most cases in the plenary session, encountering a stubborn resistance on the part of the Social-Democratic Party and the official leaders of the Trade Unions. These groups, one may say, still held the majority of the Workers' Councils in check. They, as formerly, managed to parry all our arguments by pointing out that the measures proposed by us would lead immediately to a civil war. Even when we succeeded in obtaining the desired results in the plenary sessions, the resolutions of the latter were paralysed by the sabotage of the Social-Democrats in the commissions.

The Social-Democrats endeavoured by all means to condemn the Workers' Councils to inaction. Thus, for instance, they appointed sessions of the Soviet only very rarely, and at a time of day when long debates were impossible, in view of the prohibition to use the light. At the time set by law, 8 p.m., every meeting had to be closed, even if the most urgent needs of the suffering proletariat of Vienna were being discussed. Another method of sabotaging the activity of the Soviet consisted in transforming a session into a meeting for the reading of a report on some political subject, the person submitting the report being generally a Social-Democrat. There was no need to apprehend any discussions on politics, all those who were present being obliged to hurry home because the house doors were closed very early. Nevertheless, under the untiring pressure of the Communist members of the Soviet, and under the influence of the growing ire of the working masses, the Workers' Council at last decided to undertake revolutionary action. For the beginning, an imposing mass demonstration of the Vienna proletariat was proposed, as a sign of protest against reaction and in favour of the taxation of all property. But even in this case the official leaders of the Social-Democratic Party skilfully extricated themselves from the difficult situation. The Executive Committee of the district Workers' Council, in which the Right Social-Democrats still predominated, convened a "joint meeting" instead of a meeting of the area Workers'

Council—that is, an organisation which includes, besides the members of the district Workers' Council, a great number of official leaders of the Social-Democratic Party, the Trade Unions, co-operative societies and sick-benefit societies. The decisions of this enlarged meeting would certainly bear a greater political weight. The first session of the "joint meeting" did not have time to transact all the business; a second one was appointed, and this would have gone on further if the Communists had not made this plan fail by leaving the Assembly altogether. But the Social-Democrats had attained their object; the most favourable moment for the demonstration passed, and the district Workers' Council did not meet during a whole fortnight. The "joint meeting" pronounced itself against a demonstration of the masses, and, before its collapse, it found time to threaten the district Workers' Council with a sabotage of all its resolutions on the part of the powerful organisation of Trade Unions.

Thus, from the beginning of March, 1920, the Workers' Councils of German Austria, and in particular the Vienna Workers' Council, have entered into a new phase. The declaration of war against the Workers' Councils on the part of the Right Social-Democrats, and their sabotage by the bureaucrats of the Trade Unions, who do not attend the meetings of the Workers' Councils, threaten to render the conflict still more acute, and to bring matters to a climax.

Meanwhile, the proletariat of Vienna is waiting, living in conditions of cold and hunger, under an impossible yoke. All the laws and regulations tending in any way to limit the provoking luxury of the bourgeoisie are violated in the most brazen manner, and the authorities which should put an end to such a bacchanalia remain inactive. While the proletarian quarters of the town are sunk in darkness and silence, in the brilliantly illumined saloons the speculators and traders, which the decaying capitalist order has brought out on to the surface in innumerable quantities, are dancing and rioting madly.

But already, amid the strains of music and laughter, the first sullen growls of distant thunder may be heard in Vienna. The oppressed and insulted working class of German Austria is beginning to protest and revolt against the accursed system which again and again gives the workers stones instead of bread.

HILDA WERTHEIM.

Vienna, 1920.

Notes on the Labour Movement in Russia*

By M. TOMSKY

HAVING been led up gradually, during the process of the economic struggle in May and June to the necessity of transferring the centre of gravity to the question of control over industry and its regulation, the Russian workers and their Unions by October resolutely faced the situation that there could be no talk of control or regulation of industry so long as power remained in the hands of the capitalist class; that their tactics in the economic struggle, under the conditions of the economic crisis, and the sabotage of the employers, had to be radically changed; and that they had to pass on to the plane of a political struggle, to the struggle for power.

And the logical conclusion of these premises, the crowning development of the new ideology in its first stage, was the above mentioned attitude of the metal workers of Moscow, October 15—22, and the practical conclusion, the final chord, was the resolution of the Board of the Petrograd Union of Metal Workers, of October 25, passed at the extraordinary meeting convened in view of the developing events in Petrograd which ended in the overthrow of the Coalition.

This resolution states: "The only way out of the present position is the immediate seizure of power by the Congress of Soviets of Workers' and Soldiers' Deputies and the Petrograd Soviet of W. and S. Deputies. Besides this, the Union of Metal Workers contributes 50,000 Rbls. and *places all its technical apparatus at the disposal of the Soviets.*" (Italicised by the author. M. T.).

Having recognised the necessity of the transfer of power into the hands of the Soviets of W. and S. Deputies, the Unions not only morally enforced the revolution, but *materially, with all their apparatus*, joined the Soviets in their struggle for power.

The October Revolution wrought a marked change in the correlation of the forces in the economic struggle between labour and capital. The employers passed over to *concealed* methods of lock-out and sabotage, but, deprived of the support of the governmental power, and

seeing on the contrary that that power was in the hands of their mortal foe, they were *forced* to comply with all the demands of the Trade Unions.

It will be sufficient to compare the two reports of the Conflicts Commission of the Moscow Union of Metal Workers in Nos. 5 and 7 of the "*Moscow Metal Worker*,"† In No. 5 in the article-report: "Our Conflicts," written before the October Revolution, the author, G. Belenky, Chief of the Conflicts Commission, writes: "The Conflicts Commission is now the witness of a secret and open offensive on the part of the mill and factory owners. . ."

"The Conflicts Commission was not always able to decide the conflicts on the spot. . ."

"The factory owners did not always submit to the decisions of the Arbitration Committee."

In No. 7 (after the revolution) the same author writes: "The Conflicts Commission is living quite another life since the revolution. . . Our voice is sounding firmly and resolutely. . . How pliant they (the factory owners) have become. . . We have barely time to record a conflict, when the meek factory owner stands before us. He is affable and compliant, and almost ready to assure us of his affection for us. . ."

Yes, the tone of the employers had greatly changed, and they considered it great luck to have their conflicts examined by the experienced and competent workers in the Unions, accustomed to treat thoughtfully and carefully all economic conflicts; as otherwise, in the event of the conflict being handed over to the district Soviets, acting under martial law, they would be decided according to such law, or by the so-called "Red Guard method," i.e. two workers with rifles would be sent to the employer, and they would propose to him either to satisfy the workers at once or to submit to arrest. . .

*See "Communist International," No. 9.

†Organ of the Moscow Union of Metal Workers, a popular journal which was published at the end of 1917 and the beginning of 1918 under my editorship.

At that time, when everyone felt that the buttresses of the capitalist order, with its standards of rights and privileges, had crumbled away, but the principles of the new transition period had not yet formed themselves; when not only the customary rules in the mutual relations between the various public and government organs no longer existed, but the organs themselves were undergoing a process of reconstruction; all these circumstances created favourable conditions for the development of the most abnormal methods of deciding conflicts between Labour and capital, and the activity of the Labour organisations bore a non-centralised, elemental character, attaining at times quite distorted forms; arbitrary arrests of the employers, seizures of the enterprises and goods, introduction of arbitrary scales of wages, etc.

Young Soviet Russia, having no State organisation at its disposal, and opposed by compact, united, inimical groups—not only of the richer classes but also of all the intermediary elements of the higher and lower officials, all widely practising sabotage—in its struggle to possess itself of the State machinery, and to carry on its own policy could naturally find its support only in the Councils of Workers' Deputies, the Trade Unions, and the factory committees. Under such conditions, even the unorganised, spontaneous activity of the Labour organisations was the best weapon against the organised sabotage of the capitalists.

This state of affairs, in view of the seizure of public functions by the Trade Unions, had to be recognised as a natural, historically inevitable occurrence—as a result of the process of development of the Labour movement, as the final phase of their existence in the circumstances of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

This led to the idea of proclaiming the Trade Unions to be the organs of the State. But the same fact, given the existence of prejudice against the Trade Unions, resulting always from the erroneous conception of their destiny *only as organs of struggle for the improvement* of the economic situation of the workers, within the limits of the capitalist order of the formula of the opportunists, repeated after them by some most orthodox but confused minds—led to other conclusions, namely: the capitalist order once suppressed, and the task of the workers' power consisting in the furtherance of *all the interests* of the proletariat, as well as the improvement

of the conditions of its existence . . . the Trade Unions become unnecessary. . .

But this point of view found no popularity in Russia, and may be mentioned as a fleeting idea, which did not enjoy popularity in any quarter. Ordinarily, the idea of the suppression of the Trade Unions was advanced in the sense of opposing to them and replacing them in the factory committees—naturally, in a centralised form. But, for any one watching the development of our Labour organisation, it was evident that the factory committees do not exclude but supplement the Trade Unions; and, moreover, by uniting and centralising the factory committees, we should obtain Trade Unions organised on the industrial principle. As regards the economic side of the activity of the factory committees, the necessity of their centralisation, for the purpose of subordinating the interests of a group of workers of a given enterprise to the general interests, was evident for all industries. But this was to be attained, not by the suppression of any one or other organisation, but by their uniting into a single centralised whole. This was realised during the first six months after the October Revolution.

But, if the October Revolution placed before the Left Wing the question of the new tasks of the Trade Unions, calling forth animated debates and some discord, the Right Wing, starting from the standpoint of the illegitimacy of the last revolution and the unchangeable nature of the revolution as a "bourgeois" revolution, stubbornly maintained its old position, advancing certain propositions which it had been delicately avoiding in the period of the coalition.

If, during the period of coalition, the representatives of Menshevism in the Labour movement considered it necessary diplomatically to avoid all acute questions of political dissension, the October Revolution cured them at once of this "pseudo-apolitism."

In No. 11 of the "*Petshatnoé Delo*" (organ of the Petrograd Union of Printers), dated October 7, 1917, in an article on the list of candidates drawn up independently by the internationalists for the elections to the Board of the Union, the Board writes:

"The Board cannot take up in a purely political question, a position which would place before thousands of members of the Union the question of the impossibility of their further remaining in it.

The present Board, faithful to the traditions of the workers in the printing business, did not consider itself entitled to involve the Union in the cause of the war for internationalism. We leave the luxury of a split to Parties. We wish our Union to be whole and united. The more so, since this is quite possible of attainment, as the economic struggle may be carried on with equal success both by the social patriots and the Bolsheviks. One must only know how to arrange matters properly."

But a fortnight had hardly passed when the position of the Board underwent a marked change. In the following No. 12 of the same paper an appeal was inserted on the first page against "the persecution of the Press," and signed: Freedom of Press Defence Committee, Printers' Union, Central Committee of the Russian Social-Democratic Labour Party (United), Central Committee of the Soc.-Rev. Party, Municipal Duma of Petrograd, etc.

And, lastly, in the same number we read:

"At a meeting of the Board of the Union of Printers, October 30, the following resolution was passed:

The Board of the Union of Printers, having discussed the situation in connection with the political revolution, demands:

1. The immediate cessation of the fratricidal war.
2. It demands from the Military Revolutionary Committee the immediate restoration of the freedom of the Press.
3. It demands that all the Socialist Parties should become agreed on the question of the organisation of the power.
4. It declares that, in the event of non-compliance with the above demands, it will employ all the means in its power to enforce those demands."

In his way the October Revolution compelled the Mensheviks Board of the Printers' Union to cast aside its mask of political innocence, and to show frankly its political physiognomy, without fearing the danger of causing a split in the ranks of its members. The difference of opinion between the Right and Left Wings acquired a still more acute form at the First All-Russian Congress of Trade Unions.

Notwithstanding the high degree of "apolitism" preached by the Trade Union Mensheviks who feared to cause a split in the masses on question of politics, the dissensions on questions

of principle between the Right and Left Wings may be noted throughout the whole work of the First All-Russian Congress of Trade Unions, especially on the subject of politics. In all the debates, on all questions, beginning with the welcoming speeches and ending with the final resolution, the discord between the majority and minority of the Congress manifested itself in the different conceptions and definitions of the revolution in progress. The contest was not in regard to the structure of the Unions, or of the conception of their practical duties; the chief and fundamental question reflected in all these discussions was the dispute concerning the nature of the October Revolution and its ultimate prospects.

At the first Congress of Trade Unions the united right wing Socialist parties advanced the general motto of the "unity and independence" of the Labour movement. The representatives of this block characterised their platform as follows:

"I repeat that our revolution is a bourgeois one, and I assume and affirm that capitalism is not abolished by the decrees which have been pouring in such abundance from Smolny during the last weeks and months. I assume that very soon capitalism will, unfortunately, show itself in all its power, in all its strength; therefore I think that, in so far as capitalism remains inviolable, so far must also the duties laid upon the Labour movement by capitalistic reality also remain inviolable—the Trade Unions must be in the future, as they have been up to now, the independent organs of the class struggle of the proletariat. . ." (The welcoming speech of Maisky, the representative of the Central Committee of the United Russian Soc. Democratic Labour Party.)

This platform attained its final and definite form in the resolution moved at the First Congress by the Menshevik group, and rejected by the Congress:

"Taking into consideration: 1. That the present revolution, in respect to its objective meaning, is not a Socialist, but a bourgeois revolution, and that the possible social achievements which it may bring to the working masses are not such as will sensibly modify the capitalist order; 2. That in view thereof the Socialist experiments which are being carried out now are practically only assisting completely to ruin the national economy, which will greatly aggravate the conditions of life in the struggle of the pro-

letariat; 3. That consequently the Russian proletariat will have to continue in the future to carry on an implacable warfare against capitalism in all its forms for the improvement of its economic conditions within the limits of a bourgeois society, as well as for its final liberation by means of Socialism; 4. That the most powerful support of the proletariat in this struggle is, and will ever be, the free and class-independent Trade Unions, working, in view of the systematically-increasing class struggle, in ever closer contact with the political Party of the proletariat—the First All-Russian Congress of Trade Unions, confirming the resolution of the Third All-Russian Conference on the tasks of the Trade Unions, most decisively rejects the attempt made by the Council of People's Commissioners to convert the Trade Unions into auxiliary organs of the so-called Worker-Peasant Government, and openly proclaims that the Trade Unions must also in the future remain free and independent organisations of the class struggle of the proletariat.”

The attitude towards the October Revolution, and the bloody collisions which took place in the streets of Petrograd and Moscow between the workers and peasants on the one hand, and the landowners and capitalists on the other, showed itself clearly at the same Congress in the declaration of the most influential Menshevik Trade Union leader, Grinievitich.

“Up to the October days I remained in the Secretariat, but after them, on the day after the slaughter at Moscow, I sent a letter to the Council,* in which I declared that as the Moscow Soviet, in the person of the Military-Revolutionary Committee (the secretary of the Moscow Council of Trade Unions was the chief of the Red-Guards) had delegated as members of the Revolutionary Committee persons who had never before taken any part in the Labour movement, who had taken part in a conspirative organisation and had organised an insurrection, and that I, as a worker in the Labour movement, have never taken, and never will take, part in a conspirative organisation.”†

If we set against this resolution of the partisans of the “unity and independence” of the Labour movement, and their attitude towards the bloody warfare of the workers for their liberation, as evinced in the above “personal declaration” of one of the leaders of Menshevism, the resolution proposed by the Bolshevik group and passed by the Congress,

then the difference of opinion between the two wings of the Russian Labour movement at the First All-Russian Congress of Trade Unions will be seen quite clearly.

1. The political victory of the workers and poorer peasants over the imperialists and their petty-bourgeois agents in Russia brings us simultaneously to the beginning of the international Socialist revolution and the victory over the capitalist method of production. The Councils of Workers', Soldiers', and Peasants' Deputies have become the organs of power; the policy of the Worker and Peasant Government is that of a Socialist reconstruction of society.

2. The October Revolution, which has transferred the power from the hands of the bourgeoisie into those of the working class and the poorer peasantry, has created quite new conditions for the work of all the Labour organisations in general, including also the Trade Unions.

3. Revolutionary Socialists never considered the Trade Unions only as organs of the economic struggle of the proletariat for the improvement of the conditions of life of the working class within the limits of the capitalist order. Revolutionary Socialists always regarded the Trade Unions as organisations which were called upon to fight hand in hand with the other militant organisations of the working class for the dictatorship of the proletariat and the realisation of Socialism. The rôle of the Trade Unions in the struggle for the realisation of Socialism is all the greater at the present moment, when the class struggle has brought the Russian proletariat to the beginning of a Socialist revolution, to the practical realisation of a whole series of important Socialist measures.”

After thus defining the nature of the October Revolution and its own attitude towards it, the Congress marked out the general line of conduct of the Labour movement as follows:

4. “The centre of gravity of the work of the Trade Unions at the present moment must be transferred to the organisation of public economy. The Trade Unions, as class organisations of the proletariat, constructed on the industrial principle, must take upon themselves the chief work for the organisation of production

*The Moscow Council of Trade Unions.

†The extracts from the speeches and resolutions are quoted from the stenographic report of the First All-Russian Congress of Trade Unions. Published by the C.C.L.U., Moscow, 1918, with a preface by the author of this article.

and the reconstruction of the shattered productive forces of the country. A most energetic participation in all centres regulating production, the organisation of workers' control, the registration and distribution of labour, the organisation of exchange trade between the towns and villages, an active participation in the demobilisation of industry, the struggle against sabotage, the introduction of a general labour conscription, etc.—these are the tasks of the present moment. Special attention should be paid to the centralisation of the Labour movement on an All-Russian scale, and the organisation of powerful Unions of agricultural labourers.

5. During the process of the Socialist revolution now in progress, the Trade Unions must develop into organs of the Soviet power, working as such in mutual subordination with other organisations for the introduction of the new principles of economic life.

6. The transitional measures for the conversion of the Trade Unions into such organs, and the unifying of all the economic organisations of the working class (in particular the factory committees), are a close collaboration and an indissoluble organic connection of the Trade Unions with the proletarian political organisations, and, in the first place, with the Councils of Workers' and Soldiers' Deputies."

In this resolution passed by the Congress, although in very abstract and rough form, the platform which became the basis of the Russian Labour movement was marked out in principle. It is true, at the time, the Bolsheviki rather exaggerated the rapidity with which the Trade Unions were to become State organisations. This process seemed to be one of the nearest stages, a question of months. The term itself "to become a State organ," contained too much that was abstract, and was characterised only as a process—but the direction, the course of this process, appeared not quite clearly, calling forth in the ranks of the Bolsheviki and the groups adhering to them great dissensions on the questions of the pace of the movement.

Whereas one section of the comrades looked upon this "becoming organs of the State" as the result of a gradual growing together of the Unions with the organs of the State, as a process of long duration the other part thought that at the given moment, at the very moment of the First Congress, the Trade Unions might be immediately converted into organs of the State. What rôle these new immediately-converted-

into-State-organs Unions were to play in the general system of the Soviet order, was not sufficiently clear either to the one or the other side. It was also difficult to give a definite idea of the rôle of the Unions in the circumstances of the dictatorship of the proletariat, only three months after the October Revolution. A whole year of joint work of the Unions and the Soviet power was necessary, a whole year of life and work—which by its intensity, its pace, and the rapid changes of events, was equal to a whole historical period—in order that the general lines marked out by the First Congress of Trade Unions might acquire their final expression at the Second Congress of Trade Unions. But the First All-Russian Congress pointed out the only correct course for the development of the Labour movement in the circumstances of the dictatorship of the proletariat; and therein lies its highest merit.

The line of independence of the Trade Unions, in the circumstances of the tense struggle which the proletariat was passing through, during the further development of the revolution, would have led objectively to the setting of the economic organisations of the proletariat, the Unions, against the organs of its political dictatorship, the Soviets. And the ultimate history of the development of the Labour movement in Russia confirmed fully the correctness of the line of conduct adopted by the First All-Russian Congress of Trade Unions, by completely destroying the theory of "independence."

Three months passed after the First All-Russian Congress of Trade Unions, and already, in March, at the specially convened fourth conference of Trade Unions the adherents of "Unity and Independence" showed the first signs of hesitation. They still continue to insist on the forthcoming and inevitable, according to their opinion, revolution. They were still convinced of the restoration of the capitalist order, but they were not quite clear in what form it would take place. The motto "Constituent Assembly" sounded less decisively. A year of fluctuation and hesitation followed for the partisans of independence, with a whole series of changes of tactics, beginning with a passive criticism of the Soviet order, and ending in an active warfare, and participation in the government of Samara, and attempts to overthrow the power of the Soviets by means of a general strike. In their eyes the Soviet system acquired the form of a dictatorship of peasants and soldiers, or that of an organised system of State

capitalism; and in regard to the Labour movement, they still continued to maintain stubbornly the necessity of "independence" for the Trade Unions, in spite of the complete downfall of all their prophesies.

We shall now leave these would-be politicians and curiously follow the further development of the ideology of the Russian Labour movement and the practical forms of its realisation.

The year 1918 introduced a gigantic change in the economic structure of the Republic. Six months after the First All-Russian Congress of Trade Unions, all the larger industries were nationalised, not by means of a gradual State syndicalisation and regulation as preparatory forms to the final nationalisation of the industry, but by a single act of the Soviet power, called forth by the circumstances of the Brest Peace Treaty. By the end of the year, after the collapse of German imperialism and the annulment of the Brest Treaty, the remaining more or less important industrial and commercial enterprises were nationalised also. The State organs were formed on general lines, and the Supreme Economic Council was finally organised. The smaller conflicts with the owners of the different enterprises were ended, and the Trade Unions stood face to face with their principal task of organising production. Only with the participation of the Trade Unions and the factory committees, only supported by the economic Labour organisations (under the sabotage on the part of the technical forces and the educated class), could the Soviet power effect the nationalisation of industry; only on the basis of the Trade Unions could the Supreme Economic Council and the People's Commissariat of Labour, with their local branches, become organised. The

wave of unemployment which arose during the first six months of the year 1918 was liquidated owing to the Trade Unions, which opened labour exchanges and insurance offices against unemployment. All the tasks which lay before the Soviet power during that year, beginning with the guaranteeing and distribution of labour and with the struggle against famine—by means of the reorganisation of the Food Supply Department and supplementing it with proletarian elements—and ending with the participation in the reorganisation of the army: in all this the Trade Unions played a most active part in accord with the Soviet power. But in this energetic work of general State construction, and the solution of the problems set by the revolution, the fundamental work of reconstructing the Unions on the industrial principle was undeviatingly carried on, as well as the unification of the Unions and the factory committees—or, more correctly, the conversion of the latter into nuclei of the Unions in the enterprises; the unification of local Unions into powerful All-Russian organisations; and the beginning of a gigantic work of a State standardisation of labour. And, by 1919, the fundamental Unions of the industrial proletariat had been reconstructed on the industrial principle, and organically unified on an All-Russian scale. A year of joint working of the Trade Unions with the Soviet power in the various branches of State and economic activity afforded sufficient material to enable the Second All-Russian Congress of Trade Unions to determine finally, in concrete terms, the line of development of the Labour movement, and to give a general scheme of organisation of the Trade Unions.

M. TOMSKY.

The Fighting I. W. W. in America

By JOHN REED

INDUSTRY in the United States is civil war. Almost every strike is a battle, in which the workers are opposed by the whole machinery of the State, and also by private armies, equipped with rifles and machine guns and composed of hooligans. These armies can be hired by anyone with the necessary money, and they are licensed by the government. Moreover, their members are usually appointed deputy sheriffs by the chief justice of the county in which the strike occurs, thus making them a branch of the government.

The courts, the police, the special police (such as the State Constabularies of Pennsylvania and New York, which, established nominally for the policing of the rural districts, are in reality used entirely for the suppression of strikes) and the law officers of the State, county and city, are mobilised against any movement of the workers. Also the extra-legal forces of the capitalists—the Press, the churches, chambers of commerce, citizens' committees, and even armed bourgeois bands, such as the organisations created during the war, ostensibly to protect the community from German spies, such as the National Security League, Knights of Liberty, American Defence Society, and, since the war, the "anti-Belshhevik" organisations, such as the American Legion, composed chiefly of demobilised officers—all these come into action against the workers.

There are still less tangible enemies of the workers: the blacklist, which makes it impossible for an active striker again to find employment; the deliberate assembling in one industry of workers of many different nationalities and religions, and the incitement of racial and religious prejudices among them, such as lead to the massacres of negroes, and, most important of all, the maintenance of the craft union system of labour organisation and the open corruption of its leaders.

Although the State and local governments have always frankly assisted in the process of strikebreaking, the Federal government has, until the war, managed to create an impression of impartiality, in spite of such actions as that of

President Cleveland, who, in 1894, sent the Federal troops to break the strike of the American Railway Union in Illinois.

But the war provided an excuse for direct government control of industry through the agency of the Council of National Defence which, made up of the great manufacturers and bankers, openly usurped the power. The end of the war released the capitalists from any sort of government supervision, but not Labour. For instance, the Lever Act, passed during the war to prevent the obstruction of food supplies, is now still in force, and is interpreted to forbid strikes in the food industry. The railroad strike of last autumn was met with the threat of armed force by the government. The coal strike was formally declared illegal by the Federal courts, and hundreds of active workers are now in jail for having disobeyed the injunction against leading or helping this strike. The Attorney General of the United States has issued a declaration to the effect that all strikes in industries "affecting the national welfare" are criminal acts. No worker any longer believes that the Federal government is "neutral," in labour disputes.

The worker in the United States who goes on strike takes his life and the lives of his family in his hands. Workers are murdered by gunmen with impunity, and the strike leaders are charged with murder. Such, for example, was the case of John Lawson, one of the leaders of the Colorado coal strike of 1913, who was accused of murder after the State militia had set fire to the strikers' tent colony and burned many women and children to death; such was the case of Giovannitti and Ettore in the Lawrence, Massachusetts, strike of textile workers, where a militiaman shot a striker dead; of Carlo Tresca and others in the Mesaba Range iron miners' strike, where a deputy sheriff shot one of the workers. . . . All over the United States today hundreds of men once active in strikes languish in jail, convicted of murders they never committed. Of the countless martyrs of the American Labour movement, here are a few ;

The MacNamaras, Schmidt, and Kaplan, convicted of blowing up the office of *The Los Angeles Times*, the labour-hating paper.

Tom Mooney, shut up for life for the alleged throwing of a bomb in the militarist demonstration in San Francisco—a charge that has been proved absolutely false.

Ford and Suhr, life imprisonment for murder committed during the hop pickers' strike—a murder really committed by deputy sheriffs.

Joe Hill, the I.W.W. organiser and poet, condemned and executed for a murder which he never committed.

Frank Little, member of the General Executive Board of the I.W.W., taken from his bed at night during the Butte copper miners' strike and hanged by a gang of Copper Trust officials.

One hundred leaders of the I.W.W., convicted at Chicago in 1918 on the charge of obstructing war operations and sentenced to terms of from ten to twenty-five years at hard labour.

The list is endless. Savage imprisonments, lynchings, deportations, are the lot of workers in America who try to organise their class. Hundreds die of disease in prison; hundreds go mad; hundreds commit suicide. There are dreadful tortures in American gaols.

In the very forefront of Labour's struggle against this overwhelming evil power the I.W.W. fights a guerilla warfare with all weapons, from guns to sabotage, propaganda, strikes, and open battles—outlaws and heroes, murdered and imprisoned by the hundreds, indestructible, singing their defiant, ironical songs.

II.

As in all countries, the Labour movement in America had not kept pace with the formidable concentration of industry characteristic of the end of the nineteenth century. This was intensified in the United States after the Spanish-American war, which marked the formal emergence of America upon the world stage of capitalist imperialism, and was the beginning of the great era of monopolistic development. The American Trade Union movement, by which each industry was split into innumerable warring and competing craft unions, had not only proved inadequate to serve the workers in their daily struggle for bread, but did not correspond with the structure of industry.

The Industrial Workers of the World was

founded at Chicago in 1905 at a convention called by a previous conference of a few Labour revolutionists. It is interesting to note that only two men declined invitation to this conference—Victor Berger, the Socialist Party leader and social-traitor, and Max Hayes, the Socialist Labour leader, afterward one of the chief reactionaries of the Trade Union movement.

At the convention were representatives of all the revolutionary and industrially formed unions of the time: the American Railway Union, Debs' organisation, then of little consequence, since its crushing defeat in the strike of 1894, the American Labour Union, a loose, rather vague, "general" workers' union from the West; the Brewery Workers' Union, a powerful industrial organisation without much revolutionary spirit; the Socialist Trade and Labour Alliance, Daniel De Leon's vain attempt to create a rival organisation to the American Federation of Labour; some unions of the United Mine Workers, and most important of all, the Western Federation of Miners, who were the backbone and inspiration of the new organisation and out of which came Haywood, St. John, Ryan, George Speed, Hazlewood, Frank Little.

The I.W.W. stood for industrial unions, one union to include all the workers of various crafts in an industry, and all industrial unions to unite in a single organisation. This method of organisation was not only for the daily economic struggle of the workers, but was to be the weapon by which the workers should assume control of industry.

Daniel De Leon, leader of the Socialist Labour Party, formulated the theory of Industrial Unionism, leading up to the overthrow of the capitalist State and its substitution by an industrial administration based on the industrial unions.

"The Labour Union," said De Leon, "is the embryo of the future society." And, describing the aims of the new organisation, he said, "where sits the General Board of the I.W.W., there will be the government of the world."

This revolution was to be accomplished by "action both in the political and industrial field." Another slogan of the I.W.W. was "To build the new society within the shell of the old." In other words, to organise the workers in industrial unions, which would then exercise their power, probably by a general strike, upon which capitalist society would fly to pieces, and

the industrial administration would take its place.

The chart of organisation of the industrial unions was drawn up by W. E. Trautmann, of the Brewery Workers. The preamble to the constitution, one of the clearest definitions of the class struggle ever written, was composed by T. J. Haggerty, a former Catholic priest: "Between the two classes a struggle must go on until the workers of the world organise as a class, take possession of the earth and the machinery of production, and abolish the wage system. . . ."

This was at the time when the American Federation of Labour—through the mouth of John Mitchell—was advocating that the interests of Capital and Labour were identical—or at least "reciprocal" . . .

III.

It is noticeable that the impulse to form the I.W.W. came, not from the highly-developed old capitalist East, but from the new country of the West. This is generally true, moreover, of all revolutionary labour movements in the United States. The class struggle is much more bitter in the West than in the East; the I.W.W. is stronger in the West than in the East; and the A.F. of L. is stronger in the East.

This is due to several circumstances peculiar to industrial development in the United States.

To think of the American West as a "new" country is to get a false impression. The capitalism which is exploiting the West is an old capitalism, wise from long experience in the old-settled East, wise and cruel. The nature of Western capitalist enterprises—mines, railroads, forests, cattle-ranches and vast agricultural developments, all in a thinly-settled country, far from educated Liberalism and the humanitarian cant of crowded cities, made it possible to conduct the class war openly, crudely. And in these far regions, more or less out of the public eye, capitalist development went on unhindered; gigantic trusts sprang up, whose headquarters were in the East, but who fastened ruthlessly on the West, looting the national resources, stealing the public lands, arming themselves with armies of gunmen, with closed towns (whole cities built on company property, owned by the company and surrounded by a stockade or wall).

It is erroneous to think of the West as capi-

talistically immature; the mining regions, the great wheat farms, the lumber industry, and the railroads are capitalist enterprises developed to the highest point.

And the workers, too, are not "raw" Labour, but real proletarians, most of whom have come from the East within two generations. Foreign immigrant labour in the East long ago drove the American unskilled workers West. But, more significant still, the native rebels and militants of the Labour movement, who could be easily black-listed and driven out of the Eastern industrial centres, went West, and under different names entered the harvest fields, the mines, and the forests. In the East the American workers are the skilled or semi-skilled aristocracy of Labour superior to unskilled foreign immigrants. In the West the bulk of the workers are either Americans, or immigrants who have worked and lived among Americans instead of in immigrant colonies.

This does not mean, however, that the I.W.W. is a nationalistic organisation. Indeed, quite the contrary. The I.W.W. is the *only* Labour organisation which organises the unskilled foreigners. It has more immigrant members than any other Labour Union. It makes no distinction of race or colour. It maintains an immense Press, publishing periodicals and pamphlets in at least a dozen languages. But it was formed, and is directed, by the revolutionary American workers; it is a real expression of the native American working class. . . .

These workers, most of them moving with the seasons or according to the conditions of employment from place to place, men without votes, without homes, without families, the most revolutionary elements of the Labour movement; bitter from long injustice, hardened in battle, without a trace of nationalistic or racial prejudices, are bound together for the purpose of overthrowing the capitalist system.

That their experience with treacherous leaders, with politicians, has made them distrust leaders in general and reject *all* activity in the capitalist political machinery; that the American tradition and the conditions of their life have maintained in them a strong individualism, an instinct to keep authority in the hands of the masses, to oppose centralisation—all these facts do not alter the truth that the rank and file of the I.W.W. is the best revolutionary material in America.

IV.

The I.W.W.'s first three years was a period of rapid growth, of strikes—some won, more lost, but all characterised by new tactics of mass action and drawing into the open class struggle of new, wide strata of workers—the unskilled and the immigrants. In 1907 was the great Goldfield strike, tying up an entire city—the first important general strike in America. In the same year occurred the steel strike at McKee's Rocks. This was the I.W.W.'s first attempt in the East, and the first attempt to organise the foreign-born workers and to bring out from the factories people of many different races and languages. The American Federation of Labour, by this time, had been driven out of the steel industry. But the I.W.W., although bitterly fought by the A.F. of L., was not trying to compete with the craft unions; the I.W.W. organised these workers which the A.F. of L. refused to touch, the foreign immigrants. Moreover, the I.W.W. made and makes no distinction between members, organised or unorganised workers during a strike; all workers are regarded as *proletarians*, as brothers-in-arms in the class war.

The McKee's Rocks strike was the first big strike in America conducted on an industrial basis; the first strike in which foreigners were held together. It was met by the concentrated ferocity of the Steel Trust, supported by the Pennsylvania State Constabulary, who massacred the workers with guns. But the I.W.W. leaders replied, "For every striker killed we will kill three State police," and this threat was carried out. Although the strike was lost, it had an immense effect in awakening the workers all over the country. Here the I.W.W. proclaimed dramatically its conviction that the semi-skilled and unskilled workers were just as important as the skilled.

But there was an internal struggle going on within the organisation—the issue of "industrial" versus "political," that is to say, *parliamentary*, action. This came to a head at the convention of 1908, when the phrase in the constitution advocating the unity of the workers on the "political" as well as the industrial field, was stricken from the constitution. Daniel De Leon was driven from the convention, the credentials committee refusing to seat him. At this convention the fundamental I.W.W. doctrine of overthrowing capitalism through the seizure of

the industries by the organised workers took definite shape.

But at no time did the I.W.W. ever expressly condemn "political action"; always there have been many members of the I.W.W. who were active members of political parties—among them Haywood, who was in 1912 a member of the National Executive Committee of the Socialist Party.

It remained for the Socialist Party finally to drive the I.W.W. into the industrial camp, by repudiating, in 1912, industrial unions and extra-parliamentary action as a means of overthrowing capitalism. Again and again the Socialist Party rejected resolutions endorsing the I.W.W. and industrial unionism. It supported the A.F. of L. and craft unionism, with the program of capturing these unions by electing Socialists as their officials—a policy which led to L. . . .

After the victory of the Industrialists many elements left the I.W.W., De Leon continued with his followers as the I.W.W. (Detroit faction) which stood for the original principles of the organisation, and which, growing weaker and ever smaller and smaller, finally became the Workers' International Industrial Union, an organisation of small importance in the Labour movement. Debs became identified with the Socialist Party. The right wing in the Western Federation of Miners, led by Moyer, withdrew the support of that organisation in the following year, and finally joined the A.F. of L., although the best elements of the miners remained in the I.W.W., which the capture of the Socialist Party by the A.F. of L. to-day practically controls the metal mining industry.

This split was a severe blow to the I.W.W., but many new figures arose in the organisation, such as Vincent St. John, for many years general secretary, and Joe Ettor, the Italian, strike leader and organiser.

For the next two years the I.W.W. conducted no important strikes. But, meantime, it had become active in a new way—the "free speech fight." This is an institution unknown in other countries. An I.W.W. organiser would be arrested for speaking on the street. He would telegraph to the I.W.W. locals round about, the news would spread, and from every part of the country, riding on the top of freight trains, the "fellow workers" would gather in thousands, pouring in upon the doomed city like a barbarian

invasion. There they would proceed to speak on the street, a new speaker arising as soon as his predecessor was arrested and others waiting to take his place. Offering no violence they would continue to speak and be arrested, filling up the jails and ever coming and coming, until the authorities were helpless, and would have to surrender. Then, having won their point and established "free speech," the I.W.W.'s would melt away as quickly as they had come, most likely bound to another "free speech fight" two thousand miles away. . . .

This singular guerilla warfare lasted from 1907, when occurred the first "free speech fight" at Spokane, Washington, until 1917. There were hundreds of such battles—in Missoula, Montana; Portland, Oregon; Denver, Kansas City, Sioux City, St. Louis, Tacoma, indeed, in almost all Western cities. All over the West the mere news that the I.W.W. was coming terrified a city into tolerance. But these fights were not bloodless; men were beaten in gaol until they died; in San Diego the police, firemen, and bourgeois volunteers crippled scores of I.W.W.'s, killed a few, and burned others with hot irons. And in the last "free speech fight," at Everett, Washington, when the I.W.W. was organising the lumber workers, the sheriff and a band of Lumber Trust gunmen opened fire upon a steamboat full of I.W.W.'s who were approaching the city, and killed five of them, wounding others, and charging the rest with murder. . . .

In 1911 the I.W.W. led a great strike-struggle in the lumber camps of the South. This region, the Louisiana forests, is exploited under a despotic régime, where, in the closed towns (communities owned entirely by the company, surrounded by walls and guarded by men with rifles), the miserable workers, whites and Negroes together, lead a life of terrorised poverty. It was open warfare with guns; many workers were killed, and thirty-seven were tried for murder. The strike was totally lost, the organisation in the Southern forests completely smashed. But it was the first time in any big strike that whites and Negroes acted together against the employers. . . .

In 1912 the miserably underpaid, starving workers of the textile industry in Lawrence, Massachusetts, went on strike and called the I.W.W. to lead them. The A.F. of L. Union immediately offered its services to the police to assist in driving the I.W.W. from the city. In the Lawrence strike thirty-one nationalities were made

to act as one man. Organisers went over all New England, crippling the entire industry. Dramatic episodes occurred, carefully arranged by the I.W.W., such as sending the starving children of the strikers to Boston and New York. The publicity thus aroused by the methods of the strikers spread all over the country, creating public sympathy for the strikers, and the workers of the entire nation became interested in the whirlwind mass tactics of the I.W.W. The strikers won a brilliant victory, gaining the greatest wage increase ever won by a strike in America.

The following year came the Paterson silk strike, on the same great scale. But this time the employers were ready. After holding out for seven months, the twenty-five thousand strikers were starved back to work; but the solidarity of workers of many different nationalities had been demonstrated. Also the power of the I.W.W. mass tactics.

The characteristics of an I.W.W. strike are these: The workers are discontented; they are either unorganised, or their union will not support their demands. A spontaneous strike movement occurs, the I.W.W. is called in to take charge. Union or non-union, it makes no difference to the I.W.W., whose aim is to completely tie up the industry. Other workers are called out in sympathy. The mass is kept constantly stirred up, with speeches, demonstrations and mass picketing, leading to collisions with the police. Meanwhile, the leaders educate the strikers in a revolutionary way, preaching the necessity for the overthrow of capitalism, advocating the "perpetual strike"; that is to say, "This is not a strike for wages. When we have won this strike we shall strike again and again and again, until the capitalists are finally ruined and the workers will take over industry."

The I.W.W. does not believe in accumulating strike funds and planning action beforehand. No contract or agreements must be signed with the employers; the working class must be free to strike whenever the opportunity comes.

But in spite of great strikes, many of them victorious, the I.W.W. was unable to keep up an organisation in the Eastern industries.

Within six months after the victorious Lawrence strike, for example, the I.W.W. organisation had disappeared. The same in Paterson. From all the assaults upon the factory industries, from all the great strikes in the East, there is hardly a skeleton of organisation left to tell the tale.

Why is this? Is it a defect of organisation? Is the I.W.W. unadapted to organisation of the factory proletariat? Is it perhaps because the I.W.W. is an organisation built to fight and not to construct a permanent organisation? The capitalists bitterly hate and fear this army of implacable trouble-makers, bent upon their destruction, who refuse to sign any truce in the class war. In a settled industrial community it is comparatively easy to destroy such an organisation, to discharge and blacklist all its members. And then, too, I.W.W. strikes are generally fought with masses of uneducated workers, who, when they are not exalted by the contagion of the mass movement, relapse into their former apathy. . . .

V.

In the 1912 convention arose a new crisis, long brewing in the I.W.W.—the struggle between *centralisation* and *decentralisation*. This came just as the organisation was recovering from the effects of the 1908 split between the “ industrialists ” and the “ political actionists,” and the fight between the two factions almost tore the I.W.W. to pieces.

The individualism of the Western members, scattered over wide spaces of country, distrustful of distant authority, was reinforced by the entrance into the organisation of large numbers of Anarchists and by the spreading of Syndicalist ideas in America. The decentralisers wanted to abolish General Headquarters, to establish a system of loosely-federated local unions, on the ground that the workers in the localities alone understood local conditions, and locally to publish their own papers, to raise and spend their own funds, etc.

This policy had such a disastrous effect that hundreds of the best, most experienced members of the organisation were disgusted, and the big Industrial Unions received a severe setback. In the convention, however, the “ decentralisers ” were defeated, after a hard battle; thousands of them left the I.W.W., and did not return until the period of great battles which preceded the war.

The convention of 1919, held when the best and most active members, the leaders and organisers, were all in prison, again gave the victory to the “ decentralisers ”; but the decisions of this convention were practically ignored, and the “ decentralisers ” are now in a minority.

It was the 1916 convention which finally elab-

orated the form and structure of the I.W.W. as it exists to-day.

The I.W.W. is made up of unions organised on the base of the industries, every worker in a certain industry, whatever his craft or trade, being a member of the union of that industry.

In addition to the General Recruiting Union, which enrolls and distributes new members among the Industrial Unions, and also unites workers in whose industry no union yet exists, there are now seventeen Industrial Unions in the I.W.W. :

- Metal Mine Workers.
- Construction Workers.
- Agricultural Workers.
- Textile Workers.
- *Marine Transport Workers.
- Ship Builders.
- Railroad Workers.
- Coal Miners.
- Printing and Publishing Workers.
- Hotel, Restaurant and Domestic Workers.
- Rubber Workers.
- Oil (Petroleum) Workers.
- †Furniture Workers.
- †Automobile Workers.
- Fishery Workers.
- †Metal and Machinery Workers.

The dues-paying membership of the I.W.W., which fluctuates greatly from year to year, amounts now to about 125,000. The membership figures of the different unions, however, total double that. This is due to the seasonal nature of the work done by the majority of the I.W.W. members. For example, the Agricultural Workers and the Lumber Workers, the two most powerful unions in the organisation, have a membership of about 45,000 each. *But this membership is largely the same for both unions; the same men who work in the harvest fields during the summer go into the woods in winter.* So, also, with the oil workers, who become to a

*This is as yet a Local Union, centred in Philadelphia.

†These are not strictly Industrial Unions. The Metal and Machinery Workers' Union is really an occupational Union, including men who work machines in many different industries, and particularly machinists, for whom it competes with the Machinists' Union of the A.F. of L. An attempt is now being made to limit it to the workers of the industries making metal products; for instance, this Union is now organising the steel workers.

The Automobile Workers also will doubtless be included in the Metal and Machinery Workers' Union. The Furniture Workers are naturally only a section of a future Union of wood workers.

large extent agricultural workers during the summer, as do many I.W.W.'s in the city industries.

In the old days the I.W.W. had an extremely loose form of organisation. Local Industrial Unions acted autonomously. In order to call a general strike of the industry a referendum among the Local Unions was necessary. Local Unions practically conducted their business to suit themselves, assessed their own dues, etc.

At the present time Local Unions no longer exist. Instead there are branches of the Industrial Unions, whose headquarters are all centralised in General Headquarters at Chicago—all, that is, except the Metal Mine Workers, whose executive is in Butte, Montana. All branches must do business through headquarters. Branches can strike in their localities, but a general strike of the industry can only be called by the Industrial Council, which contains representatives of each Branch in the industry, and is its governing body. The members of the Industrial Council are also organisers, always in close touch with the workers.

In each district there is a District Council, made up of representatives of Branches of all industries in the district, which can call a general strike of all industries in the district.

The central organ of the I.W.W. is the General Executive Board, composed of five members nominated by the convention and elected by referendum. Between conventions the General Executive Board is supreme. It can call a strike of any industry, or of all industries. If one industry is on strike it can order another out to help it. The members of the General Executive Board are general organisers and must travel over the country, organising and leading strikes.

But in the I.W.W. no official has any power during a strike. The Strike Committee elected by the rank and file is supreme. Nor can any official, or even the Strike Committee, settle a strike. This must be done by a majority vote of the strikers alone.

However, although in theory the I.W.W. is now a centralised organisation, in practice this is far from true. The big Industrial Unions are still jealous of their autonomy; they still control the use of their own funds, and manage their own affairs. The General Executive Board is very chary of exercising the authority granted to it by the constitution, and only rarely interferes with the Industrial Unions. But it is in the I.W.W.

Press that this looseness is the most evident; the I.W.W. papers often contradict each other in different sections of the country, and they are under no control, apparently, of the General Executive Board.

After all, the I.W.W. is not so much a regular Labour Union as a propaganda committee. Every year thousands of workers enter its ranks, and every year thousands leave it. But the I.W.W.'s insinuate themselves everywhere, in all craft unions, in all factories, eternally preaching and arguing for industrial unionism and workers' control of industry. When, as is happening in America at present, the old craft unions are smashed by the revolt of the workers against their corrupt leaders and the intolerable narrowness of their organisations, the rebels do not enter the I.W.W., which has the reputation of being "too revolutionary." But the new insurgent Labour organisations which spring up are indelibly stamped with the mark of the I.W.W. Such, for example, is the Canadian One Big Union.

As an organisation the I.W.W. will never be able to gain the majority of the workers, or to control the economic life of the nation. But as a propaganda centre, as a destructive and revolutionary force, it is one of the chief agents in wrecking the great American Federation of Labour, in reaching and making class conscious vast proletarian masses, and for fifteen years it has held aloft with unflinching heroism the ideal of the overthrow of capitalism, an example to the workers everywhere.

VI.

The European war came at a time when the I.W.W. had recovered from the "decentralisation" fight, and was everywhere—in the coal-fields, on railroads, in the steel industry, among the sailors—making rapid headway. The dockers were organised in 1913, and to-day the I.W.W. controls the Port of Philadelphia. In 1914-15 the Agricultural Workers' Union was launched; in 1915, the Lumber Workers' Union was started.

As early as 1912-13 scattered attempts had been made by the Local Unions to organise the vast throngs of migratory workers who pour into the harvest fields in summer. Each local union being practically autonomous at that time, with its own organisers and its own rate of dues, the

organisation campaign was feeble. Frank Little, member of the General Executive Board, afterward murdered by the copper mine operators in Butte, originated the plan of centralised operations, which was afterward carried out. In 1915 a conference of representatives of the Western Local Unions was held in Kansas City, the Agricultural Workers' Industrial Union was launched, central headquarters established, uniform dues fixed and organisers sent out. The leaders in the fight were the men just released from prison after the Sioux City "free speech fight"—the dare-devils and fighting men of the I.W.W.

It was a task for warriors. Nothing like the conditions in the harvest fields of America exists in any other country in the world. The harvest begins in the southern State of Texas in the summer and with the advancing season a mighty wave of thousands of workers moves north through the great producing Middle States, across the Canadian frontier and up into the immense wheat plains of Manitoba. These migratory workers who reap the harvests come into the fields with nothing but the clothes on their backs. They live on the country as they go, travelling vagabond-like on freight trains or under the cars, begging their food or expropriating it from the farmer's vegetable patches and fruit orchards, living in "jungles," some spot in a field or a patch of woods where they lie out under the sky and share their worldly goods together.

They are a rough lot—mostly migratory unskilled workers, who have been the prey of every exploiter, who have grown bitter and violent under the terrible lash of American capitalism; they have no nationalist or racial prejudices; they are without fear, having incessantly to battle with the railroad men, who try to keep them off the freight trains; with the police and local authorities, who persecute them as outlaws, and with the farmers, who exploit them. They have no property, no family, no votes. . .

This was the mass which the I.W.W. set out to organise and to revolutionise. The struggle took on the character and the proportions of a vast, bloody, civil war. The farmers, themselves ground between the banks and the workers, mobilised the entire machinery of the State, legal and extra-legal, against the I.W.W. Organisers and members were imprisoned by the thousands, crippled, wounded, and killed. Outlaws, with all other classes up in arms against

them, the I.W.W. carried on their campaign, in the first year enrolling fifteen thousand members. They were armed; in answer to the organised violence of the farmers, mysterious fires destroyed miles of growing wheat, mysterious accidents ruined incalculable quantities of farming machinery. It was war; everything was fair, from open battles with guns to sabotage. . . .

Even at the period of the most terrible repression against the I.W.W.—during the war—the Agricultural Workers' Union continued to grow and fight. And every year the same bloody drama takes place. . . .

In 1915, when the harvest season was over, many fanatical I.W.W.'s went into the lumber camps of the North-west and began an agitation among the forest workers, who lived in horrible conditions, exploited to the limit of endurance, like beasts. The Everett "free speech fight," in which many I.W.W.'s were shot, grew out of the attempt of the Lumber Trust to stop the organisation campaign of the I.W.W. among the timber workers.

In 1917, just at the time that the United States Government desperately needed every inch of timber for war purposes, the Lumber Workers' Industrial Union felt itself strong enough to call a strike, one of the most bitterly and violently fought in the history of American Labour. The Lumber Trust imported hired gunmen, who murdered right and left; it sent spies into the organisation, produced false evidence to convict active workers of opposing the war; it evoked the deportation laws, and shipped hundreds of foreign-born workers out of the country, or held them in prison for years without trial. Backed by the threat of the Agricultural Workers to strike, and thus ruin the entire wheat harvest, the Lumber Workers employed the intermittent strike, the "strike on the job," and fought back. The Lumber Trust finally surrendered, leaving the I.W.W. in control of the forests.

Never was there such a strike victory won in the United States. From \$40 a month wages jumped to \$5 a day; from living conditions unfit for beasts the workers were given electric lights, shower baths, clean bedding and good food; from ten and twelve hours their work-day fell to eight hours. . . .

In 1916 came the Mesaba Range strike, the strike of the iron miners, in which once more the I.W.W. defied the Steel Trust. After a long,

dramatic fight which lasted many months, organising and pulling out twenty-five thousand unorganised workers of many nationalities, in the face of the gigantic and ruthless forces of the Steel Trust and the government combined, the strikers won a large part of their demands.

In 1917 the copper miners of the West went out, striking in the two great centres—Montana and Arizona. The Copper Trust turned loose its gunmen, its courts, its Press. The United States was then at war, and under the plea of patriotism outrages unknown before were practised. This was the occasion when Frank Little was dragged from his hotel bedroom by a band of assassins and murdered. In Bisbee, Arizona, the local bourgeoisie and the Copper Trust officials hunted the strikers and their sympathisers out of their homes, tore them from their families, and at the point of a gun forced them into a train of cattle cars and sent them into the desert to starve to death, from which fate they were temporarily saved by the Government, which however, has never taken any serious action against those responsible for this crime. . . .

There were other strikes led by the I.W.W.; for example, that of the Rubber Workers', which show the same indomitable courage on the part of the I.W.W., and the same savage repression by the capitalists. . . .

VII.

This repression grew ever more savage as the United States drifted closer and closer to the whirlpool of war. The entrance of America into the conflict, and the vesting of the great corporations with complete control over the State, let loose the full force of the storm upon the I.W.W. as upon no other organisation in the United States.

True to its tradition of being a non-political body, the I.W.W. officially took no attitude toward the war. Indeed, later, when on trial for obstructing the war, some of the I.W.W. leaders actually attempted to demonstrate that the I.W.W. was a more patriotic organisation than the A. F. of L.

Not so the rank and file of the I.W.W., however. These young, fearless fighters, unprepared, undirected, without a plan, instinctively opposed the capitalist war. The I.W.W. Press denounced it unanimously, and thousands of members did not register for military conscrip-

tion at all. It is calculated that there were between twenty and thirty thousand I.W.W.'s in prison on account of their opposition to the war.

But the American bourgeoisie saw also in the war its opportunity to destroy the I.W.W. for ever. No sooner was war declared than State after State began to pass "criminal syndicalist" laws, statutes aimed at making the I.W.W. an outlaw organisation, punishing by heavy penalties anyone advocating the "overthrow of established government" or the "unlawful destruction of property," in which last clause, of course, can be included everything from the income tax to sabotage (sabotage, by the way, was officially repudiated by the 1918 convention of the I.W.W.). The new immigration law, too, which provided for deportation of any foreigner without trial, merely upon the opinion of the Immigration Inspector, who is almost always in the pay of some great corporation, was used to round up and ship to the seaboard, with revolting cruelty, hundreds of active militants.

But the capitalists' main support was the Espionage Act, which was presumably designed to catch and punish German agents, but under which only a dozen or so Germans were punished, while thousands of American proletariats rot in jail to this day. On the charge of "obstructing the war," the I.W.W. was decapitated. One and hundred and ten of its best men, all its well-known leaders, editors, speakers, organisers, were arrested under this law, and after being kept in prison almost a year, were tried and sentenced to terms ranging from ten to twenty years. In Wichita, Kansas, the centre of the Agricultural Workers' territory, thirty-five more I.W.W. members were arrested under the same law; three indictments were drawn against them and all dismissed by the judge; one was finally found to fit the probabilities, and the men, after being held two years without trial (several went insane, one committed suicide) were sentenced to prison for terms up to seventeen years. In Sacramento, California, forty-three I.W.W.'s were rounded up, held for a year in prison until some charge could be invented against them, and then charged with "obstructing the war," the evidence being mostly concerned with events which had happened while the men were in jail! In this trial was employed "the silent defence." The prisoners did not employ a lawyer, and refused to testify or to speak at all. These are only samples. . . .

But the worst of all was the hideous mob violence of war-maddened bourgeoisie and their hired gunmen. These raided I.W.W. headquarters, killed some members, tortured others, wiped out every trace of the organisation they could find. In Tulsa, Oklahoma, the centre of the Oil Workers' district, the Oil Trust hirelings tarred and feathered every I.W.W. in town, because the I.W.W. organisation refused to contribute to the buying of an enormous American flag and refused to march in a "loyalty parade." Then came the Everett massacre, and last autumn the Centralia massacre, also committed by the Lumber Trust gangsters. A parade of war veterans was being held to celebrate Victory Day, when a shot was fired, apparently coming from the window of the I.W.W. headquarters. This is, of course, a very common trick of American provocators. The shot was a signal for the mob to storm the hall, wreck the place, kill two or three unarmed young men, and send the rest to trial for murder. . . . And the end of the terror is not yet.

The sudden blast of persecution would have totally destroyed an organisation less tough than the I.W.W. With all its leaders gone, its best men locked up in prison, its Press almost destroyed, its headquarters banished from most cities, the very organisation a crime in many States, few persons expected that it would weather the storm. But it has not only lasted up to now, but *grown*. The I.W.W. is larger than it was before the war, they say.

However, all this has not been without a bad effect. With the experienced fighters all gone, with the best thinkers shut away from contact with the world, with the organisation in the hands of younger, greener men, the I.W.W., always more or less vague about the details of its revolutionary program, has grown vaguer, looser, less definite.

The speakers, the editors, the writers who have remained active are mostly older men, of fixed ideas—men who have learned nothing by the war, or by the Russian Revolution—men who still think, even now, that it is possible to "build the new society within the shell of the old," who still think that industrial action alone will overthrow capitalism, and make way *immediately* for the administration of the world by Labour Unions; men who reject the dictatorship of the proletariat, who do not realise that this is a revolutionary period.

A phrase from the resolution adopted by the

1919 convention will demonstrate my meaning; a statement which shows that in the mind of the persons who wrote it *there was no conception of any transitional period between capitalism and Communism:*

We . . . hereby reaffirm our adherence to the cause of the International Proletariat, and reassert our profound conviction that the program of Industrial Unionism not only furnishes a method of successful resistance against the aggressions of a rabid master class, but provides a basis for the reconstruction of society when capitalism shall have collapsed. . . .

VIII.

The rank and file, however, is by no means so dogmatic. The average I.W.W.—the Western I.W.W., who is the real I.W.W.—does not think very clearly about the revolution, and does not think at all of what will immediately follow the seizure of State power. State power must be destroyed utterly, he says; usually he will tell you that the general strike will do it. The new society will *have* no State, only an industrial administration.

But all this is not *real* to him. Actually he cannot form a picture of the revolution. If questioned, he will, of course, agree that the bourgeoisie must be suppressed by force; in fact, being a man of experience in strikes and mass movements, he knows the value of centralisation, and advocates the dictatorship of a revolutionary minority.

But mention the words "politics" or "political party," and he is off. He has never heard of a revolutionary political party. "Politics" means to him only the shabby tricks of politicians. He cannot conceive of revolutionary parliamentarism, and he does not know the true meaning, in the Marxian sense, of "political." He will say, as one of them said to me just before I left America, "I'm a Bolshevik, but I'm not a Communist. A Communist is a member of a political party . . ."

He is wholeheartedly in favour of the Russian Soviet Republic so long as he thinks that the Soviets are Labour Union district councils administering industry. But when he hears that the Communist Party is supreme in Russia, he looks disappointed, and mutters, "politicians!" It is hard to make him understand that the revolutionary political party which leads the revolution is not made up of intellectuals, but is composed of the revolutionary minority of *workers* who also function in the Labour Unions. . . .

But it is not surprising that he does not know, when the I.W.W. "intellectuals" and theoreticians repeat in the I.W.W. Press old, outworn or foolish formulæ; such as Justus Ebert, who used to know Marx, but now continues to speak of "building the new society within the old"—as if the old society were going to last for ever; or John Sandgren, who solemnly explains that the Bolshevik Revolution merely gave the Russian people the vote.

The fact is, the I.W.W. has been so busy fighting the class war at home that it is singularly badly informed about the world Labour movement—as are many other less revolutionary and less active organisations in America. . . . And being a body composed of fighting men, with a

really revolutionary temperament, and having gone through bitter persecution, such as perhaps no other group of men in the world have suffered, except the Russian Revolutionists, the I.W.W. members have a sort of fierce love for their organisation, a sort of sensitive patriotism which resents any criticism implying that even the doctrines of John Sandgren are not revolutionary. . . .

But if these men can be reached, if the position of the Communists can be explained to them in their own language, their native common sense will show them that we are right. And this must be done, for the I.W.W. is the advance guard of the American proletariat, and it is they who must lead the assault on capitalism in America.

JOHN REED.

Communism in Armenia

By A. N.

GENERAL SITUATION.

OF the three Transcaucasian Republics Armenia is the most backward economically. Its political backwardness corresponds fully to its economic backwardness.

From the moment of the organisation of the "independent State," Armenia's political and economic life became strictly isolated and squeezed into the narrow limits of nationalism. Without this isolation, without the separation of Transcaucasia from Soviet Russia and its division into three petty-bourgeois Republics, the "Dashnaktsiutun," a party of the Armenian bourgeoisie, would not have acquired power over the workers and peasant masses of Armenia.

This isolation pursued two objects: the struggle against the proletarian revolution, advancing from the North, and the struggle against the workers and peasants of Armenia, who were ready to join the revolution. The organisation of a bourgeois nationalist State was accompanied by continuous national wars, which turned into ruins whole provinces inhabited by the working masses of Armenia and Mahomedans. Zangezour, Karabakh, Akulis, Agbaba, Zangibassar, are the living witnesses of the bloody imperialist policy of the "Dashnaktsiutun" Party and its kindred "Mussovat" Party in Azerbeidjan.

"Independent and united Armenia from sea to sea"—this sacred dream of the Armenian bourgeoisie is now being practically realised by the counter-revolutionary government of Armenia, clearing its territory of the hated Mohammedan peasantry, and destroying by sword and fire the Mohammedan villages and settlements.

But, if the national wars in the hands of the government and its parties have served as a means for the strengthening of their power over the workers and peasant masses of Armenia, the same national wars, with their ruinous results and their imperialist aims which have become evident to the working masses, have undermined the foundation of this economically weak and backward country.

The Armenian peasantry, formerly comparatively well-to-do, became ruined partly during the war between Russia and Turkey, but, chiefly during the period of triumph of the Dashnak reaction and the following epoch of bloody collisions between Armenia and Azerbeidjan. The war, as everywhere else, swallowed up the remaining wealth of this not very rich country, destroying all its productive forces and transforming the peasants of entire provinces into beggar refugees. The blows dealt to the worker-peasant masses of Armenia by the bloody collisions organised and provoked by the governments of Armenia and Azerbeidjan were increased by the internal régime, which lay with a heavy pressure on the working masses. "Free and independent Armenia," in the hands of the Dashnaks, became a country "independent" of workers and peasants and "free" for speculators, mauserists (terrorists), exploiters, and the officers of Denikin.

The deception of the worker-peasant masses of Armenia by the international imperialists showed itself especially in the acceptance of the mandate for Armenia. The imperialists still continue to haggle about the mandate. But they do not let Armenia out of their hands yet, because she is necessary to them in their struggle against Bolshevism. That is why America is supplying Armenia with grain—on account, of course, of the raw materials—wool, cotton—which are being obtained from her.

However, even American grain, in the hands of the government, is transformed into a means for the struggle against the revolution. The Government, which had formerly been frightening the worker and peasant masses by the threat of an attack on the part of Azerbeidjan, later on, when the masses began to see clearly the imperialist nature of the wars, made use of the American grain and the threat to allow the peasants to die of famine in case of their refusal to enlist support for the Government. All the arriving grain fell into the hands of speculators and the village exploiters. The middle peasantry,

lacking bread and possessing but small pieces of land, was compelled to borrow the grain from the speculators, and to cede to them the right of using the land. Throughout the whole of Armenia, this process resulted long ago in the formation of a tremendous army of proletarianised peasants in the villages. Thus, notwithstanding the import of grain from America, an army of hungry masses has been created by the speculative governmental organisation.

A characteristic feature is the fact that during the Tsarist regime there existed almost no land question in Armenia, apart from the defence of the monastery lands from the Tsarist government, which strove to confiscate them, and which enabled the Armenian nationalists, together with the clergy, to increase their influence over the peasantry. On the contrary, during the régime of the Dashnaks, the land question has assumed a most acute form; the Dashnak exploiters have succeeded in depriving the peasants of their land, in exchange for grain; and the peasants are now beginning to comprehend that it was not in the interests of the peasantry that the Council of Etchmiadzin, with its enormous staff of employees and vast tracts of land, appealed to them at the time to struggle against the pretensions of the imperial government. The land question is becoming more acute in Armenia in consequence also of the artificial formation of a landowners' class, consisting of members of the government and parliament, to whom the government is according the lands requisitioned from the Mohammedan peasantry. The policy of slaughter of the Mohammedans within the country, besides its economic aims, i.e., the enrichment of the members of the government and parliament, has chiefly a political aim. The government is peopling the regions which have become cleared of Mohammedans with Turkish-Armenian refugees, in order to create an "Armenian-Cossack class" for the assistance of the government in its struggle against the local, beggared, and consequently revolutionary peasantry. Almost all the commerce in the city of Erivan is concentrated in the hands of the Turkish-Armenians. The government is completely dependent on them.

In a worse condition than the ruined peasantry is the working class, concentrated chiefly on the line of the railway. The centre of the Labour movement is Alexandropol, with the Labour Dépôt at its head. After the defeat of

the Soviet Power in Baku, in 1918, a great number of artisan-workers arrived in Armenia and took up responsible posts in the railway service. The tragic situation of the working masses of Armenia may be explained chiefly by the absence of an organised working class, which might have set its will against the demands of the government. The Dashnaktsiutun Party was able to rule undividedly so long as the voice of the working class was not heard, so long as the comparatively well-to-do petty bourgeois peasantry, not quite ruined by the war, still joined its fate with that of the higher Armenian bourgeoisie. From the moment of the organisation of the independent State, the workers began to concentrate along the railway lines from all points of Transcaucasia. The government used all its efforts to organise the workers into a governmental party, in order to create a support for its power.

But the régime of the Mauserists, which had repulsed the peasantry, repulsed the workers in a still greater degree. The organisation of the governmental Trade Unions, serving exclusively the interests of the Railway Administration; the transformation of the Central Committee of the Railway Union into a secret police section for the persecution of the workers; and, later on, the merciless struggle against the working masses under the banner of Trade Unions, placed before the workers the question of organising their own bona-fide Trade Union, capable of carrying on the class struggle against the government.

On the ground of the struggle against the governmental Trade Unions, and the arrests of the Communist workers in January of the current year, a general strike broke out, during the suppression of which the workers were subject to the most cruel treatment and mass arrests. At the congress of the railwaymen in April, the Communist Party won a complete victory over the governmental party; but the latter managed by means of violence and arrests of the Communist delegates to obtain the election of a new Central Committee, whose object became to exterminate Bolshevism among the railway workers. Numbers of workers were languishing in the prisons of Alexandropol up to the moment of the insurrection. Throughout the whole of Armenia the best Communist workers were arrested as common thieves and robbers. The working class in Armenia is absolutely deprived of all rights and exists on a beggarly wage. It is

not surprising that, under the energetic leadership of the Communists, the working class is becoming the advance guard of the revolution in Armenia.

These hard conditions were particularly unbearable for the army, consisting mostly of workers and peasants. Suffering deeply under the pressure of the discipline of blows and barracks, which was in no wise better than that of the former Tsarist régime, generously shedding their blood in the senseless nationalist wars, the hungry and barefoot Armenian soldiers became inspired with hatred against the Dashnaks much earlier than their brethren in the factories or at the ploughs. That is why, long before the insurrection, in the first days of April the garrison of Sarakamysh revolted twice in order to liberate the arrested Communist soldiers. The Government was powerless to struggle against the garrison, and the mutiny of the men of Sarakamysh inspired the whole army with courage. The army broke the generals' chains, and at once took heart.

Such are the objective conditions which, independently of the will of separate individuals and parties, have created the revolutionary situation in Armenia: the constant national wars, the ruin of the peasantry and pauperism of the masses, speculation, theft, and venality, the absence of all rights, the poverty of the workers, and the unbearably hard régime in the army—in a word, the whole insane policy of the government of Dashnaks, speculators, and Mauserists—made the catastrophe inevitable.

What party in Armenia could utilise all these conditions, and, in conformity with the international situation, place itself at the head of the workers' and peasants' movement? The Armenian Mensheviks and Socialist-Revolutionaries are generals without armies, because anything that they could have done in Armenia had been done already by the Dashnaks, who differ in no wise from the Mensheviks of Georgia or Russia. The Communist Party alone took up its position face to face against the government and the ruling Dashnak party. Either the Communists or the Dashnaks—that is how the question stands in Armenia.

The activity of the Communist Party in Armenia began almost from the very day of the revolution; but its work became really mass work only about a year ago. During that time the organisation of the Russian Communist Party in Armenia convened two conferences (up to the

last days the Armenian Communist organisation had been working under the flag of the Russian Communist Party). The result of some six months' work of the Party is about 3,000 organised members—without counting the army, where there is also a strong organisation. The chief attention of the Party was directed towards the organisation of the working class and activity in the Trade Unions, which gradually passed into the hands of the Communists and adopted the tactics and policy of Communism. At the last Party Conference, an exhaustive resolution was passed on all questions concerning the external and internal situation of Armenia.

In the resolution on the external situation, we read the following:

“The Russian Revolution has advanced the motto of the liberation of all the oppressed nationalities of the East from the yoke of world-capital. The East has already arisen; its sympathies are with Soviet Russia against world imperialism. But there is no doubt that this movement, in the first period of its development, will bear a nationalist liberative character. This question is particularly acute in Armenia, where the ruling classes have finally and indissolubly linked the fate of the country with the victory of international imperialism. In Armenia there is no national question: there exists only a social question. At the moment of the general revolt in the East, the Russian Communist Party in Armenia must be prepared to overthrow the power of the Dashnaktsiutun Party, align its front according to the external imperialist front, and, with the help of the revolted peoples of the East, in alliance with Soviet Russia, form a common front against international imperialism.”

Under the most difficult conditions, when parliament sanctioned a most pitiless warfare on the part of the government against the Bolsheviks, the Party did not cease its work for a moment, issuing fly-sheets, papers, journals, etc. (The following papers are published in the Armenian language: *Alick*, *Communist*, *The Voice of the Peasant*, *The New Path*, *Izvestia*, etc.).

The Trade Unions in Armenia—such as the Council of Unions in Alexandropol and all the Railway Unions—by May 1 had been transformed into militant revolutionary organs of the working class, with the Communist Party at their head.

THE INSURRECTION IN ARMENIA.

A FORTNIGHT before May 1, the Committee of the R.C.P. in Armenia sent out circular instructions to all organisations to prepare for the celebration of the first of May. All the Communist organisations were called upon, and special fly-sheets for the first of May were published. The day before May 1 information was received that Baku was occupied by the Soviet troops. With lightning speed the news spread throughout the whole country, drawing closer together the ranks of the workers and peasants, preparing to move out under the banner of the Communist Party.

The first of May passed exclusively under the mottoes of the Communists. The triumphant celebration of this proletarian holiday in all the towns and villages of Armenia, unheard-of in the annals of the Armenian worker and peasant masses, won them over to the cause of the social revolution and the establishment of the Soviet power. The government party was nowhere to be seen in the streets of Erivan, Alexandropol, Kars, Sarakamysh, where, under the Red Banner and to the sounds of the band playing the "International," many thousands of workers and peasants welcomed the Communist orators, calling the people to overthrow the contemptible power of the Dashnaks and to establish a Soviet Government. The Dashnak officers were particularly discomfited, and could not look with equanimity at the portraits of Lenin or Trotsky. At Alexandropol, the Dashnaks opened fire on the numerous crowds of workers and soldiers; the masses replied by devastating the club of the Dashnaks. On that day the entire army joined the Communist Party. The radio station at Erivan was at the disposition of our organisation during the whole day. At noon the Committee of Armenia sent a congratulatory radio to Moscow and Baku, and special telegrams from Alexandropol to Baku. The day was also triumphantly celebrated in the villages.

From the first of May, in Alexandropol, power was practically in the hands of the Alexandropol Committee of the R.C.P. On the first of May the Party demonstrated in the streets of Alexandropol and throughout Armenia all its secret forces, and took its position at the head of the workers, soldiers, and peasants in revolution against the government. The disconcerted government, foreseeing its approaching defeat, proceeded to plunder the food stores in order to

starve the revolutionary masses. The Alexandropol Committee of the R.C.P. comprehending the situation and not wishing to desist from the leadership of the movement took energetic measures on its own risk and responsibility. Circular instructions were sent out to the American representative and all Food Supply institutions, demanding the immediate stoppage of the plundering of the provisions, and threatening them with the Revolutionary Tribunal of the future Soviet Armenia. At that time the American Mission, frightened by the celebration of May 1, and the approaching revolution, had left Erivan for Tiflis. The Alexandropol Committee stopped the train, and pronounced the Mission to be under arrest until the arrival of the food supplies, which were then on the way to Alexandropol from Batoum.

This is the original text of the paper delivered and signed by the American Mission to the Alexandropol Committee of the R.C.P.: "We, the representatives of the American Mission, bind ourselves before the Alexandropol Committee of the R.C.P. to the effect that all the food cargoes destined for Armenia, and actually on their way from Batoum to Alexandropol, will be immediately forwarded to Armenia, independently of what government is at the head of the country—the present imperialist, or a Socialist Soviet Government." The signatures of the representatives of the Mission follow. (This document is in the custody of the archives of the Alexandropol Committee of the R.C.P.).

On May 3, the station and the fortress were practically in the hands of the Bolsheviks. On May 8 a Military-Revolutionary Committee was formed, of workers, soldiers, and members of the local Committee of the Party. All power in Alexandropol and the surrounding regions was concentrated in the hands of the Revolutionary Committee from that moment.

On May 10, at 5 p.m., by order of the Military Revolutionary Committee, Armenia was proclaimed a Soviet Republic, and the counter-revolutionary government of Armenia outlawed. All the district militia was disarmed. The Dashnak Mouserists, foreseeing the fall of the old government, had left the town before May 1 for some of the remote villages, where they managed to assemble some Turkish-Armenian counter-revolutionary hands. A model order reigned in all the towns; everyone was pleased with the fall of the Dashnaks; the Mohammedan refugees congratulated the workers and soldiers

of Alexandropol, with tears in their eyes, promising to help them in the matter of provisions. Not only the workers and peasants, but all reasonable citizens, who were disgusted with the bloody regime of the Dashnaks, were glad of the revolution. The price of bread after the fall of the Dashnak power, fell from 150 to 60 roubles.

Only the counter-revolutionary officers, the Mauserists, and the numerous hordes of speculators and exploiters, hidden about the town, remained faithful to the old government. The speculators and Turkish Armenian exploiters had escaped slaughter in Turkish Armenia, thanks to their wealth; they had been permitted by the government to settle on the lands which had been requisitioned from the Mohammedan peasants; and now they were ready at any moment to act against the Bolsheviks. Simultaneously with the declaration of the establishment of the Soviet Government in Armenia, Kars and Sarakamysh also introduced the Soviet order. The Military Revolutionary Committee of Armenia had formed a plan to join with the Red troops quartered at Akstafa; but this plan was not put into execution, for reasons which did not depend on the Committee. The latter had its attention drawn to the fight against the government troops, sent from Erivan and numbering 1,500 bayonets—without counting the mass of armed bandits consisting of Turkish-Armenian speculators. The head of this army was the Turkish-Armenian Hambalet, now a general on a white horse, and the executioner Sepou. When the Red soldiers approached them they were surprised to see Armenians, as they had been told that they were going to fight the Turks. Ten soldiers immediately passed over to our side, the others, under the threats of the Mauserists, were ordered back to their positions.

On May 13, in the morning, it became known that the whole district was terrorised by the Mauserists, who had organised punitive detachments formed of Turkish-Armenian refugees. The railway line to Karakalis was broken up by a detachment of Mauserists moving from Djadjur station. The government troops were at a distance of one march from the town. Against the wish of the Military Revolutionary Committee, a group of Mensheviks and Social-Revolutionists organised a delegation to carry on negotiations in the name of the citizens with the chief of the governmental punitive detachment

regarding the discontinuation of military operations. The delegation gave its word to the Military Revolutionary Committee not to touch upon any other question during the negotiations.

This is the original text of the declaration handed by the chief of the Sepou detachment: "In the name of the government, I demand the delivery of Alexandropol into the hands of the government troops. I declare that no other power can exist on the territory of Armenia besides that of the old government. We have lost Van, Mush, Erzeroum in Turkish-Armenia; the loss of another town—Alexandropol—will be of no importance to us. I will not leave a single stone unturned. I will destroy it, so that not a trace of the town will be left. Give up your leaders of the movement, Captain Musaelian, commander of the Red Army, Avis Melkonian, and members of the Military Revolutionary Committee of Soviet Armenia."

May 13, in the night, in connection with the advance of the government troops and the victory of the counter-revolution in the regions around Alexandropol, and also with the advance of a detachment of Mauserists from the direction of station Djadjur, the Military Revolutionary Committee acknowledged the situation to be hopeless.

In the morning Sepou, chief of the government troops, started the battle. After a short fight the Soviet troops left the town, and departed from Armenia in different directions. The government troops entered the town, and on the morning of May 14 the Soviet Government in Armenia fell.

The counter-revolution did not spare anyone; all who had any relation to the Soviet Government were arrested. The Dashnaks killed Hatchaturov (General Hatchaturov had gone over to the side of the Soviet Army). It was characteristic that the Dashnaks did not spare even a member of the Central Committee of the Dashnak Party, Iberic Tcholahian, who had protested against the murder of Kondarev of which he had been an eye witness.

Simultaneously with the fall of Alexandropol, Kars fell also. May 19, after a hard fight, the government troops took Soviet Sarakamysh. But, in spite of the fact that the centre of the movement was crushed, Kazar and New Bayazet revolted; to be however cruelly repressed, after four days' hard fighting.

The Kazakh region, supported by the Re

Army and Soviet Azerbeidjan, continued until recently fighting desperately against the Dashnaks. In this area about 4,000 Armenian peasants, together with the Mohammedan peasantry, carried on warfare against the Dashnaks and Mussavatists. The Dashnaks burned down whole areas, and shot and plundered masses of peasants. During the first period of

the insurrection at Kazakhs, the Soviet troops came to the rescue of the revolutionists, and occupied the town of Dilijan. However, by order of the Centre, the Red Army and revolutionary peasantry were compelled to retreat. The worker-peasant movement in Armenia is now cruelly crushed. A.N.

The Communist Party of Iran

By SULTAN ZADE

THE First Congress of the Communist Party of Iran was opened at Enzeli on July 23. This day is a historic day, not only for the revolutionary movement of Persia, but for that of the entire East. In spite of all the stratagems of the British spies, 48 delegates arrived at Enzeli from different parts of Persia. Among the delegates were representatives of the Communists of Persia, Turkestan, and the Caucasus. Their serious attitude in regard to all the questions under discussion, their complete unity and class-consciousness in respect to the elections, proved that the cause of the liberation of the workers of Persia is entrusted to true and reliable hands. The delegates at the Congress were mostly workers and peasants; it could not boast of many members of the educated class; but the majority of those attending it had been taking an active part in the revolutionary movement of Persia during the last 10 to 15 years.

Already, in 1914, the Persian workers in Baku went out into the streets with energetic protests against the imperialist war. In 1916, a group of Persian workers inclining to Bolshevism separated from the Social-Democratic Party, and for a long time carried on independent work among the proletarian masses of Baku, where the majority of the workers are Persians. After the February revolution, this group increased; and its influence over the working masses continued to develop. At the same time, it carried on an energetic work in Persia, sending out the best workers from Baku for agitation and organisation purposes. Many of them are now in the prison of Teheran, Tabriz, Kazvin, and other cities. Many have been exiled to India by the

English, or shot down on the spot at the moment of their arrest. One of our best leaders, comrade Kafarzade, the inspirer and a great organiser of the Communist Party in Persia, was treacherously shot down at Resht. Two months ago, when the revolutionary Persian troops captured Ardabil, they let out of the prison there 17 of our active comrades. Many of them had been in prison for over a year.

There has not been a single workers' demonstration in Baku in which our Party has not taken an active part. During the worst days of the reaction, the Persian Communist Party numbered over 6,000 members, working in secret organisation. About two months ago we began enlisting volunteers for the Persian Red Army; the number of volunteers was so great that we had to stop recruiting, as we were unable to supply all those who desired to enlist with the necessary equipment.

At the present moment, after the Congress which among other things decided to suppress the old name of "Adalet" and to call our Party the Communist Party of Iran, the new Central Committee passed a resolution in virtue of which every member of the Committee is bound to work illegally during 2—3 months in all the places where the English imperialists are yet ruling. A week after this resolution was passed, six members of the Central Committee started for their work.

At the present moment throughout the whole of Persia, an energetic organisation and construction of Party organs is going on. The Party Committees which have been dispersed and suppressed by the English agents are

gradually reviving again, and contact between the centre and the local branches is being established. Our Party is meeting with special sympathy among the military organisations, the gendarmes and the Cossacks. But in this case these Cossacks and gendarmes are not to be compared with the Russian. The social status of the Cossacks and gendarmes in Persia is chiefly the peasant class, and for the most part the hungry, landless peasants; therefore they succumb very rapidly to our agitation. In Persia itself, according to approximate calculations, we have about 10,000 members of the Party, dispersed throughout the whole country.

Besides the work in Persia, our Party is carry-

ing on active work among the Persian workers in Azerbeidjan, Daghestan, and Turkestan. In these countries, while organising the Persian workers, we are pursuing a double object: on the one hand by means of Party courses we are preparing active workers, and, on the other hand, we are enlisting volunteers and mobilising Party members for military purposes. In these countries our organisations are working in complete contact with those of the Russian Communist Party. In Azerbeidjan they have even united with the R.C.P. The Communist Party of Iran must and will play a decisive role in the revolutionary movement of Persia.

SULTAN ZADE.

The Situation in Eastern Asia

By R.

Member of the Korean Socialist Party

CHINA.

THE war between North and South China is continuing endlessly. The conferences convened several times for the purpose of establishing normal relations between both parts of China have not brought any positive results. Moreover, in consequence of financial difficulties, both the warring governments cannot develop an offensive and thus promptly put an end to the miserable conditions under which the long-suffering Chinese people are living; at the same time, Japan and the European Powers, which are interested in the Chinese civil war, are assisting both sides and are the chief cause of the continuation of the war. The split between the North and South is rendered more acute by the circumstance that the military circles of the government of Peking, paying no attention to public opinion, are realising a military dictatorship within the country, and continuing to carry on a coalition policy with Japan, whose main object is to oppress and weaken the Chinese nation. In connection with the Shantung question, popular indignation against the Peking Government is fast increasing, and the hatred of Japan growing ever stronger, including all the classes of the Chinese people—except the official functionaries and the military, who have united in a group called “An-Fu.” At the head of the anti-governmental and anti-Japanese movement is the progressive youth—the Chinese students. The boycott of Japanese goods by Chinese merchants has been going on now for two years, and is especially felt in South China. Japan tried to stop this movement by all the means in her power, demanding that the Peking Government should adopt decisive measures, and enforcing her demands by threats. But, becoming convinced that the Peking Government was powerless to stop the anti-Japanese movement Japan decided to use other methods of struggle. She artfully made use of

the power-loving Cossack hetman, Semenov, for her own interests, by putting him forward as a pretender to the title of “Grand Duke” of “independent Mongolia.” On the other hand, she tried to awaken the fears of the Peking Government by predicting a “Russian invasion of Mongolia,” advising the Government to adopt defensive measures against the “Russian Bolshevik invasion,” and promising to help China financially in the struggle against Mongolia’s attempts at achieving independence—supposed to be supported by Russia—and for the construction of a railway between Kolgan and Urga. The Peking Government dispatched a detachment of troops to Mongolia, under the command of General Sui-Su-Tsian; who occupied Urga, and by an order received from Peking, deprived Mongolia of the right of self-government. But after the Chinese occupation of Mongolia, Japan completely changed her tactics. She began to put off indefinitely the fulfilment of her promise of financial assistance, as in reality she had only desired to divert the attention of Chinese society from Shantung, and to direct it towards Mongolia. In this skilful diplomatic strategy she attained quite satisfactory results. Such Semenovs and the Chinese “An-Fuists,” in their striving after fictitious power, are often simply pawns in the game of Japanese diplomacy. In agreeing to advance a loan to the Peking Government for the construction of a railway, Japan put forward the three following demands:

1. All measures of a political-economical nature in Manchuria and Mongolia are to be introduced only subject to the approval of Japan.
2. All finished and unfinished railways which are now under the temporary control of Japan are to be placed under the jurisdiction of Japan.
3. The Chinese Government must guarantee that it will never proceed to the construction of a railway line between the towns Tkhio-Nan and

Jrie-He in the north-western direction to the railway line Kolgan-Urga.

South China, desirous of establishing a democratic republican order in the country, is struggling against the invasion of all foreigners, and particularly the Japanese. The head of the South Government is Tian Chun-Sian. Without any considerable military forces, not yet recognised by the other powers and torn by intrigues in its own midst, the South Government is becoming exhausted in the fruitless struggle. However, according to the latest information, the troops of the South have gained a victory over those of Peking.

In Tibet the situation is growing acute owing to the intrigues of the British Government, which is instigating the local population to insubordination against the Peking Government. At the present moment the Tibetan question is one of the chief puzzles in the politics of the Far East.

Shanghai is now playing the role of centre in the political life of Eastern Asia; therefore it is also the centre of the Chinese Socialist movement. Sun-Yat-Sen is working there; he is practically the leader of the Chinese Youth, which is growing more and more Left Wing. He personifies the intellectual forces of the Chinese revolutionary movement—in particular of the anti-Japanese movement. Sun-Yat-Sen is especially valuable to us in that he was the first to understand clearly the incapacity for State Construction of the old Chinese aristocracy, infected by Asiatic stagnation and feudal traditions; and he has desisted from all hopes of the possibility of evolving a revolutionary creative power from the elements of the old world. But, as an intellectual, he cannot break abruptly and completely with the past, so long as the outlines of the new world are not quite clearly defined in the mists of the future. With all his genius of mind and talents as a statesman and reformer, he is not able to steer resolutely and firmly his political ship to meet the advancing wave, in spite of all difficulties and submarine reefs which must inevitably turn up on the long revolutionary main leading to the bright ideal of liberated mankind. The political horizon of China is not yet clear. A bright torch is urgently necessary, to disperse the darkness and become the guiding star for the advanced thinkers of revolutionary China. Soviet Russia and the Communist International

must help the Chinese intellectual revolutionist by teaching him simple, clear, proletarian tactics in the internal theoretico-political struggle; so that he can break all connections, not only with the old past of his own country, but with the entire bourgeois world, and undeviatingly adopt the point of view of the Communist International. It is necessary to explain to him the great truth of which we are deeply convinced—that the liberation of China and of the whole of enslaved Asia is possible only if the ideals of the proletariat triumph. At the same time, while consecutively carrying on our revolutionary policy in the East, we must take account of the peculiarities of Chinese culture.

At present there are four or five Socialist papers published in China. The two principal ones are: *I-Shi-Bo* in Peking, and *Dui-Guo-Jiboo* in Shanghai.

The political situation in China, being what it is, the South is naturally nearer to comrade Arinzo Sun-Yat-Sen than the reactionary North. However, watching attentively the recent work of Sun-Yat-Sen, it is easy to perceive that, in directing the anti-Japanese movement by means of the students (Japan being the most open, barefaced, enemy of China) he is hoping to win the sympathies and confidence of the wider circles of the popular masses in order to carry out a third revolution, for the overthrow of the power of the feudal nobility and the official functionaries. We must take advantage of this movement, we must render all moral and material assistance to the leader of the revolution, and thus help to hasten the advent of the joyful day of the victory of the Third Chinese Revolution.

JAPAN.

EVERY disinterested observer of the social life of Japan will first of all take notice of the fact that, in spite of the triumphant march of jingoism, which has infected a considerable portion of the Japanese people, military ardour has become much weaker. The number of pupils entering the Officers' Schools has decreased to such a degree that soon the Japanese General Staff will not have at its disposal the requisite number of young officers which is necessary for replacing the retiring older ones. The situation will become critical if the conditions of life of the younger officers are not improved. The younger officers of the Japanese Army receive

not more than 25—30 yens a month, which, at the existing high prices in Japan, cannot cover even the most modest expenses of a family man. Owing to bad rice harvests and a lack of other foodstuffs, the soldiers' ration is also diminished and worse as to quality; the salary of a soldier is even now only 1.5 yen a month. The invalids of the European war (who had taken part in the operation at Kiao-Chao and Tzin-Dao), received only a gratuity amounting to 100 yens, which naturally cannot provide for the hard life of an invalid. The families of the soldiers killed in the war are paid 2 or 3 yens a month. Such are the conditions of social relief for the "gallant defenders of the fatherland."

Meanwhile, insatiable Japanese capital is striving after a further increase of the army and fleet, which in the end will bring about a new collision between the two imperialist countries—Japan and America. The result of such a collision will be that Japan, being the weaker nation economically, will hardly be able to gain the victory, and a defeat in this "fourth war" will serve as a prologue to the revolution which will deal a mortal blow to Japanese capital. The impossibility of Japan winning the war is understood by the more reasonable representatives of the Japanese bourgeoisie, who form the so-called "Marine Party." However, thanks to the "successful policy" and the victory of the opponents of this Party, the influence of the "moderate annexionists" has decreased considerably: and at present they do not represent any real force in the political life of Japan.

The Japanese parliamentary "democratic" opposition is in principle also agreeing with the annexionist policy of the Government, because the conquest of Siberia has long been the dream, not only of the Japanese military clique, but also of the wider Liberal circles. The opposition only blame the Government for conducting further the policy, at present unsuitable, of intervention in Siberia. According to the opinion of the opposition, at the moment of the present political situation in Eastern Asia, when the revolutionary conflagration is burning ever brighter in Korea, when the anti-Japanese movement is developing throughout the whole of China, when the boycotting of the Japanese goods is increasing and bringing every month losses of many million yen to the Japanese industry, when the Mongolian, Manchurian, and Shantung problems are still awaiting their final

solution, the centre of gravity of Japanese politics must lie on the near coast of the Pacific, where wide horizons of easy profits are opened: and not in Siberia, which it may prove very difficult to swallow. According to the opinion of the Opposition, the Japanese soldiers, who are committing bloody massacres in Siberia of the Russian population, which is now organising detachments of partisans and opposing a desperate resistance to the invasion of the foreign enslavers, have inspired a terrible hatred in the Russians towards the Japanese; and therefore it will hardly be possible for the Government to carry out even its present duty of defending the material interests and personal safety of the Japanese subjects in Siberia. In order to gain any real advantage from intervention in Siberia, not 60,000 but 200,000 soldiers are needed; while it is known that the Government cannot even maintain the former number of troops. For the struggle against the penetration of Bolshevism into Japan, it will be sufficient to increase the "quarantine" along the frontiers of the Empire. Such are the actual motives, for the "Opposition" of the Japanese democracy, on the question of intervention in Siberia.

Since last autumn a considerable animation may be noticed in the Labour movement of Japan. A strike was declared by the workers of the ordnance factory in Tokio, the weaving mills at Kobe and Kausaki, and also the workers at the copper mines in the Kassio-Dooson region. Lately, the strike movement has involved also the workers at the metallurgical works of "Khaia-Des-Kade" and the tramcar employees at Tokio. All these strikes bear as yet a purely economic character: the workers are demanding an increase of wages and a reduction of working hours. These dispersed strikes could not produce such an impression, or bring about such positive results, as the "rice disorders" in 1918. The immature Japanese Labour movement is developing under the banner of nationalist-democratic ideas. It is naturally directed against monarchism, which is the basis of the whole State order of reactionary-militarist Japan. Real authentic Labour leaders have appeared to replace the late "Group for the Study of Marxism." The Labour organisations are acquiring an ever greater revolutionary experience in their sectional strikes.

Not a little effect was created by the "governmental Labour delegation," detailed to the con-

ference in America: the mandate of which says that the Japanese workers are advocates of the theory of evolution, of a peaceful coalition between Labour and Capital. The Japanese workers, however, demonstrated very clearly and decisively their negative attitude towards this would-be "Labour Delegation."

Revolutionary ferment is to be noticed in the army. Instances of infringement of discipline and murder of officers are becoming ever more frequent among the Japanese soldiers. Terroristic acts have also taken place frequently. The blame for all these "unfortunate accidents" is laid on Russian Bolshevism, which has penetrated into Nippon by means of the soldiers returning from Siberia; therefore, military units which have been in Siberia are now being sent to Sakhalin or into the region of the town Hakudaze.

The Government answered the demand of the working masses for the immediate introduction of universal suffrage by promising to carry such a law into execution after five years. This reply aroused the strongest indignation of the popular masses. The discontent with the existing order is increasing. But the political movement in Japan is yet very far from becoming mature enough for internationalism and Communism.

KOREA.

THE popular rising which broke out in Korea in 1919 was quite unexpected for emigrant circles; it was so because no political party had been preparing for an immediate rising, and therefore it is quite natural that in the beginning the movement bore a non-organised and elementary character. Very soon, however, when the revolutionary movement involved the whole country, the illegal parties and religious communities little by little joined the general movement in an organised manner. After the arrest in Seoul of almost all the members of the Central Provisional Revolutionary Committee, the need of an authoritative organ, which would lead and direct the whole movement, became very acutely felt. In April, 1919, an illegal congress was convened by the representatives of 13 provinces (the whole of Korea). The leaders of the political parties could not participate in the congress, as, in view of the reigning reaction, all the Central Committees of the larger political parties—namely:

(1) the United National Block; (2) the Korean Socialist Party; (3) the Union of Serene Liberation; (4) Union of New Citizens—at present united with the Korean Socialist Party; and (5) the Union of Terrorists, were all abroad: in Russia, China, and America. The leaders of the lawful public organisations, the Christian Communities, the religious Community of "Chen-dogio," and the Women's Union, directed the work of the congress. But they considered the political moment to be such a difficult and responsible one that they did not venture to institute a supreme revolutionary organ in the absence of the leaders of the larger political parties. Therefore they formed a collective body from the representatives of all the political parties, and proposed to it to undertake the temporary leadership of the whole revolutionary movement. This collective body is the Korean Provisional Revolutionary Government.

In Siberia and America, Korean National Councils were formed, which were the highest authorities for the Korean organisations in foreign countries. But in China, in Shanghai, the Right Wing opposition of the Korean National Council of Siberia formed a Provisional Government which was afterwards named the "Shanghai Government"; and naturally a conflict for power broke out between the Korean National Council of Siberia and the "Shanghai Government." The leaders of both warring groups found themselves in a ridiculous position, however, because the revolutionary movement in Korea was moving along its own lines without any reference to them. In September, the futility of the struggle became but too evident. Both organisations solemnly gave up their functions, and the same were transferred to the Korean Provisional Revolutionary Government.

Under such conditions, the Central Committee of our Party had to work out its own tactics and line of conduct. The political bureau of the Central Committee embarked upon a most revolutionary activity. According to the resolution of a congress of the Party held in April, 1919, at Vladivostok, the Central Committee sent instructions to the members of the Party to give up their responsible posts in the Korean National Council. Delegations were sent to Japan, South China, and Soviet Russia.

Our comrades in Japan—the Japanese Socialists—who are not even allowed to have their Press by the Government of the Mikado, have

been pronounced to be beyond the pale of the law, and cannot render any practical assistance to the Korean revolutionary movement by open demonstrations; while the so-called Japanese Parliamentary Democratic Party does not even think of defending the "freedom and independence" of Korea. The leader of this party—Mr. Hara—is the chairman of the present Cabinet. At such a moment, when even the intervention in Siberia is not calling forth any serious protest on the part of Japanese society, if one excepts the noisy newspaper opposition; when the seizure of new foreign lands (Shantung) and the imperialist policy of the Japanese Government in Manchuria do not meet with any opposition in the country; we know that we have nothing to expect from the Japanese democracy.

In regard to the general frame of mind of the popular masses in China, it must be noted that the revolution, which was begun under the motto of national liberation—"Down with Japan"—cannot be directed into another channel—that of an international Socialist movement—before the breaking out of a Socialist revolution in Japan. The reason lies in the special social-political conditions prevailing in Korea. The country is passing through a period of growth of capitalism, which is replacing dying feudalism; and the bourgeoisie, very revolutionarily inclined, is moving hand in hand with the poorer popular masses. Our bourgeoisie would suffer but very slightly from a social revolution in Korea alone, because its entire capital is invested in "interest-bearing papers," in the form of financial capital. The latter cannot find any application in its own country, in Korea, because the economic policy of Japan tends to the exploitation of Korea as a colony, so as not to allow our bourgeoisie to develop independently. The construction of mills and factories without the help of Japanese capital is impossible, owing to the merciless competition of the Japanese joint stock companies and the jingoist policy of the Japanese Government, which does not permit the organisation of any larger industrial enterprises in Korea, and which is by this means revolutionising our bourgeoisie. Therefore the central point of our propaganda is not the struggle against the bourgeoisie, but an agrarian revolution. The attitude of the feudal landowners and the aristocracy is inimical to the liberative movement, because they know very well that after the overthrow of the Japanese yoke the working masses will demand the introduction of a radical agrarian reform.

What would the attitude of the wider popular masses be towards us, the Korean Socialist Party, if we were to refuse to take part in the Provisional Revolutionary Government, in defiance of the April Congress? Certainly, if our Party had not submitted to the resolution of the Congress, it would have acted thus only out of considerations of principle, understanding beforehand that the Socialist minority in the Government would not be in a position to carry out its line of conduct—that of a social revolution—in internal politics. At the present moment, our task lies in directing the national liberative movement along the course of an agrarian revolution, and, in external politics, a complete rupture with the "League of Nations," and adhesion to the Third Communist International. But the masses would not have understood our conduct; they would have identified us with the intriguers of the camp of the Korean National Council, who are hoping to revive the latter. Our Party would have been in the position of a commander of an army without soldiers. The Union of Serene Liberation, out of whose Left Wing the Korean Socialist Party was formed, would have taken advantage of the antipathy against us evinced by the masses, and would have tried to attract all those who had followed our lead. Our Liberals are not averse to boasting of enjoying Socialist rights, the word "Socialism" having become a kind of fashion among the educated classes in the East.

Our Central Committee decided to enter the Government, provided our Party would be entitled to assume the direction of the Governmental publications for the purposes of agitation and propaganda. This condition was complied with, and two of our comrades became members of the Government. The editor of the official organ of the Government is a well-known writer, a member of our Party.

Thus the Korean Revolutionary Government does not find support *only* on the part of the Japanophiles—the rich feudal landowners—in Korea, and, in the emigrant circles, on the part of the partisans of the Korean National Council, who exercise no influence at all in Korea, and do not represent a homogeneous political group. Their opposition is not based on theoretical principles, but only on personal ambition. This group includes members of the Union of Terrorists, the Union of Serene Liberation, and United National Block; the representatives of these organisations constitute the majority in the Government. This strange fact is to be explained

by the lack of discipline in the above-mentioned parties, which are not quite free from the influence of work in small circles, on a small scale.

The Government has been subsisting up to now on funds obtained from contributions. Up to March of the current year the Government has received the following sums: from American organisations out of the inviolable fund—the Independence Fund—\$145,000; from Manchuria, 230,000 “lan”; from Siberia, about 40,000 to 50,000 rbls.; and from Korea about 1,300,000 yens.

The Korean revolutionary movement is finding sympathy and support among the wider popular masses in China. The Union of Chinese Youth also takes a lively interest in it; for instance, this Union has rendered great services to the movement by sending printed matter to Korea through Manchuria. The leading circles in the Southern Government are certainly in sympathy with us, but at the present moment, notwithstanding all their good will, they are unable to give us any help. As regards the circles of the Peking Government, they are decidedly against us, as the ruling party of the “An-Fuists” in Peking is Japanese in its bearings. Of all the western countries, America is the one which sympathises the most with us, seeing in our movement a force which is capable of weakening Japan to a certain degree. The American House of Representatives proposed to its Government to support the Liberal movement in Ireland and Korea, and if need be to render it even financial assistance. But evidently the Washington Government is as yet not inclined to realise this. We can trust neither in the good nature of imperialist America nor her dis-

interestedness; the Korean people do not at all wish to pass from the Japanese yoke to the economic enslavement of America. That is why the Korean Provisional Revolutionary Government, notwithstanding all its bourgeois qualities, is awaiting the approach of the Red Army with impatience; that is why our Liberals, although constituting the majority in the Government and the pre-Parliament, have deemed necessary to send me, a Socialist, as fully-empowered representative to Soviet Russia, presuming that only the members of the Korean Socialist Party will be able to find a language in common with the representatives of the Russian revolutionary proletariat and peasantry. They themselves have become convinced, after their experience in the ten years’ struggle against Japan, of the impossibility of “the revival of the Korean State” without the ruling power of the working class. Naturally, the Left Wing of the Korean revolutionary movement will have to make great efforts in order to raise the class-consciousness of the working masses to the desired height, so that they would understand that “the liberation of the working class must be the work of the working class itself.” In this direction our Party has done very little as yet. But I hope that it will learn from the experience in revolutionary struggle of its European comrades, and will make up for all deficiencies by intense work in the immediate future.

United by a common idea we shall work and struggle to attain our final aim, because we have indissolubly linked our fate to the Third Communist International.

R.

(Member of the Korean Socialist Party).

The Communist Movement in Roumania

By CH. RAKOVSKY

THE last elections in Roumania gave proof of the tremendous growth of the Labour movement after the war. Owing to political and police conditions in the country (in Roumania the working class did not enjoy the right of suffrage), the Roumanian Socialist Party before the war had only good revolutionary units which had managed, during the whole war, to keep the Roumanian working class from giving up its revolutionary class position. With the introduction of universal suffrage, the units rapidly developed into a powerful party, numbering at present about 60,000 members. The elections showed that in all the town centres the Socialist Party was second in respect of the number of votes, after the Governmental party of General Averescu. At the last elections, 20 Socialist deputies were elected and three Senators; of these, twelve deputies were elected in Roumania, and eight in Bukovina and Transylvania. The Socialist senators were elected in Bukovina and Transylvania. But, unfortunately, it must be noted that the good qualities of the Party do not correspond to its numerical force; and the addition of the Transylvanian and Bukovina Social-Democrats, who belonged formerly to the Austrian and Hungarian Coalition Social-Democratic Parties, has laid its stamp on the Roumanian Party by increasing the latter's opportunist element. In particular, this may be seen in the attitude of the Roumanian Party towards the Third International. Although in old Roumania, as well as in the Bulgarian quadrangle, annexed to her in 1913, the Party sections had decided almost unanimously to join the Third International, the National Council of the Party, in its April session, passed a resolution adjourning the question of joining the Third International until the Congress of the Party, which was to take place in August. The pretext was not a very plausible one: "In order that the resolution to join the Third International should be binding, it must be passed by the Party Congress." That was the motion that the secretary, Moscovitch, advanced in favour of the adjourn-

ment, although he himself had advocated joining, and had even been delegated to appear at the Congress for the purpose of defending the theses for joining the Third International. The National Council limited itself to the official confirmation of the fact that since 1915 the Roumanian Socialist Party had left the Second International. The real reasons, however, were of a totally different and purely opportunist nature. The Executive Committee of the Party did not wish to scare the petty bourgeoisie on the eve of the elections; and, on the other hand, it wanted to preserve the "unity" of the Party, as the majority of the Bukovina groups, with Grigorovitch, a former deputy of the Austrian Reichstag, at their head, had pronounced themselves against joining the Third International. But a split is inevitable. All the Party organisations of old Roumania and Dobroudja are tending thereto,* as well as the opportunist leaders, like Grigorovitch, distinguished by their attacks against Soviet Russia. Quite recently Grigorovitch made a speech in the Senate, in which he declared that he was a Social-Democrat, loyal to the old tactics (it is to be noted that after the war the Roumanian Party laid aside its Social-Democratic signboard and called itself Socialist); and that he renounces Lenin and Trotsky, who have become "anti-Marxists."

Another deputy of the Party, Dunariano, made a speech of the same commonplace character, in which he tried to convince the bourgeois deputies that the Socialists are striving to obtain a reorganisation of society in a peaceful way, by means of the creation of a Parliamentary majority, and only if the bourgeoisie would prevent them from freely using their right of suffrage they would be compelled to have recourse also to revolutionary methods of struggle. This was said at a moment when Parliamentary democracy in Roumania itself had been proved wholly fictitious; when Comrade Boujor, Com-

*The Bessarabian Communist and Socialist organisations have not joined the Roumanian Socialist Party.

munist, elected by the workers of Galatz, serving his five years' term of hard labour, was not even admitted into the Chamber of Deputies to defend his mandate; when the Socialists were being arrested and beaten; and the elections themselves were carried out in the following form—a gendarme on the right, a gendarme on the left, the elector in the middle; and the Roumanian Parliament became the scene of the most violent scandals and obstructions, because the Parliamentary majority of General Averescu did not reckon with any Parliamentary regulations or constitutions. It must be said that the behaviour of Grigorovitch, Dunariano, and others received a corresponding response from the central organ of the Party, the *Socialismul*. In the number dated July 7, in an article signed by Comrade Fabian, a Communist, and entitled "Parliamentary Cretinism is Already Beginning," the author criticises Dunariano's conduct unmercifully. Dunariano has merited the applause of the representatives of the bourgeoisie but he takes no account of the decisions of the Party sections, nor the program accepted by the May Conference of the current year. (*The Conference in May accepted fully the platform of the Third International.*) This fact cannot be silenced. It is necessary to adopt unfailingly and immediately the requisite measures for satisfying the revolted consciousness of the Party. Dunariano's opportunism is the more revolting because he is a representative of the Prakhov Federation, which includes the most revolutionary sections of the Party, and which was one of the first to raise the banner of the Third International and the motto of the dictatorship of the proletariat. This fact was specially mentioned by the bourgeois deputies in parliament; and Dunariano, instead of declaring his solidarity with the Federation, which had supported his candidature, betrayed it.

In the following number of the *Socialismul* Comrade Stanev, a Communist member of parliament, in his article, "The Revolutionary Period," referring to the same parliamentary debates, declares openly that the task of the Party at the present moment consists in the organisation of the dictatorship of the proletariat. "We Socialists, Communists, Bolsheviks—let our opponents call us what they like—see clearly, that a dictatorship cannot be met otherwise than by a dictatorship, and that the dictatorship of the proletariat must be set against that of the

bourgeoisie. As long as the latter has recourse to dictatorship, so long will our task consist in educating the working masses in the same tendency, in order that events should not find us unprepared."

A week hence the Party Congress will be convened. In expectation of its resolutions, General Averescu, whom people are beginning to call the Roumanian Horthy, has done very much to help the Right Wing of the Party. During the last two months, hundreds of Communists have been arrested: both those that have been working illegally, and those that were working lawfully, in the Party. All the influential leaders of the Communists are arrested. In May, Comrade Boujor was arrested. He was court-martialled for taking part in the Russian revolution, and in association which had for its object the overthrow of the State in Roumania. The juridical proceedings were such a mockery of justice that the counsels for the defence were compelled to desist from the defence of their client. The witnesses for the defence were not called up. After Boujor's courageous speech, the Court pronounced the verdict—five years' hard labour in the salt mines at Okna. In answer to this verdict, the workers of Galatz elected Boujor as their member. But when the question was raised in the Chamber of Deputies of the recognition of his mandate, and the Socialists proposed that he should be allowed to defend it, only 22 deputies voted in favour of the proposition—that is to say, only two or three bourgeois deputies besides the Socialists. A few weeks after Boujor's arrest, the whole group of Communists were arrested, including Comrades Nikolau, Markovitch, Shaïn, Teodorescu, and others, all working illegally. A little later, Comrade Alexandre Constantinescu was arrested. In spite of the sentence of death passed upon him, he managed to carry on illegal work in Roumania for another eighteen months. We are enumerating here the most influential illegal Communists, who are known to many of our Russian comrades. Together with these arrests, others were carried out among the lawful Communists and members of the Party. In connection with Constantinescu, Comrade Illiescu, secretary of the Party Federation of Oltepia (West Waachia), was also arrested. But the Government did not stop at this. It proceeded to the liquidation of the Party Centre itself, arresting the secretary of the Executive Committee of the

Party, Comrade Moscovitch (deputy), who was to defend the theses in favour of joining the Third International at the approaching Party Congress. The Government of General Averescu calls itself the last reserve of the bourgeoisie. The Government has set itself the task of liquidating the Communist and Left Wing Socialist movement in Roumania. With this end in view, it endeavoured to cause a split between the workers and their Communist leaders. Simultaneously with the relentless persecution of the Communist organisations, the Government carried on a demagogic policy in regard to the working class, which even went so far as to legalise the Workers' Councils at the factories by compelling the factory owners to bear the expenses of such Councils, and the Government even recognised the first of May as a lawful holiday, on which all mills and factories are to be closed.

It is to be noted that after the war a colossal wave of strikes broke out over the whole country. The number of workers joining the Trade Unions increased to ten times what it had been before the war. This wave passed over all the

governmental and private enterprises; there is not a single more or less important enterprise where the workers have not been on strike several times. The force of the labour movement compelled the Government to abandon the draconian laws published in 1910, by which a strike of railwaymen or any workers at State factories was pronounced to be a crime punishable by two years' imprisonment. The Government does not profit. The Yellow nationalist syndicates, created by the Liberal Party, which promised millions of money for their support, have failed utterly. The appearance of the Yellow syndicates called forth a series of strikes among the Red syndicates, which at last put forward an ultimative demand that the Boards of the factories in the governmental enterprises (the number of such in Roumania is very considerable) should enter into relations exclusively with the Red syndicates. According to the latest information received, the Government is compelled to make this concession also. Neither terror nor demagogy can save the Roumanian bourgeoisie or the Roumanian boyards.

CH. RAKOVSKY.

The Labour Movement in Yugo-Slavia

By M

WE shall first of all give a sketch of the economic, financial, and political situation in Yugo-Slavia, and then of our movement.

1. The process of disorganisation of the bourgeois society in Yugo-Slavia reveals itself specially in the economic crisis and the currency chaos. Economic life does not exist, so to speak, it is simply hibernating.

In Belgrade not a single enterprise has been restored during a whole year. In the rest of Serbia, matters are still worse. In Bosnia, and also in Croatia and Slavonia, liquidation of the larger enterprises in the mining, metallurgical, weaving, forest industries is going on daily. This liquidation is called forth by the lack of coal and raw material, and also the complete incapacity of the government to organise work in the institutions, which before the war belonged to "foreign subjects," and were sequestered after the defeat of Austria-Hungary. In Dalmatia, economic life has completely stopped. In Slavonia, where industry was developed to a greater degree than in the other parts of Yugo-Slavia, the majority of the industrial enterprises are not working. The revival of economic life has become impossible owing to the unexampled chaos in the rate of exchange. In comparison to the French franc, the dinar has fallen by 200—250 per cent. during the last year, and there is a definite tendency for its further fall. Approximately ten milliard kronas are now in circulation. Lately the rate of exchange of the dinar, in relation to the kron, has been established as follows: 1 : 4 (one dinar = 4 kronas). But this decision, while establishing the proportion between the kron and the dinar, only led to a parallel fall of both the dinar and the kron, and to nothing else. The unceasing fall of the currency value is involving an automatic increase of prices for food products, which have now attained an abnormal height. During the last

year, the prices for foodstuffs and other necessities have risen:

Bread	by 200—250 per cent.
Meat	300 „ „
Suet	300 „ „
Clothes	300 „ „
Rent	300 „ „
Salt	50 „ „
Petroleum	250 „ „
Boots	250 „ „
Potatoes	200 „ „
Sugar	300 „ „

This incredible increase in prices—in consequence of the economic crisis and the chaos in the rate of exchange has created the most unbearable conditions of life for the wider circles of the population in the towns and villages.

Owing to the lack of cattle and agricultural implements, the peasants are not cultivating the land. They are leaving the villages in large crowds and filling the towns and ports. But they cannot find employment there either. Moreover the pay is very low: skilled workers receive from 16 to 56 dinars per day, and the unskilled from 10 to 15 dinars.

The financial situation is a desperate one. Yugo-Slavia, like all bankrupts, is contracting new debts in order to pay the old ones. But all credit is exhausted; the entire assets of the State have practically become the property of the league of robbers in Paris. The national debt of Yugo-Slavia amounts to about ten milliard francs. The budget deficit, which was reckoned at 300 million dinar, actually attained the sum of two milliards. In order to disguise this enormous deficit, and to pay the interest on old debts the Yugo-Slavian bourgeoisie raised the customs tariffs, introduced new taxes, increased the old ones by 300 per cent., and planned some new loans. These burdens will be laid chiefly on the backs of the working masses, and aggravate their already desperate condition.

Economically ruined Yugo-Slavia is, in financial respects, absolutely dependent on the En-

tente, and particularly on France. She owes 200 million francs for her liberation. All the national riches on the former Austria-Hungarian territory—such as forests and coal mines—all industrial enterprises and public buildings, must be redeemed by the State, and up to then France is entitled to their exploitation.

Moreover, by giving Roumania purely Bulgarian provinces, Yugo-Slavia—purely Hungarian—and Italy-Slavonian provinces, the Entente has shown its cards, and called forth a profound disappointment even in bourgeois circles. This attitude of the Entente has greatly strengthened the spirit of national separatism in Croatia, and especially in Slavonia.

The representatives of the parties in favour of a State centralism (the Serbian-Croatian coalition, the Independent Radicals, Nationalists, Progressives, the so-called Democratic Union, with a handful of Social Democrats assembled around Koracz, Bukshek, and Christan) are now ceding the field of battle to the representatives of national separatism (the Serbian Radicals, the Starczewiczantsy of Croatia, and the clericals of Slavonia). The struggle between these two groups has acquired a most acute and implacable form, and the Yugo-Slavian bourgeoisie is expending its best forces. If there is anything in the world capable of uniting these contesting groups of the Yugo-Slavian bourgeoisie, it is the mighty growth of our Communist movement. Only in the face of advancing Communism have the warring bourgeois groups stopped their feud, and entered into negotiations for the formation of a strong united government, directed against us Communists.

But nothing helped the bankruptcy of this national union so much as the constant and eternal adjournment of the solution of the agrarian question, which is extremely acute in Croatia, Slavonia, Voevodino, Bosnia, and Dalmatia. The most favourable moment for the solution of the agrarian question was that of the collapse of the Austria-Hungarian Empire. But this moment was missed by the bourgeoisie, the decision was adjourned, and the agrarian question became ever more entangled. The Democratic Union (block) gave to the peasant the lands of the larger landowners on lease only, it is true, but the present reactionary clerical government is attempting by all means to distort even this already distorted reform. Our Party, with its motto: "All the land, with

all the stock in hand, without compensation, to the workers"—raised and grouped around us all the discontented masses of workers and peasants.

2. *Development of the Labour movement.*

During the occupation of Serbia, the Labour movement came to a complete stop. It awoke to life in November, 1918. In December of the same year the paper, *Radnichke Novina* (the *Labour Gazette*) appeared again in Belgrade. In the other parts of Yugo-Slavia, which belonged to Austria-Hungary, the movement was hardly perceptible during the war. In Sarajevo the *Glas Svobody* (the *Voice of Freedom*) with Zimmerwald tendencies was published at one time. As soon as the State of Yugo-Slavia was formed, it became our duty to establish immediately a contact with the Socialist parties of all parts of the world, and to become united with them as soon as possible. On April 20-25, 1919, our Central Committee in Belgrade received a mandate to convene and organise a Congress. The only condition for participating in it was to profess anti-militarism, i.e., to repudiate all participation in a bourgeois ministry. This is why neither Slavonia, nor a part of the Croatian Party (with Koracz and Bukshek at the head), nor a part of the Voevodino Party, were represented at the Congress. However, the majority of the proletariat of Croatia, as well as Voevodino sent their representatives. Our Communist group advanced the following propositions:

1. The United Party shall bear the name of the Communist Party of Yugo-Slavia;
2. It shall join the Third International unconditionally;
3. It shall take part in the electoral campaigns according to circumstances and on the basis of a referendum of all the members of the Party.

To avoid a split in the Party, we desisted from the first point; but the other two were passed unanimously under thundering applause. However, notwithstanding the triumph of Communism, the Congress bore a certain impression of compromise. That is why the next Congress must definitely put an end to all that savours of centrism, and must give to the Party a purely Communist character in regard to action and tactics. The presence of vacillating centrists in the Central Committee at the most important moment paralysed the Party in many cases.

A few days after the Congress, at which the new Central Committee of the Party was elected, all the members of the new Committee, and also

about 200 other comrades, were arrested in different parts of Yugo-Slavia. On May 1 a military detachment raided the Workers' House at Sarajevo, destroyed all the furniture, burnt the library, and confiscated over 200,000 kronas. All the official members of the Party, and 400 of the best comrades, were arrested. Similar reprisals were carried out simultaneously in Croatia and Voevodino, where in June, 1919, a great military mutiny took place, for which the Communist bore the blame. In connection with the mutiny, 250 workers' families were arrested. The poor creatures were exiled to Macedonia and there imprisoned.

Arrests took place in Slavonia also, and were frequently accompanied by murder. Among the arrested was Comrade Philippovich, Secretary of the Party. After six months' imprisonment, the Government set him free, fearing reprisals on the part of the organised workers.

In spite of these acts of violence, the Communist Party is enjoying great success. It includes over 40,000 members, without counting 10,000 young Communists. In the Trade Unions, which always march together with the Communist Party, and at the head of which are Communists almost everywhere, there are from 150,000 to 180,000 organised workmen and workwomen. Communist ideas find favour in the eyes of the women, who have suffered so strongly during the war; they take an active share, with great zeal, in all spheres of Party activity.

Many of them play an important rôle in the Organisation of Communist Children of Yugo-Slavia.

In this organisation—the prettiest blossom of the Communist Party—children from 5 to 12 years are united, and receive a thoroughly Communist education. Their work, play, games, concerts, all bear the stamp of Communism. The organisation is publishing a bi-weekly paper, *The Future*.

The working masses, in general, are undoubtedly in favour of the Communists, owing to a whole series of strikes in which the Communists played a very active part. Already, in the beginning of 1919, mass meetings were organised throughout the whole of Yugo-Slavia, against high prices and government reprisals. In Croatia, Vandovina, Bosnia, on June 20-21, 1919, a general strike took place as a protest against the intervention of the Entente in the

affairs of Russia. There were many strikes for other causes, which it would take too long to enumerate here. The printers' strike in Bosnia lasted two months; in November, the coal-miners struck work in Slavonia; in December, the printers at Zagreb; in January, 1920, the railway men in Serbia; and so forth.

The municipal elections which were held recently in Croatia were marked by the victory of the Communists, to the great astonishment of the Yugo-Slavian bourgeoisie. It is especially afraid of our victory in the villages. Not only in the towns, but also in many villages, our Party secured either a relative, or an absolute majority. This success is the more remarkable that we advanced the maximum program at the elections: "For the revolution, for Communism." We understand clearly that our victory at the municipal elections will serve as the beginning of a whole series of collisions with the bourgeoisie and its highest class organisation—the State. We took part in the elections without any illusion in regard to the possibility of "positive work," in view of the desperate economic and financial situation in the country. We know that, were we to make the slightest attempts, in any municipal institution, to realise our plans of a serious reorganisation of the whole economic administration, we would immediately call forth the harsh intervention of the State authorities; because the bourgeoisie would never allow that the class character of the municipality should be modified, so long as the bourgeois are masters in the State. But in advancing the questions which are at present directly interesting the workers and peasants (the housing question, high prices, etc.), we shall rouse the working population in the towns and villages, by clearly and openly explaining to it that there is only one possible way out of the general chaos of the present time: a Socialist revolution—the dictatorship of the proletariat—Communism.

Fully acknowledging the importance of the villages for the success of a Communist revolution in an agricultural country like ours, we are giving our serious attention to them. However, we have to carry on a desperate struggle with two difficulties: a lack of agitators and a lack of financial means. We have, nevertheless, succeeded in rousing the peasant masses, not only where the agrarian question is more acute, but even where it does not exist at all—as, for instance, in Serbia, where almost every peasant is

a small proprietor. The Serbian peasant, who during the seven years of war did not acquire anything and has lost everything, is most responsive to Communist ideas. And now our complete success amid the peasant masses depends exclusively on the intensity of our agitation and organisation.

The influence of our Press is very great. The bourgeoisie, especially the intellectual part, is

fast losing all hope of the possibility of defending the existing order. The Communist element is ruling among the youth of the schools. The growth of our movement along the whole line is so wonderful that we are looking forward to the future with great optimism.

M.

March 26, 1920.
Belgrade.

A Letter from Italy

By VITALI

ITALY is the country of great impulses and old scepticism, the country of profound sentimentalism and resolute action.

In her separate parts she is very different: The northern part is actively and consciously struggling for a new life. Central Italy is moving on the same lines as the north, although the attitude towards political events is rather different. Central Italy, particularly Tuscany, is distinguished by her scepticism, her criticism of herself and others, her slightly epicurean attitude towards life. But this is balanced by a great practical commonsense, a clearness of mind and intuition, which are the characteristic features of the worker and peasant of Central Italy. The southern part is the most enigmatical part of Italy; great forces are hidden there, but perhaps even still more ignorance and prejudices; there clericalism and the lazy and dull-headed bourgeoisie find a favourable field of action for intrigues and an ultimate counter-revolution.

But all these diverse parts of Italy are unified at present by one feeling, one emotion, which, like the wave of an earthquake, rolling from the Alps to Sicily, is producing here and there painful shudderings. This is the growing discontent of the masses, the indignation against the destructive war, against the base deceit which has been practised by the world bourgeoisie. It is not a temporary feeling of dissatisfaction, as some people are hoping in this "victorious country"; it is a deep and noble indignation of the masses, it is an increased class-hatred. This ever-growing economic and psychological crisis, this bubbling sea of discontent, cannot be pacified

or diminished by the artful wiles and charity doles of Nitti or Giolitti, by the highflown tirades of the reformist gods, or by their harmless lightning flashes against the bourgeoisie, or by their "incendiary" speeches, which are frequently met with hearty proletarian hisses. Only the great relentless fire of a Communist revolution can be able to put an end to this absurd and barbarous state of affairs.

The bourgeoisie, which has worked so "actively" in the rear of the workers and peasants, shedding their blood, which has so skilfully set its jaws into the neck of the proletariat driven to the slaughter, and gorged itself with the people's blood and sufferings, which has wallowed in falsehood, cynicism, and the basest deceit—this bourgeoisie shuddered and turned pale when the terrific thunder of the proletarian revolution resounded from the east and, like an echo, found a response in the tortured hearts of the Italian proletariat. Since then the sword of Damocles is hanging over the band of robbers; their plunder and rioting are deprived of the necessary calm; they had just been preparing to enjoy themselves, to build their castles, to plant flowers on the fields soaked with the proletarian blood, when the dreadful phantom, the terrible monster—Bolshevism—arose in the east. It was necessary to erect strong walls, to clothe the monster in dirt, falsehood, all kind of horror, so that the Italian workers should not see it, or make its aspect so hideous and so unattractive that even the poorest worker would be horrified. And the bourgeoisie set to work. Funds it had in plenty: there was no lack either of venal

literary rogues : and the proletariat still gave up all the paper to the bourgeois, so that the campaign could be commenced : and the work began, insistently, organisedly, conscientiously. But it so happened that this campaign convinced only people whom the bourgeoisie did not have to fear; while the worker felt instinctively something else; the worker believed in his *Avanti* and the deeply hidden suffering, the profound humiliation, which he had lived through during the long slaughter. And the magic word of "Bolshevism," like the pitiless bacillus of a mysterious epidemic, penetrated everywhere : for some it sounded like the promise of liberation, for others it became the symbol of mutiny and revolt; but there remained no single corner in all fertile Italy where this seed bore no result. In vain the bourgeoisie extolled its heroes, in vain it kept finding new saviours of the country. They were buried one after the other without having time to bear fruit. But the names of the "traitors" and "robbers"—Lenin, Trotsky, Zinoviev, Liebknecht, Rosa Luxemburg, and others—passed from mouth to mouth; their words became prophetic, their work sacred, their portraits adorned the miserable dwellings of the workers. . . . Such was the situation in Italy immediately after the armistice with Austria and Germany.

The bourgeoisie was disconcerted. Its hands were still bloody, the plundered riches glared shamelessly before all eyes. All the lies, all the baseness, all the deceit of which the Italian proletariat had been the victim became disclosed for everyone to see—and the band of robbers grew frightened, awaiting the blow. . . .

But the proletariat still lingered; it felt its strength, the force of its revolt and revenge, the force of its class consciousness: but it waited . . . it waited, perhaps, for the call of its Party, which had so faithfully and constantly defended it during the war. The proletariat waited, calmed by the suddenly acquired consciousness of its power; it waited, convinced that the victory would be won; and at that time the best part of the Party was in agreement with it in this. . . .

The unanimous impulse towards the ideals which had been formed and preached by the Socialist Party enveloped the whole country; the number of those who joined the Party and the organisations grew with immeasurable rapidity; but the decisive moment did not arrive. . . . The

bourgeoisie began to take courage : " So it is not so awful, after all; this accursed monster from the east; it may be possible yet, perhaps, to strangle it on the spot; our confraternity of robbers is not quite exhausted as yet, we must only help them; perhaps others will be able to achieve what the Russian bourgeoisie was incapable of. . . . As for our workers and peasants, there is yet plenty of lead, which was destined for the Austrian and German workers; we must only know how to use it properly, and our turn may still come again. . . ."

At that moment, most opportunely, certain "Socialists" turned up, not terrible ones, like those Bolsheviks: they are reasonable men, they do not desire any superfluous disorder; now, when the best proletarians of the world have been slaughtered by the bourgeoisie, it will be possible to proceed to a peaceful construction. The bourgeois did not behave so very badly after all; anyhow, they were educated and well-brought-up people; they will help us to bury the murdered, to forget the crippled and tortured, and perhaps will give up part of the booty. . . . It is only necessary to find the proper people, good ministers, and the business will be done: the chief thing is to promise the rabble all kinds of liberties and reforms, and meanwhile to organise a staunch royal guard; the rest will be achieved by time and our bourgeois talents.

That such is the reasoning of the robbers and plunderers is logical, but that this course should be followed by people who are members of the Italian Socialist Party—a party to whom the masses have entrusted their ideals, their matured desire for liberation—is painful. The reformist gentlemen are afraid of a civil war; they fear they might hurt their own bourgeois in the skirmish; when they fought formerly they had to do with the Austrian and German masses, and it was easier to destroy them—even though this pseudo-"enemy" was a brother worker. The reformists often say that the proletariat is growing ever stronger; but what have they done to strengthen the proletariat? What have they done to weaken the bourgeoisie, which begins to look upon them as its saviours? Where were they during the July disorders, which swept over Italy like a broad and threatening wave, when the masses were expecting that the Party should give a form to the movement, discipline it, and perhaps even accomplish more, *because this was*

possible then. They all came to the Bologne Congress as victors, because they had the compact and bubbling mass of the proletariat behind them, they all unanimously joined the Third International because the masses wished it. . . . But much time has elapsed since then, and the masses are still waiting, not dully, not calmly, but nervously, agitatedly, demanding, revolting. Have many weeks passed without strikes, without the murder of the revolted proletarians and peasants? A man can become used to everything; but only one who stands apart, not one with whose blood the facts are written down, by whose flesh they are redeemed. . . . This should not be forgotten by the Italian Socialist Party, and especially by those to whom its fate is entrusted. The proletarian masses of Italy have shown great confidence in their Party; they have been and are supporting it *as in no other country, except Soviet Russia*; but woe to this party if it will not accomplish the duty laid upon it by the Italian proletariat; the latter will pass in spite of it and over it.

Since the Bologne Congress, this great moral incentive of the Italian Socialist Party, much time has elapsed, and the masses are waiting, and demanding, and becoming impatient and disappointed. The Milan Congress has not satisfied anyone. The reformists are raising their heads. "Look here," they say, "we are right; you have plenty of enthusiasm and heedlessness; but no one understands events so well as we do; confess, now, that you have gone too far, and explain this carefully to the masses; meanwhile, we have prepared such a wonderful program of reforms that we shall be able to run with the hare and hunt with the hounds, and everything will go well; you must only enter into a coalition previously with some of the better bourgeois; in the long run this is also Communism. It cannot be quite the same everywhere; Italy is not Russia: and who knows what will

come of the Communist experiment even in Russia? Up to now they are only fighting there. . . . We all know well that Rasperri is a reformist; but Bolshevism is only a parody on Socialism, and it is far behind our good old Socialism; Bolshevism is doomed to perish; become convinced of this, you Maximalists, and listen to our good counsels. As regards a revolution, you yourselves are not venturing to carry it out (honour be to you for that), and it seems you have decided prudently to establish your "Communist Soviets," organs of the class struggle, as an experiment, somewhere in a remote corner, in proper amendment of your Bologna program."

Approximately such speeches and such destructive and demoralising work is the Italian Socialist Party, unanimously adhering to the Third International, compelled to suffer on the part of those who are still its members. This must be borne by a Party which desires to be Communist, and to lead the masses to the realisation of the Communist ideals! And the masses? They are waiting, but they are becoming impatient, their faith in the Party is beginning to waver, and there are already serious symptoms of such wavering. . . . A crisis is beginning to be felt in the Party itself; the growing necessity of a verification of the forces, their solidity, and the *clearing* of the Party of all elements, which only serve as a brake on the movement, undermining its responsible and serious work. . . . The Italian Communists feel that things cannot go on in this way, that this way leads to a betrayal of the masses, that the hour has come when it is time to put an end to all sabotage inside the Party; it is the moment to proclaim openly and boldly: "Who is not with us is against us."

In Italy great and decisive events are maturing. If the Party is not equal to them, the fault will lie in itself. . . .

Milan, May, 1920.

CORRESPONDENCE

of the COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL

A Letter to the Editor

To our great regret, probably owing to an oversight on the part of the editor's office, in No. 11 of the *Communist International* (Russian edition, pages 1838-1840) an article is inserted signed "N.," and entitled "On the Situation of the Austrian Communist Party," which from beginning to end shows a complete ignorance of the subject, a confusion of conception, and an incapacity of comprehension. The contents of the article give proof of the absolute unacquaintance of the author not only with the history of the Communist Party, but even with the chronological sequence of the events mentioned in it. The undersigned delegation of the Austrian Communist Party at the Second Congress of the Communist International became acquainted with this article only a few days ago, and considers it necessary to refute at least part of the revolting perversions and calumnious assertions which it contains.

The article begins with the commencement of the Communist movement; it mentions a "Left Group" assembling, with Max Adler and Danneberg at their head, in the "Karl Marx" Union. That is false. The correct version is that a group of comrades, in opposition even to the "left wing," renewed the activity of the "Karl Marx" Union, which had stopped functioning. The chairman of this Union was Fritz Adler. Max Adler and Danneberg belonged to the "left wing." Only a few of the youthful comrades were there. The majority of the members were young intellectuals.

The writer's opinion that the January strike was organised for the purpose of proclaiming a Soviet Republic is utter nonsense. The chief

demands at the time were the discontinuation of the war on the part of Austria and peace with Soviet Russia. There could be no talk of a Soviet Republic, owing to the absence of all agitational and organisational premises. There was no talk of it even during the events of July, 1918, of which the author of the article makes no mention, evidently knowing nothing whatever of them.

According to the writer's opinion, the direction of the January movement belonged to the leaders of the Trade Unions. In reality it was quite the contrary. The Trade Unions took no part in it. The Social Democratic Party—especially Renner, Seitz—by means of demagogic methods snatched the direction of the movement from the Workers' Councils at the critical moment, and therefore the whole responsibility for the failure of the movement, begun under such favourable conditions, lies on the Party.

Further, the writer affirms that the return of the prisoners of war from Russia, among them Comrade Toman and others, before the revolution (October, 1918) put an end to the dispersion of the Communist Party. As a matter of fact, "Comrade Toman and others" returned to Vienna only in January, 1919, i.e., three months after the revolution: and in this way all the conclusions based on this assertion are nullified.

The newspaper mentioned in the article, whose foundation is ascribed to November, 1918, appeared at the end of April, 1918, under the title of *Der Weckruf* (The Call to Awaken), with a sub-title—"Communist Organ." The paper was immediately strangled by the police. Its

second number appeared in the first week of November, 1918, as the organ of the Communist Party of German Austria.

The assertion that the independent life of the Party began only after the exile from Austria of several comrades is also false. The Party had been working independently from the first day of its existence; it could not have done otherwise, in view of the absence of a political leader among the foreign comrades, and the dissensions on questions of principle among the leaders of the Party in regard to the political intervention of foreign comrades unacquainted with the local conditions.

Considering that the day of July 15, 1919, in Austria is not marked by any special event, we presume that the author had in view June 15. It is necessary also to note that neither Comrade Toman, nor any other of the leading comrades, had any relation whatever to Fritz Adler. There can be no talk of his influence, or that of any other social-patriots.

The differences between Comrades Koritschioner and Toman arose owing to the fact that Comrade Koritschioner was a convinced partisan of the Bettelheim "Putsch" tactics, and recommended Bettelheim everywhere as a representative of the Third International; this did not coincide with the opinion of the majority; and therefore only such an inventor as Comrade N. can assert that Comrade Toman promised in Budapest to call forth a revolution in Austria "at whatever cost."

Further, the author becomes so confused that it is totally unclear what connection he wishes to make between the disorders and the attitude of the national militia in respect to the Government—and the non-success of the demonstration (what demonstration?). Does the author mean the events of June 15, when Comrade Toman is supposed to have capitulated before Fritz Adler?

We have already spoken of our views in regard to the attitude of the officials of the Communist Party of German Austria. Further explanations are superfluous.

The leaders of the "left" wing, as Piatigorsky and Gur, are persons who are completely unknown to the Austrian proletarian masses. Piatigorsky, belonging to the Bettelheim circle,

is known to some of the Austrian Party comrades as a chatterbox, who has committed a series of foolish acts, to be explained only by his childish *naivete* in politics. Gur is not and never was a member of our Party, but, like many others, belonged to the Life-Guards of Bettelheim.

Regarding Bettelheim's mandate, the Executive Committee of the Third International has given a clear answer.

Further, Comrade N. writes literally as follows: "Comrade Bettelheim prepared the demonstration for the unlucky Thursday of the Passion Week." This phrase beats all for unscrupulousness, stupidity, and ridiculousness! Just fancy: Bettelheim appeared in Vienna after May 15, 1919, and organised a demonstration on Thursday, April 17, 1919. Comments are superfluous.

In conclusion, another remarkable phrase. Comrade N. writes: "On my return from Hungary, I insisted on the organisation and creation of industrial Soviets, and soon." Notwithstanding the fact that we, the undersigned, have been at the head of the movement ever since the Austrian Communist Party was formed, we never heard of any comrade having ever drawn our attention to the necessity of creating industrial Soviets—not to speak of insisting upon it. What really took place was that, after the events of June 15, called forth by the unscrupulous anarchic wiles of various dishonest personages, calling themselves "revolutionists," and disorganising the Party by their acts, the newly-elected presidium was compelled to proceed to a merciless weeding-out of all hypocritical and unreliable elements.

The Party was reorganised and reconstructed on the industrial principle, in order to make it impossible for separate individuals, with no idea of Party discipline, to harm the Party by their disorganising actions, to violate its unity, and to paralyse its force.

For the rest, we beg to refer to the report of the Austrian delegation.

KARL STEINHARDT.

MICHAEL REISNER.

KARL TOLANI.

Moscow, July 20, 1920.

A Letter of Henri Barbusse

To the Editor of "La Revue Communiste"

Villa Célestine, Antibes,
May 9, 1920.

Dear Comrade,—I received your letter to-day on my return from Geneva, where I took part in the international congress of former soldiers (at which were represented, I may say in parentheses, about a million demobilised soldiers from all countries: France, Germany, England, Austria, Alsace-Lorraine, Italy), and which passed a resolution to send fraternal greetings to the Third International.

I need not dwell on my relations towards you; I will say only that I accept your proposition with the greatest pleasure. As soon as it will be physically possible for me, I will try to write an article for your paper. You are quite right in saying that I have some things in my heart which I ought to share with your readers.

With a friendly shake-hands to you and your comrades,

HENRI BARBUSSE.

P.S.—For the moment I send you an extract from my speech, made on April 30, at the opening of the Geneva Congress.

"We will show that what is now going on in Russia is the beginning of new times, the renovation of humanity, of a new future for mankind. Russia has entered already into the struggle against all the rest of Europe armed to the teeth—a decisive, gigantic struggle, and yet as simple a one as that between night and day. We must cease all ridiculous and unbecoming controversies regarding details, and unanimously express our approval of our Moscow comrades, who are engaged in the great work of reconstruction."

H. B.

DOCUMENTS of the INTERNATIONAL COMMUNIST MOVEMENT

The Two Paths

By G. ZINOVIEV

AT an important meeting of the Executive Committee of the Communist International, the day before the opening of the Congress, and, after that, at the Congress itself and in the Commission of the Congress which was drawing up the resolution regarding the rôle of the Communist Party in the proletarian revolution, some very important debates were held on the following question.

It is known that at our Congress, besides the definite and completely formed Communist Parties, are present also the representatives of some not definitely organised revolutionary workers' organisations, which sympathise deeply with the principal ideas of the Communist International, but which are at the same time still strongly infected with syndicalist and anarchist prejudices. We are speaking, first of all, of the revolutionary branch of the French syndicalists, the representatives of the English revolutionary Shop Stewards' Committees, the Industrial Workers of the World, etc.

At the meeting of the Executive Committee of the Communist International, held on the eve of the opening of the Congress, the representative of the German Communist Party (the Spartacists), the most akin to us in spirit, in the person of Comrade Levi and his colleagues, advanced the opinion that the admission of the above-named groups to the Congress with a decisive vote would be a perversion of the very nature of the Communist International. Very heated and interesting debates were held on the subject in the Executive Committee, and the result was

that the latter, after a recording vote, accepted *our* proposition by an overpowering majority against the German delegates alone (and part of the Italians), namely: to accord a decisive vote to the above-mentioned groups in order to endeavour by all means to enter into a closer connection with them.

Was this decision a correct one? According to our opinion it was perfectly correct.

The first Constituent Congress of the Communist International took up its position in the same spirit. And even a couple of months before the Constituent Congress of the Communist International, in the well-known program appeal of the Russian Communist Party, together with other groups, calling for the formation of a Communist International, we even then noted the necessity of a closer connection with such groups.

Could it be otherwise?

Under what conditions did the Communist International commence and continue its work? The labour movement throughout the whole world was passing through an unprecedentedly heavy crisis. The Second International had not only not justified the hopes laid upon it by the workers of the whole world, but had betrayed the interests of the proletariat in the most monstrous fashion that the world had ever seen. The old parties had betrayed the workers, the old leaders whom the proletariat had been accustomed to trust became transformed before the eyes of the whole world into cynical shameless flunkies of the bourgeoisie. Thousands and

tens of thousands of the best workers passed through an unprecedented, not only theoreticopolitical, but also moral drama, when the authority of the leaders whom they had been trusting during many long years, and on whom they had built all their hopes, was being discredited before their very eyes. The old groupings had evidently outlived their time. Not only had the official Social-Democratic Parties gone over to the side of the bourgeoisie, but also the very same revolutionary syndicalists and anarchists who had been struggling for long years against the Social-Democracy. Not only did the Plekhanovs, Hyndmans, Scheidemanns, Renaudels gave up their swords to the enemy; no, even the Kropotkins, Jouhaux, Merrheims and Co. all passed over to the bourgeoisie. And, at the same time, both in the ranks of the anarchists and syndicalists, and in those of the former Social Democratic Parties, from the very beginning of the war there appeared small minorities of workers who saw clearly that the war was an imperialist slaughter, and that it was necessary for them by all means to congregate together for a struggle against the gigantic crime which was being accomplished. At first separate individuals, then groups, and then entire organisations, began to prepare for the struggle against the imperialist slaughter. Baited by the bourgeoisie, persecuted by the conditions of siege, ridiculed by the social-traitors of the whole world, hunted down, left to their own devices, these groups naturally began to join one another for the purpose of building a certain force against the bourgeoisie and the social-patriots adhering to it. It was natural that such proletarian groups began to seek to enter into connection with each other, notwithstanding that but yesterday they were belonging to different camps—Syndicalists, Socialists, and others. And they were quite right. The really proletarian point of view showed itself in this instance.

Comrade Trotsky was right, a thousand times right, in his speech at the first plenary meeting of the Congress in Moscow, when he reminded his hearers of the moment in Paris when the imperialist war was begun. In regard to the revolutionary syndicalists, as Monatte, Rosmer, who protested against the war, we felt like partisans, like brothers—said Comrade Trotsky—whereas in regard to the official Socialists, with whom we had been adherents of the Second In-

ternational, we felt like class enemies. That was because at the time the official Socialists had shown themselves to be the assistants of the imperialists and the cruellest foes of the working class.

Beginning from 1914, and up to 1920, this process of congregation of all the bona-fide proletarian elements is continuing and increasing. We formed a Communist Party in Russia. At present we have Communist Parties in almost the whole of Europe. We have a Communist International. We are gathering together our adherents throughout the whole world. An ordered and strictly centralised, well-planned, organisation of all the adherents of Communism is for us the Alpha and Omega of all our work. But at the same time we say: the Communist Party must be the magnet which draws to itself the hearts of ALL revolutionary proletarians. The Communist Party must be able to attract even such elements of the mass proletarian revolutionary movement as have not yet matured to the full comprehension of Communism. This is the task that lies before us now on an *international* scale.

We must not resemble the Second International, which only knew how to persecute, ridicule, and hunt down the workers who opposed it from the Left. We throw this infamous tradition of the Second International overboard. We know perfectly well that the partisans of revolutionary syndicalism, industrialism, and the Shop Stewards' Committees of England, who consider themselves as a Left Wing opposition in respect to us, are in reality not more "Left" than the Communists. On the contrary, they are still paying a certain tribute to bourgeois influence; by repudiating the rôle of the Party they are proving that they do not understand the actual epoch, which is one of cruellest battles and of a civil war: which we cannot win unless we have our own general staff—the Party. This is not a Left opposition, these are "Left" prejudices; this is a non-comprehension which is, however, quite possible at the present historical moment. But we would be the worst possible doctrinaires if we did not comprehend that, in *spite of all these prejudices*, we must be able to become connected with the bona-fide revolutionary proletarian tendencies that are carrying on a serious struggle against the bourgeoisie, and are full of hatred towards the bourgeois order, and ready to fight seriously and honestly together

with us for the proletarian dictatorship and the Soviet regime. The Communist International would become transformed into a dried branch if it were not able to draw to itself such tendencies in the labour movement as the Shop Stewards' Committees, etc.

In many places the Labour movement is still at the cross roads. The edifice of the Second International has fallen to pieces with a loud crash; it has become hateful to the workers of the whole world. Deafened by this catastrophe, the workers are standing for the moment in doubt. Their will is paralysed. It is now three years that they are diligently searching for a way out of this heavy, unprecedentedly heavy crisis. And they are finding it in adherence to the Communist International. We would be cut-and-dried pedants, good-for-nothing sectarians, if we were not capable of taking this movement into our hands, patiently rectifying its mistakes, and joining with it for a common struggle.

Two paths lie before us. Either we are to become an International of "pure" Communists, in reality an International of doctrinaires and sectarians, unable to understand the innermost soul of the Labour movement; or we shall continue to move on with confidence along the path marked out by the first Congress of the Communist International. That is to say, we shall draw to ourselves the best part of the revolutionary syndicalists, anarchists, industrialists, adherents of the Shop Stewards' Committees, etc.

The Executive Committee, and after it the Congress itself, on the proposition of the Russian delegates, chose the *second* path; and we have not the slightest reason for repenting of this. Every hour of work at the Congress, or in any of the Commissions, shows us that we have acted rightly. Yes, the above-named Left Wing groups and tendencies are often mistaken and non-comprehending. But they are the mistakes and non-comprehension of bona-fide proletarian mass circles, which are becoming cured of their mistakes by the whole course of events, and which are rapidly approaching us Communists. Not for a single moment shall we dissolve our Communist Parties and organisations into shapeless masses. We shall create everywhere strong compact Communist Parties, closely welded into one piece of metal. But these Parties will never shut themselves up like narrow sectarians, they will always be on the alert and watching for any movement in the working masses. They shall

be ready to catch each pulse-beat in the ranks of the mass proletarian organisations.

"We must struggle equally against the Right Wing and the Left Wing opposition against Communism." This was the view of some of the representatives of German Communists when we discussed the question. "No, a thousand times no," we answered them. Against the Right Wing opposition, against the Parties of the Centre which are at present desiring to join the Communist International, we must struggle most energetically. We see clearly that the Communist International has so thoroughly defeated the Second International that now the elements which are half social-patriotic are trying to penetrate into our International. When the Bulgarian "broad" Mensheviks, who are not much better than the German Scheidemannists, pass resolutions almost unanimously to join unconditionally the Communist International, this means that we must be doubly watchful. When, in America, Messrs. Hillquit and other well-known opportunists now consent to join the Communist International we say again: let us be careful. When the German Independents still retaining Kautsky and Hilferding in their Party, declare that they are willing to enter the Communist International; when the representatives of the French Socialist Party, which has sinned so often, now inform us that they accept all the conditions imposed by us for joining the Communist International, we say to ourselves: *watchfulness and caution!* And not only caution, but also mistrust. Mistrust, mistrust, and again mistrust, in regard to the Right Wing leaders of the Centre! Many of them are approaching us with a stone in their bosom. Many of them are becoming Communists compulsorily. In respect to such Right Wingers, we have to be irreconcilable.

It is quite another thing with the "Left" tendencies, like the diseases of growing children, which the Labour movement is still passing through in some countries. Theoretically, we show no mercy to these "Left" delusions; we write against them; we agitate; we explain. We are not making, and shall not make, a single theoretical concession to them. We did not go through this struggle on a national scale ten years ago (regarding the recall of deputies, etc.) in order to desist from it now on an international one. But at the same time we know that these quasi-Left delusions are *not* treason against the

cause of the workers, they are *not* the same thing as the policy of the Right Wing leaders of the Centre. In regard to the mass proletarian organisations not yet freed from these "Left" aspirations, we shall carry on an insistent and systematical educational work and come closer to them. A fist, and even two clenched fists for a Right Wing leader of the Centre who is inclined at present, as if nothing has happened, to join the Third International! And a brotherly hand for any mass proletarian organisation which has carried on a revolutionary struggle against the bourgeoisie during the imperialist war, which is sincerely desirous of joining the Communist International, but which has not yet thoroughly mastered the theoretical basis of Communism. This is how we formulated our position in the Executive Committee of the Communist International; and we now insist upon it.

A couple of months ago, when the convocation of the Second Congress of the Communist In-

ternational was decided, in an article entitled: "On the tasks of the Congress," we asked: "What must the Second Congress of the Communist International be—a close union of partisans, or a world Congress of all bona-fide revolutionary Labour organisations?" And we replied: "Both the one and the other, but first of all the former." It is so now. The Second Congress of the Communist International will weld us, partisans and finished Communists, most closely together. But the Second World Congress of the Communist International is at the same time a review of the forces of all the revolutionary Labour organisations of Europe and America and it will enable many of these organisations to begin and to continue to outlive their "Left" delusions, and become closely united with us.

Two paths lay before us. We chose the definite path. And we are convinced: by this sign we shall conquer.

G. ZINOVIEV.

Letter of Cachin

COMRADES, I shall limit myself to the reading to you of a declaration which I have just signed with Comrade Frossard.

Comrades,

Having been sent here with Frossard with the precise and exclusive object of mutual information, we can only, as you will understand, comrades, make a brief declaration in our own name.

We have read with the greatest attention the theses laid down in the name of the Executive Committee by the competent commission on the conditions of admission. We have thoroughly discussed them with numerous authorised comrades.

We have just heard Zinoviev's commentaries. We have been authorised to discuss them in detail. From these different sources of information we have retained the principal and leading ideas.

You demand that the parties desirous of joining the Third International should first of all renounce in intention and in action, in their Press and their propaganda, all reformist and opportunist ideas. You wish them to demonstrate their futility; that they should struggle against

all manifestation of such ideas in all cases, and that they should advocate the necessity of revolutionary action in all its forms.

We are completely of your opinion.

This essential demand will lead to practical consequences, which the parties who desire to join you will have to comply with.

In the first place, it will be necessary for each militant party to make a choice, and to declare itself clearly against reformism and for the revolution. It is not a question of personalities, and you are right in insisting on this. In the present historical combination of circumstances, any one who is still trying to collaborate with the bourgeoisie "at the moment when the social struggle has begun everywhere" cannot hold a place in the ranks of the Party of the working class.

We are ready to exact from our comrades that they should act as Socialists in the Unions and in the Party. We are willing to collaborate as brothers with the militant revolutionists of the syndicalist organisation, who admit the necessity of political action.

In the second place, it is necessary to continue with more energy than ever the propaganda

against the imperialistic ideology, its supports, and props.

Two years already our Socialist group in parliament has been voting against the credits and the total of the budget. Our Party has definitely condemned ministerial participation. This is for times of peace.

Should the general war break out again some day, the present criminal imperialistic policy of the French bourgeoisie would be fully responsible for it.

We would refuse to associate ourselves there-with under whatever form (vote of credits or ministerial collaboration). We would remember that, in circumstances when the national interests are mingled with those of the plutocracy, no other duty for the proletariat can be superior to the duty which it owes to its class.

It will be necessary to revise the program of our Party, to make it harmonise with the spirit of the Third International. Increased centralisation, severe control of all parliamentary work and of the Party Press, a strict discipline for each member of the Party—these seem to us to be the fundamental conditions for our work together, which are sternly imposed by the actual moment.

You ask us to support all the Soviet Republics without exception in their struggle against the

counter-revolution. With even more vigour than in the past we shall proclaim to the workers the necessity of their refusing to transport the munitions and equipments of the counter-revolutionists. Among the troops sent to combat the Soviet revolutions, we shall pursue propaganda against intervention by all the means in our power.

Comrades, such is the declaration that we are able to make within the narrow limits of our mission. We are convinced that if our Comrade Longuet were here, he would, after due deliberation, think the same as we.

We shall return to France bearers of your conditions. We shall submit them faithfully to the Party, as well as the complete literature of the Third International. At the same time, we shall carry on an active and ardent campaign in favour of the Russian revolution.

A congress will be convened in a few weeks, when all the parties and sections will have become acquainted with all the facts and seriously discussed them. Frossard and I will support the adherence to the Third International. Till then there is no use in multiplying our verbal affirmations and promises to you. We shall now, having broken with the past, commence a resolute activity, which the Third International will judge ultimately."

Declaration of Cachin and Frossard

THE "Izvestia" of the all-Russian Central Executive Committee of Soviets, in its number of July 4, 1920, gives the text of the declaration made by Marcel Cachin and Frossard, delegates of the French Socialist Party, on the ground of which the Executive Committee of the Communist International has decided to admit them to the Second Congress of the Communist International as invited guests with a consultative vote.

This is the declaration which was handed in by Cachin and Frossard after a series of meetings of the Executive Committee of the Communist International, during which were heard the reports of Cachin and Frossard on the attitude of the French Socialist Party towards the Third International.

Comrades:

We have handed over to you the mandate given to us by the Congress of Strasbourg. As you see, the Congress has charged us to enter into negotiations with the organisations belonging to the Third International.

In its Congress resolutions, the French Socialist Party has affirmed its complete solidarity with the great movements of proletarian liberation in all their forms. The Party has established that no fundamental declaration of the Moscow International is in contradiction with the principles of Socialism, that the dictatorship of the proletariat is the corner-stone of the revolutionary doctrine, that the formation of Councils of workers, peasants, and soldiers must be recog-

nised as a first victory along the road towards the realisation of the power of the proletariat.

You are asking us to give additional explanations in regard to some of the points of our first declaration. You have made some critical remarks, especially on the internal work of our Party and our Press. In reply to your observations we deem it necessary to give the following explanations.

First of all, it must be mentioned that during the last two years the majority of our Party has, on all favourable occasions, struggled against reformist tactics. At the present moment, in the present economic and social situation, even more than at the epoch of the Amsterdam Congress, we are of your opinion that *all attempt at restoration, or even the support of the capitalist economic system, is condemned by facts and is purely utopian*. Bourgeois society is nearing its mortal crisis with every hour, and the rôle of the working class consists precisely in shortening as much as possible the period of convulsions in which we are now living. In order to reinstate order and justice in the world, it is necessary that the Socialist régime should triumph everywhere, and as soon as possible.

Socialism cannot be born to-day or to-morrow as a result of parliamentary elections or a popular referendum, because the capitalist class is doing all that it can to pervert the real will of the people, while the Church, the Yellow Press, and bourgeois gold are continuing ceaselessly their work of corruption, in order to divert the conscience of the working masses from the true path.

It is understood that we do not recognise the system of parliamentarism, so dear to the bourgeois democracy. We know too well the intrinsic value of parliamentarism to hope that, by using this falsified measure, the majority of the people might one day, by a simple vote, within the limits of legitimacy, accomplish the great work of liberation of labour.

In perfect accord with you, we declare that *the working class alone must transform and afterwards rule the State*. And, like you, we assert that under the powerful pressure of a select few, of the initiative minority, the advance guard of the proletariat which will carry along with it the entire working class, will the old régime fall, the hour of the social revolution strike, and the rule of Socialism begin.

You have made us pass through some living

lessons in history. You have proved to us clearly that it is only by force and by direct revolutionary action, in the fire of civil war, that the old régime may be overthrown and the foundations of a new social order be laid.

We see clearly that there is no other choice before us. Either we must bend under the yoke of capitalism and imperialism, as we have been doing up to now, or we must rise against our enemy with an implacability similar to that of the social reaction in its oppression of the proletariat.

The proletariat must oppose its own dictatorship to the present bourgeois dictatorship. It will be sufficient for us to remember our national past in order to justify methods of violence and terror, to which a class is inevitably compelled to recur when it aspires to use its power, when it wishes to maintain and strengthen the bases of the future social order.

You blame us sometimes for disguising the necessity of expropriating the bourgeoisie, when we are speaking of socialisation. We do not wish to renew the old and banal discussions on this subject, especially as in the commissions of the International, the question of compensation has been sufficiently discussed. It will be enough to say that, under the actual financial conditions of all the nations, this question is practically a futile one.

We remain true to our Socialist program, and demand the expropriation and confiscation of the larger landed estates, all the means of production of industrial capitalism, and the transport system.

In a word, no representative of revolutionary Socialism can deny that the nearest aim of all the efforts of the working class must be expropriation, or, as we have said, confiscation. The only means of attaining this is certainly by force with all the consequences called forth by the civil war, the principal instrument of which must be the dictatorship of the proletariat. In Russia this question has obtained its practical solution in the régime of Soviets.

You point out, very justly, that a simple verbal recognition of all the principles sanctified by the Russian revolution is not sufficient. Words must be supported by deeds: we agree completely. We do not wish to deny the insufficiency or the weakness of our tactics in the past. Indeed, we have also struggled against our bourgeoisie, and in each revolutionary movement we have striven to preserve the latter's

victories. But you are right on your part when you reproach us for not having shown the energy and force that were necessary.

We understand your anger and your reproaches in face of the long and terrible sufferings of the Russian workers and peasants; we ought to have come to your assistance in due time, and we did not have the courage to accomplish this brotherly duty. You are equally right in demanding that the daily tactics of our Party must be more resolute, more determined and more revolutionary in character.

Briefly, we ought to follow the same path as the one followed by Russia, where the proletarian revolution has triumphed. Our visit to Moscow, besides the international importance of the Congress, has clearly shown us all these truths, which we conceived perhaps too theoretically.

We shall return to France with the firm resolu-

tion to prepare our proletariat for adopting the heroic methods of struggle which have permitted the Russian working class to seize, power, to hold it, and on the ruins of the old regime to lay the foundations of a new social order, the greatness of which is now showing itself before our eyes.

Some of our comrades have already expressed their solidarity with the Moscow program. In perfect brotherly union with them, we shall join our efforts to obtain that the whole French Socialist Party should decide to join the Third International. We shall ask that an extraordinary Congress of the Party be convened, to acquaint it with the resolutions of the Congress of the Communist International. We ask you, comrades, to accept our sincere assurance that not only in words, but in deeds, we are ready to seal our complete accord to engage in a mortal struggle against capitalism.

ACTIVITIES of the EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE of the COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL

The First Month's Activity of the New Executive Committee

A Brief Report. By M. K.

DURING the first month of the existence of the new Executive Committee of the Communist International, constituted August 7, its work was carried on in the atmosphere created by the Congress; the atmosphere of direct communion with the representatives of the proletarian revolutionary movement of the whole world. This work was almost totally devoted to the immediate task of the movement: the strengthening of the Communist Parties of the different countries, the elimination therefrom of all reformist and opportunist elements, and the uniting of all bonafide revolutionary Communist forces.

Among the parties represented at the Congress, particularly "rich" in opportunist elements, the largest and most considerable was the Independent Social Democratic Party of Germany (U.S.P.D.).

The delegation of this party was invited *in corpore* to the meeting of August 9, which was devoted to the elucidation of the mutual relations between the Party and the Communist International.

In opening the session, the Chairman of the Executive Committee, Comrade Zinoviev, put the following three questions clearly and definitely before the representative of the German Independents: 1. Do they think that any one of the questions interesting the U.S.P. has not been sufficiently elucidated by the Congress? 2. Do they consider the conditions for adhesion to the Communist International, as confirmed by the Congress, acceptable to their Party; and 3. What is their attitude towards the demand of the

Congress regarding the expulsion of the Right Wing social-traitor elements from the Party?

To the first of these questions, the entire delegation had to answer unanimously in the negative. But after this their unanimity came to an end—in regard to the second and third questions. The same discord which is a characteristic feature of this almost million-membered Party was revealed in the delegation consisting of four members. The representatives of the Left Wing tendency, Comrades Däumig and Stocker, declared openly that, according to their opinion, the U.S.P. must immediately join the Third International, "which had become strengthened and enforced owing to its Second Congress." (Däumig). "Only the dictatorship of the proletariat," said Comrade Däumig, "only the struggle by all means can lead in all countries to the overthrow of the bourgeoisie. . . . This struggle can be carried on successfully only on the condition that the forces of the world proletariat are united in a single, solidly organised International, with a single theory and practice. And, certainly, there must be no place in the Party for people holding the same views as the Second International, and openly sabotaging the demands of the Communist International." The Right Wing leaders of the Party, Crispin and Dittman, while declaring that "in all theoretical and important principled questions" there were no "serious dissensions" (Crispin) between the Party and the Communist International, complained, nevertheless, that the "concrete formulation of

the theses gives rise to dissension," that "in the formulation of the paragraphs regarding the armed rising and illegal work, the lawful possibilities of the Party's struggle on the basis of bourgeois class society had not been taken into account" (Dittman). Speaking of the exclusion of the social-traitors from the Party, Dittman advanced a peculiar theory of "tolerance" and "loyalty," completely imbued with petty-bourgeois prejudices on the question of "freedom of opinion." While agreeing with the statement that the Party should not be a "publichouse," he affirmed with great pathos that the absence of "theoretical differences of opinion will kill all mental life in the Party." He reproached the Communists that, while preaching the principle of centralisation, they themselves violated it in some cases. Lastly, both he and Crispin complained bitterly that the Communists wished to carry discord into the Party, and to cause a split in it.

To all these complaints of the champions of "high virtue" Comrades Zinoviev and Radek gave exhaustive answers. Comrade Radek explained to them that "we stand for centralisation when it concurs in a closer uniting of the revolutionary forces, but not when it leads to the strengthening of the Party centre, carrying on a non-revolutionary policy," and Comrade Zinoviev dotted the i's in declaring that centralisation in our view is not an aim, but a means of struggle, an arm of war. Comrade Zinoviev pointed out to them that the "freethinkers," Messrs. Kautsky and Hilferding give a moral weapon into the hands of our enemies, that in the circumstances of our epoch there is and can be no "pure theory" and that there can be no talk of "loyalty" with respect to our class foes. "We are not bound to be loyal to people who give a moral weapon to the bourgeoisie. We are bound to sow a feeling of hatred against them." In reply to the complaints against a scission in the Party, Comrade Zinoviev answered unequivocally: "Either a weeding-out of the Party or a scission. There are situations when a scission is the first and most sacred duty of a revolutionary." He expressed the attitude of the Communist International towards the U.S.P. in the following words: "Without you, if you wish! With you, if you wish! Against you, if you enter into a struggle with us."

The weeding out of the opportunists from the Communist Party was discussed in the meeting

of the Communist International of August 11. This time the subject was the Italian Party. Against the exclusion of such gentlemen as Turati, Modigliani, Darragona, etc., none of the Italian comrades raised any objection; only some of them, as, for instance, Comrade Serrati, asserted that the exclusion must be carried out skilfully so as "not to lose the masses" (which, be it said, according to the statements of these same comrades, do not at all favour the opportunists), that a "proper justification" must be found, etc. As a result of this meeting the Executive Committee decided to publish the appeal to the Italian workers which is inserted in the number.

The question of the Italian movement was discussed also at a meeting of the Executive Committee on August 25, which was attended by the delegate of the Italian Syndicalist Union (Unione Syndicale Italiano), Comrade Borghi, who, unfortunately, reached Moscow after the close of the Congress. The following resolution was passed unanimously by the Executive Committee:

"In consideration of the resolutions of the Second Congress on the question of its attitude towards the revolutionary part of the syndicalists, anarchists, partisans of the Shop Stewards' Committees, and I.W.W., and the declaration of the representative of the Unione Syndicale Italiano, Comrade Borghi, to the effect that he *accepts* the decisions of the Second Congress, the Executive Committee decides

(1) To admit the Unione Syndicale Italiano into the Third International;

(2) To commission the Small Bureau to explain in a special letter to the Unione Syndicale the duties which devolve upon all the members of the Unione in consequence of the adhesions to the Third International;

(3) To charge the Small Bureau to adopt all requisite measures to bring about a union in the shortest time possible of all the bonafide Communist forces in Italy."

Moreover, in compliance with a proposition from Comrade Reed, it was decided to demand from the Italian Labour Confederation that a Congress should be convened immediately after the Party Congress.

While, in regard to the U.S.P., the Executive Committee put the question of a scission in a

categorical form, and while in discussing the situation in the Italian Party it was also necessary to raise the question of weeding out—in all the meetings which were devoted to the discussion of the immediate tasks of the American and British movements the object was, on the contrary, only to unite and draw closer the ranks of the parties.

In America, as is known, there are two Communist Parties: the United Communist Party and the Communist Party.

In its meeting of August 8, with the participation of the representatives of both these parties, the Executive Committee passed the following resolution:

“Both Communist Parties of America (United Communist Party and Communist Party) are pledged to unite immediately into one Party, in compliance with the decisions of the Second World Congress of the Communist International. This Unification must be accomplished not later than in two months, i.e., by October 10. Any group which will not submit to this resolution shall be excluded from the Communist International.”

The question of the unification of the British Communist groups, taken up at the session of August 10, with the participation of all the members of the British delegation, was solved in the same spirit. In his introductory speech, Comrade Zinoviev pointed out that in Great Britain there are: the British Communist Party (the nucleus of which consists of the former B.S.P.), the Communist Party, the Scotch groups and the groups of Wales and Ireland, the Shop Stewards' Committees, etc.; and that the unification of these groups is no easy task, because, as the Congress showed, certain serious dissensions exist between them, as, for instance, on the question of the Labour Party. “But this is a purely tactical question,” said Comrade Zinoviev. “We are united on much more important questions: recognition of the dictatorship of the proletariat, of the Soviet system, of the necessity of illegal work, etc.” In conclusion, after the discussion, the following resolution was passed unanimously (the English comrades voting separately, and all, without exception, in favour of the resolution):

“The Executive Committee decrees: a single Communist Party must be formed in Great Britain, in virtue of the decisions of the

Second World Congress of the Communist International.

“For the solution of this problem, in the course of four months a general Congress of all the Communist groups and organisations of Great Britain and Ireland must be convened. In this Congress will take part: (1) The United Communist Party; (2) the Communist Party; (3) the Shop Stewards' Committees; (4) the Scotch Communist groups; (5) the groups of Wales; (6) the Irish Communists (on federative principles); (7) the Socialist Labour Party (S.L.P.); (8) the Left Wingers of the S.L.P.

“For the convocation of this general Congress, and for the principles of unity, a general Committee of Action shall be formed of one representative from each group, under the chairmanship of a representative of the Executive Committee.”

In addition to this resolution, the Executive Committee decided on August 20:

“The Executive Committee recommends to the British comrades the following plan of representation at the United Congress: all parties and political groups shall be represented in proportion to the number of their members, with a minimum of three delegates per organisation.

“As to the Shop Stewards' Committees, the Executive Committee recommends to the Committee of Action to organise their representation proportionately to the number of members; in connection with which it is desirable that not only the leaders of the movement, belonging to the Party, should be included in the number of delegates, but also all bonafide representatives of the views and wishes of the wider masses.”

For the attainment of a complete unity in the political direction of the international political movement, the Executive Committee, at the meeting of August 8, decided to dissolve all the existing political bureaux of the Communist International, replacing them by trustworthy representatives, directly responsible to the Executive Committee.

At the meeting of August 16, the question of the publication in different countries of a common organ, *The Communist International*, was discussed. The majority of the comrades complained of the great delay in the delivery of the journal, and some of them—in particular the

English and American comrades—mentioned several incorrect statements in the news items and correspondence of the journal. Finally, it was decided unanimously that :

“ (1) The *Communist International* as a central organ shall be republished in full in England, Germany, Austria, France, and America ;

“ (2) In the separate countries there may be omitted only such articles as have already appeared in the given country, and all out-of-date correspondence ;

“ (3) The parties of the separate countries shall organise special auxiliary bureaux for supplying the editorial office of the *Communist International* with articles and information ;

“ (4) The parties of the countries in which

the journal is published (with the exception of Russia) shall be bound to send to the Communist Parties of the neighbouring countries from three to five copies of each number of the journal. In particular, the Austrian Communist Party shall be bound to send regularly from three to five copies to the Central Committees of the Communist Parties of Bulgaria, Yugoslavia, Roumania, and Greece.”

At the last meetings of the Executive Committee, the reports of the comrades who had reached Moscow, owing to various accidents, after the close of the Congress, were heard, namely : the report of the representative of the Left Wing of the English Independent Labour Party (I.L.P.), the report of the delegate from Luxemburg, and others.

Draft of Theses on the Tactics of the International in the Struggle for the Dictatorship of the Proletariat

Editor's Note.—We are inserting this project of the West-European Bureau as a matter for discussion.

As world capital has proved by the imperialistic war that it is not capable of mastering the productive forces created by capitalism, in the same way the capital of the Central Powers, having attained the apogee of its victories, manifested its complete inability to guarantee the requisite conditions for the development of peace, and so in like manner is the capital of the Entente, victor in the world war, now proving its incapacity to reconstruct the ruined world and to guarantee even such an insignificant degree of security and order, as the capitalist regime has given up to now. The capital of the Entente has overthrown the Central Powers, and it is now proceeding to enslave the peoples of Central Europe, thus laying the foundations of a new war. While creating a German “irredenta” in Central Europe, and calling to life a whole series of small States which are fighting one another, the Entente is at the same time subordinating the Balkan countries to the domination of “politicians” in Serban affairs and Roumanian boyards, between whom it is dividing a subordinate portion of the Bulgarian people. In this way the Balkans remain the same centre of

political conflicts, as they have been until now. The dismemberment of Turkey opens an epoch of discord between the countries of the Entente for the Turkish inheritance, as well as conflicts with the Turkish population. In the Far East the Entente has sold 40 millions of “allied” Chinese to the Japanese imperialists, rendering thereby more acute the conflict between the Japanese and American capitalists. The Entente entered the war under the motto of the right of all nationalities to determine their own fate ; and now it is leaving the peoples of Ireland, Egypt, and India to suffer under the English yoke, thus assisting in the arousing of these peoples to a revolutionary struggle against English imperialism. The attempt to form a League of Nations has met with a complete downfall ; the object of the League has been to submit to the victorious capital of the Entente, and to adapt to a general exploitation, the interests of the vanquished countries and particularly of the small nationalities and the hundreds of millions inhabiting Asia and Africa. And it is quite clear even now that in the camp of the Entente new imperialistic coalitions are arising and acting against one another.

Not being able to preserve the capitalist order in its entirety, the Entente is now striving to strangle the arising Socialist-Communist order at its very birth. With this end in view, it is continuing the war against Soviet Russia, and endeavouring to surround the latter with a circle of small States, whose duty it is to form a deadly loop around the Republic of Soviets, but which themselves are becoming arenas of death and desolation.

This world policy of the victorious capital of the Entente does not allow it to utilise even small possibilities for the re-establishment of the capitalist order which have remained after the world war. The four years' work of destruction of imperialism might have given way to capitalist constructive work, and the tremendous burden of debts might have been lifted, only if the victorious group of capitalists would have been able to provide the vanquished countries with raw materials and food, and then again place the proletarian masses under the yoke, thus laying the burden of the war upon the proletariat of all the world. By devastating Russia, by endeavoring to deprive Central Europe of the last means of production, the victorious capital of the Entente is not only condemning this greater part of Europe to economic ruin and death by famine, but it is also signing the death warrant of the development of capitalism in its own countries. Central and Eastern Europe might be the best markets for the products of the industry of the West. They might furnish great quantities of raw material. Their weakening signifies a progressive economic paralysis in the industrial countries of the West, the growth of unemployment, a greater acuteness in social relations, which, as it is, have become very acute in consequence of the terribly high prices, increased taxation, and a growing consciousness of power acquired by the working class during the war.

Thus the policy of the Entente is strengthening the revolutionary tendencies; it is driving the workers' and peasant masses of the vanquished countries into the arms of the revolution; it is accelerating the transformation of the growing class struggle into a civil war; it is showing openly to the popular masses of the whole world that they alone are called upon to bring order into the capitalistic chaos and to reconstruct the world on a new basis. The Communist world revolution, begun in Russia, has in no wise been stopped by the victory of the Entente. On the

contrary, during the whole year which has elapsed since the victory, the policy of the victorious capital of the Entente has been working urgently for the revolution and accelerating its development.

II.

The Communist Parties of the countries which still continue to remain capitalistic *take this tendency of the world capital working for the world revolution as the starting point of their struggle for the proletarian dictatorship.*

Having proved its inability to re-establish the capitalistic order, world capital has at the same time rendered impossible for a long time all policy of reforms. The task of the working class of Central and Western Europe, and also of America, consists in the construction of a Socialist system and not in a *reformation of the capitalist world*; not in acquiring separate concessions, but in the *annihilation of capitalism*, which at present means only beggary, chaos, and war. The lessons of all bourgeois revolutions, and also of the Russian proletarian revolution, have shown that a new social order can be realised only by a civil war of the oppressed popular masses against the dying ruling class. At the same time the victorious representatives of the new order must by *their dictatorship* guarantee the transition from the old order to the new one. The Russian proletarian revolution has shown the international proletariat that the organisations which are absolutely necessary for the realisation of Socialism are the Workers' Soviets. Socialism can be put into practice, not by means of Parliamentary institutions, uniting all the classes of the population, but only by means of Workers' Soviets, uniting all the intellectual and manual workers, interested in the establishment of the new order, and retaining all the legislative and executive power in their hands. The Russian proletarian revolution has shown how the capitalist classes are not sparing their forces in resisting the attempt of the working class to liberate itself, not stopping even before treason, entering into coalitions with foreign capital for the struggle against popular masses of their own countries. Therefore the working class is compelled to oppose the counter-revolution with all the means of revolutionary violence, and to defend, sword in hand, the growing edifice of Socialism. The course of political development in Central and

Western Europe, as well as in America, during the year elapsed since the moment of the ending of the world war, has confirmed these lessons of the Russian revolution. This year has proved that the idea of realising Socialism by means of a compromise with the bourgeoisie on the ground of bourgeois democracy is absolute Utopianism, the propagation of which weakens the proletariat and is only of advantage to the bourgeoisie. Notwithstanding all its fear of the revolutionary movement, the bourgeoisie is not only sabotaging socialisation, but also any policy which gives the working class the slightest right to share in the administration of the production. Not by social concessions, but by a union with blackest reaction, does the bourgeoisie answer the revolutionary movement, not hesitating to use most brutal force against the proletariat. Therefore the Communist International must refute most energetically as a deceiving of the proletariat any attempt to gloss over by means of a compromise the inconsistency between the striving of the proletariat for liberation and the dictatorship of the capitalists, fighting against such a tendency, represented in Germany by the Social-Patriots and leaders of the Right Wing of the Independent Socialists; in Austria, by the Left Social Democrats; in Holland, by the opportunist Troelstra; and in Sweden by the Social-Reformist Branting, who are all defending the project of forming Labour Chambers alongside of the bourgeois Parliaments. The task of the Communist Parties in the countries which still continue to be capitalist consists first of all in bringing the proletariat to the consciousness that for the workers there is no other issue besides a revolutionary struggle up to the establishment of a dictatorship of the proletariat in the form of Soviet Republics, their unification and joint defence by all the means in their power against the forces of capitalism.

III.

The acuteness, depth, and breadth of the revolutionary struggle for the proletarian dictatorship will grow together with the progress of the decay of capitalism. The rule of capital will become ever more unbearable for the proletariat, and the working class will become ever more and more convinced by experience of the necessity of a struggle for the dictatorship. However, the development of the struggle will not unfailingly take the form of a stormy attack; in the highly

cultured capitalistic countries of the West it may acquire the nature of a prolonged period of sustained struggle, demanding ever more and more victims. Only by combating all illusions that the struggle must inevitably move onward at a quick pace, and *taking as a starting point for its tactics a thorough understanding of the slowness and difficulty of the proletarian struggle for its liberation*, can the Communist Parties of the West restrain the proletariat from thoughtless attempts to seize power by means of the insufficient forces of small, impatient groups constituting the minority, and instil into the minds of the proletariat the knowledge of what measures should be applied in the struggle. The victory will be achieved by the proletariat only when the wider masses of the workers, including also the intellectual workers, and also the more important stratifications of the working class, as the miners, metal workers, railwaymen, and agricultural labourers will have become adherents of Communism, and have at their disposal sufficient forces to break the resistance of the excellently organised and well-armed reaction, supported by the considerable group of wealthy peasantry, and to lay the solid foundation for the establishment of a Soviet dictatorship whose existence depends wholly on the class-conscious will to power of the proletarian masses.

IV.

These masses are assembled in the Trade Unions which have been formed during the peaceful epoch of the Labour movement; they assembled in such Unions in order to carry on the struggle, both at present as well as in the past, for the improvement of their conditions of life. The Communists are bound to enter these mass organisations of the proletariat, notwithstanding that the bureaucracy of the Trade Unions is trying to transform them from fighting organisations of the proletariat into opportunist and counter-revolutionary organisations of coalition with capitalism. The Communists must contend in the Unions with opportunist and counter-revolutionary policy, not only by means of propaganda, by opposing Communist ideas against Social-Democratic and Social-Reformist ideas, they must also strive to undermine the influence of the Union bureaucracy by taking part in the economic struggle as well. They must not only as propagandists explain to the workers

that all collaboration with the class of capitalists leads to their enslavement, that all partial victories, as, for instance, a rise in wages, are nullified by ever-growing prices; but they must call the working class to renew and renew the struggle, when the working class, disenchanted by a defeat or by the fruitlessness of its victory, loses heart and sees no outlet for itself out of the situation. Only *again and again* returning to the struggle for the improvement of their position, for the increase of pay, for the reduction of working hours, and supporting each other in the struggle, can the workers become welded into a mighty revolutionary class which will be able to carry on, not only a struggle for the improvement of its position—and such a struggle during the period of a collapse of capitalism always proves fruitless in the end—but also a struggle for the transformation of the capitalist society into a Socialist one.

In this struggle the Communists must explain to the working masses that a certain degree of capitalist development once attained, *separate demonstrations in the economic struggle are doomed to failure*; that each fighting section of the proletariat must hurry to the assistance of *the general front*; that it is necessary to increase the economic struggle in favour of separate demands, striving to raise it to the stage of a struggle for *the acquisition of political power*, for the overthrow of the capitalist government.

In this struggle, the Communists working in the Trade Unions must endeavour by degrees, as the conditions of labour and of wages become equalised for the various categories of workers, which must inevitably follow during the process of a further decline of capitalism, to transform the Trade Unions into Industrial Unions, embracing whole industries, which in the struggle against united capitalism dispose of a considerably larger defensive and offensive power than the smaller Unions of the separate trades. The Communists must insist that the centralised counter-revolutionary bureaucracy of the Trade Unions, which is the leader of the masses, should give up its place to the flexible system of Workers' Deputies. These Deputies, retaining their posts in the enterprises, may, without causing friction, communicate the initiative of the masses to the boards of the Unions, and at the same time spread among the masses economic and political information and enlighten them as to the administration of affairs.

The economic struggle of the proletariat in the epoch of a social revolution consists in unifying and strengthening the pressure of the masses for the purpose of overthrowing the bourgeoisie, but not in destroying or injuring the means of production; although such destruction and injuring are inevitable often in a civil war. Consequently in the economic struggle the Communists must oppose most decisively all idea of sabotage, i.e., of destroying the means of production; and they must explain to the popular masses that the bourgeoisie alone are guilty of the ruin of economic administration, because, not being able to re-establish it properly, the bourgeois are willing to destroy it utterly rather than allow the means of production to fall into the hands of the working class, which will manage it in the interests of the suffering popular masses.

The struggle for the transformation of the opportunist and counter-revolutionary Trade Unions must be unfailingly carried on also in the countries where there are already revolutionary Trade Unions.

V.

The economic struggle for the improvement of the conditions of life of the working class, growing ever more and more acute, will pass into a struggle for the seizure of power, which is a requisite preliminary condition for the possession of the means of production. One of the stages of this warfare is the struggle for the control over production. The more the lack of different products is felt, which will not even allow the workers enjoying a higher salary to satisfy their most pressing needs, the more the anarchy of production will increase, the more the productive forces, insufficient for the maintenance of the most vitally necessary branches of industry, will become expended in the interests of speculators who profit by the decline of capitalism in the same way as worms feed on a corpse, the more strongly will the working masses experience *the need of a control over the production*. During a period of increased unemployment, they will desire to determine by means of their deputies whether the closure of certain enterprises is not simply an arbitrary act on the part of the capitalists, desirous of transferring their investments abroad and of weakening the struggling workers by means of unemployment. During a lack of raw materials, the working class will naturally

experience the need of controlling by means of its deputies the regular distribution of the raw products. In the struggle for a rise in wages, the working class will be interested in controlling all the conditions of production. This control will deprive the capitalists of the possibility of explaining the rise in the prices, called forth by their own greed of gain, as a consequence of increased wages, and thus instigating the petty bourgeois popular masses, suffering from the ever-growing prices, against the workers.

The endeavour to acquire control over production must become the starting point of a continuous prolonged struggle for the formation of factory councils. Factory councils cannot be organised from above, by means of propaganda only, in the form of a harmonious and complicated system of council. Without counting that the bourgeoisie governments will oppose with all their forces such a general attempt at establishing an economic Soviet organisation, at the present moment the workers are not imbued with the proper consciousness of the need of a control over production; and, in view of the absence of such consciousness, the factory councils will be transformed into representatives only of the class-conscious revolutionary workers, instead of the representatives of whole branches of industry, or representatives of a class. Only by degrees, as the separate groups of the proletariat, in consequence of defeat in the revolutionary struggle, or in consequence of the fruitlessness of their achievements in the progressive decline of capitalism, become penetrated with a lively interest in control over production, will the factory councils arise in certain places, in certain branches of industry, as a result of the struggle against the separate groups of employers, acquiring a more or less extensive right of control, according to the correlation of the forces, and striving for their unification according to the branches of industry. Not as a scheme only pressed on the revolutionary part of the proletariat from above, but in the form of organisations arising and becoming closely welded together in the process of the struggle, can factory councils become developed, and prepare ever larger and larger masses of the working class to undertake the administration of industry which the proletariat will take into its own hands soon after the acquisition of the political power.

Not everywhere will it be possible to obtain immediately the formation of such factory

councils. The government will manage, perhaps, in some places to deceive the workers, and to satisfy for a time their demands for control over production, by means of the formation of legal counterfeit factory councils, allowing admission to certain separate proletarians into the antechambers of the capitalist offices, while the real management of production remains in the hands of the directors and secret organisations of the manufacturers. Where the affairs take such a turn, the Communists must see to it that the deceit of the bourgeoisie be turned *against the bourgeoisie itself*. They must render harmless all attempts at such counterfeit control, denouncing before all the workers, at the factory meetings and in their agitation, all such swindling manœuvres of the factory administration; and carrying on an obdurate struggle against all steps of the pseudo-controlling institutions, directed against the interests of the working class. The Communists must fight relentlessly against all factory representatives caught in the nets of the capitalists or selling themselves to the same. Without reckoning with the limits established by the laws for the control of the workers, the Communists must call the workers to the struggle for the enlargement of the rights of control of the factory councils, in the interests of public economy and of the popular masses. If, in their struggle against the swindling counterfeit factory councils, the Communists endeavour, step by step, to transform them into real factory councils, then, with the further decline of capitalism, an interest towards control over production will be awakened in the working masses, and the pseudo factory councils will either become transformed into real practical factory councils, or will be replaced by such.

VI.

The victory of a proletarian revolution in any country will be guaranteed only when the working class in its separate demonstrations has attained the degree of resolution and consciousness necessary to enable it, not only to oppose all violence of the bourgeoisie by a resolute refusal to play the part of beasts of burden, but to break the resistance of the bourgeoisie in open fight. The victory of the proletariat may be attained only by means of the complete disorganisation and annihilation of the organs of oppression of the capitalist State. Where that State forms White

Guards for the fight against the growing proletarian revolution, the victory will be achieved by a rising of the proletarian masses. All ideas of acquiring political power by *roundabout* ways, by a sabotage of capitalist production, by the barricading of the working class in separate enterprises, by means of the formation of factory organisations, is *the same opportunism* as the idea of victory by the help of electioneering bulletins. The proletariat cannot first achieve an economic victory and then only seize the political power. The acquisition of political power, the dictatorship of the proletariat, is a premise to the expropriation of the expropriators. In all the phases of the political and economic struggle, the Communists must propagate among the proletariat the consciousness *that all strikes are only a part, a stage in the liberation struggle*, which is a struggle for *the political power of the State*. Against the syndicalist and anarchist illusions regarding the possibility of a proletarian State organisation that must serve as a means for overcoming the resistance of the bourgeoisie, it is necessary to fight in the same way as against the democratic illusions of reformism. All means which the proletariat has used up to now in its liberation struggle must be examined from the point of view of their efficiency, *as auxiliary means* for the enlightenment of the revolutionary consciousness, for the organisation and mobilisation of the masses; and they must be applied according to the conditions of time and place.

In the same way as in the economic struggle the social revolution, up to its culminating point—an armed uprising—must know no other measures than the strengthening, deepening, and combining of the former means of the economic struggle, in a like manner in the political struggle it must not recognise any miracle-working measures and in nowise desist from the application of any means of struggle applied before. Both in the economic and in the political struggles the social revolution signifies only one modification, consisting therein that the working class itself begins to move, and enters the struggle in its entire mass, in consequence of which all other means, occupying the first place during the peaceful epoch, now acquire a secondary importance in respect to the mass movement. Among these measures is the using of the right of suffrage, which, like all other rights, the bourgeoisie accords to the masses with a view to deceiving them, so long as it is

not compelled to enter into an open fight against them. When this struggle of class against class enters its last decisive phase, it will annihilate the parliamentary platform. The bourgeoisie will then openly establish its military dictatorship. At the time when the masses are only yet assembling for the fight, when they are only on the way to it, and also in the moments following defeats, the Communists must point out to the revolutionary workers the necessity of utilising all, *even the most insignificant agitational and organisational possibilities*, which are guaranteed to the members of parliament, and which enable them to reveal in respect of each law and each parliamentary resolution of the slightest importance, the deep difference between the interests of the proletariat and the wealthy minority, and thus to concur in heightening the activity of the masses. A refusal to take part in parliamentary work in such situations is not an act of revolutionary warfare against a bourgeois State, but a facilitation of bourgeois deceit, assisting the calumnious bourgeois campaign against Communism from the parliamentary platform.

Even before the acquisition of political power by the working class, the rule of the bourgeoisie may be so far weakened that it will be compelled to accord to the working class a wide field for action, and reckon with the existence of political Workers' Councils. In the struggle for such councils, the growth of the class-consciousness of the working class and the increased decline of the bourgeoisie will manifest themselves. Therefore, the Communists must insist on the formation of strong political Workers' Councils, as organisations representing the whole working class, in which the will of the working class in its struggle against the bourgeoisie and democratic illusions will become concentrated, united, and directed towards the struggle for the dictatorship.

At all the stages of movement, the duty of the Communists is to form in the organisations of mass movements, and in the mass organisations special Communist groups, carrying on under a special leadership the propaganda of Communist ideas in all proletarian action. In conformity with the forces which they have at their disposal, the Communists must push the mass organisations of the proletariat forward, or must organise the struggle of the proletariat themselves. But even in cases when the Communist Parties are too weak for an independent organisation, when

they are compelled during the process of the practical struggle to submit to the actions en masse of the proletariat which is but slowly developing towards Communism, they must, in their propaganda, and in their mottoes purporting to push the masses forward, express in a clear and definite form the Communist point of view. They must be convinced that the more clearly, and the more logically is their agitation carried on, the more fruitful will its influence be in the future, although at the given moment the workers may not even grasp the height of the Communist ideas. The fencing off from the masses on the ground of Communist sectarianism, and also the dissolving of a Communist Party in a general workers' organisation without a clear understanding of the tasks of the revolution, represents a danger for the development of the world revolution. By isolating themselves from the mass movements and mass organisations of the proletariat, the Communists deprive the masses of their most enlightened and advanced elements. By desisting from an independent existence and from a closely-welded demonstration as a Communist Party, they leave the struggling masses without a solid support and leadership. The Communist Party being a minority, cannot acquire power, but the working masses cannot become liberated without becoming Communists, without consciously following the Communist lead. The dictatorship which is necessary for the realisation of Socialism may be only the dictatorship of closely-welded conscious proletarian masses, but, being the dictatorship of revolutionary workers *penetrated by a class-consciousness*, it is at the same time the dictatorship of Communism.

VII.

The Communist International, born from the struggle of the proletarian advance guard against the imperialist world war, and organised by the initiative of the working class of the first country which has realised the dictatorship of the proletariat under the leadership of the Communist Party, is developing on parallel lines with the decline of the capitalist world and with the strengthening of the world revolution; while the Second International, simultaneously with the development of the revolution, is declining step by step and turning into a union of flunkies of the bourgeoisie and murderers of the proletariat.

Between the Second and the Third International a compromise can no more be possible than a compromise between the bourgeoisie and the proletariat is possible. The attempt of the fluctuating elements of Socialism to act as intermediaries between the Second and Third International is a fraud on the part of the bankrupt Socialist leaders, who are seeing more clearly every day that the proletarian masses which had backed them in all countries are now passing over in ever greater numbers to the Third International. These attempts at mediation are doomed to failure, as they are not backed by any political idea; between the capitalist and proletarian dictatorship there can be no intermediary group. In all countries where the fluctuating elements of Socialism are still exercising an influence over the workers, the Communist Parties and groups must explain and prove to the masses that, while struggling against their bourgeoisie, they must join the Third International; that the only thing that keeps them from joining it is their own irresolution and loyalty to their leaders, who during the war betrayed the masses, either by their inaction or by their direct support of the bourgeoisie. The Communist Parties must render all assistance, by means of joint demonstrations, to all the working-class masses which are becoming more and more revolutionary, but which have not yet joined the Third International as organisations, and must try to convince them of the necessity of breaking with their opportunist leaders and joining the Third International. A unity among the working masses may be attained, not by a compromise with the bankrupt leaders of social-patriotism and social-pacifism, but only by the conscious resolution of the working masses growing ever stronger in the revolutionary struggle.

The Third International has risen—an *International of proletarian action*, an International of the joint struggle of the proletariat of the whole world against the world bourgeoisie. Such a unification of the proletariat has up to now been realised only in a very insignificant degree. The support of Soviet Russia by the revolutionary workers of the whole world, and, first of all, by the workers of the Entente, is a practical beginning of the united revolutionary struggle of the world proletariat. At the time when, on the one hand, international capital is uniting in a common attempt to annihilate Russia of the Soviets, on the other hand the support of Soviet

Russia is the starting point of the world policy of the proletariat. In so far as the proletariat is uniting for the defence of Soviet Russia, in so far as by its mass actions it is compelling the bourgeoisie to desist from the support of the Russian counter-revolution, from the war against Soviet Russia, the world proletariat is not only helping the Russian working class to defend its achievements from the attacks of the blood-thirsty and greedy international counter-revolution, but at the same time *it is guaranteeing the necessary conditions for the victory of the proletarian revolution throughout the whole European continent.*

Soviet Russia is a source of raw materials and food products. Soviet Russia with her Red Army, freed from the scourge of war, and after organising her forces, will help the proletariat of other countries to sustain the struggle, in spite of the danger of a blockade on the part of the most powerful capitalist States controlling the import of food supplies. Russia will help the proletariat of the other countries to conquer their bourgeoisie and to reconstruct ruined and devastated Europe on a Socialist basis. There-

fore an active defence of Soviet Russia by the proletarian masses of other countries is a duty, *which they are bound to fulfil in spite of all sacrifices which the struggle may entail.* Every newly-formed proletarian State will be better capable of sustaining its struggle against the capitalist States if Soviet Russia comes out of the war undefeated, opening the first breach in the capitalist government system. Each action of the proletariat directed to the advantage of Soviet Russia will strike a blow at the counter-revolution, acting concretely on entire world policy, and consequently directly undermining the ruling position of the wealthy classes in the given country. The Third Communist International, a union of partisans for a general struggle of the proletariat for the proletarian dictatorship, will thus become transformed into a Union of Soviet Republics, which will arise out of the world revolution as the victorious defenders of the new Socialist order.

THE WEST EUROPEAN SECRETARIAT OF THE
COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL.

January, 1920.

Appeal of the Executive Committee of the Communist International

To all Workingmen & Women, to all the Toiling Masses

COMRADES,

In Petrograd, the Red capital, an abominable crime has been committed. The sacred town of the revolution has been desecrated by the shots of armed murderers, who have shot down, like game, their own unarmed comrades, their fellow workers, members of their own Party, their fellow fighters against the bourgeois world. The Communist International became the object of an attack on the part of pitiable idiots, led by a base White Guard hand; and one of the founders of the International, the barricade fighter, Rakhia, is lying dead by the side of his comrades, for ever silent, slain from behind a corner, one after the other, by the bullets of modern Cains.

The murder of the members of the Central Committee of the Finnish Communist Party and its active workers is so monstrous and unnatural, so immeasurably wicked and stupid, and at the same time so criminal a fact, that there never was nor is anything like it in the annals of the Socialist movement. The Communist International is bound to pronounce its verdict against it. The Communist International calls upon the proletarians of all countries to brand with disgrace all those who raised their arms, not against the bourgeois executioners, but against their own brothers, their allies, their fellow-fighters and leaders.

The treacherously-murdered comrades are almost all workers who have passed through the harsh school of life's struggle. The metallist Rakhia, the gardener Hurskumourto, the engineer, Linquist, the girl clerk, Savolainen, the baker, Viitasari, the old factory-hand Kettunen, infinite pains had managed to become a literary worker—these the madmen have murdered. They did not kill General Mannerheim. They did not kill Wrangel. They did not kill the executioner of the Hungarian proletariat, Admiral Horthy. No! They preferred to blow out the brains of the twenty-year-old girl—Lise Savolainen. They preferred to murder Rakhia, who had but recently laid aside his crutches and

regained the use of his legs, which had been pierced through by the bullets of the Finnish White Guards. They preferred to fire against the delegates of the Third International! They preferred to murder *workers*:

How did this bloody nightmare come to pass? How did the murderers venture to besmear and bespatter the Red banner?

The Finnish Communist Party came to life after the cruel defeat of the Finnish revolution, which was crushed by the heavy boot of German imperialism and strangled by the revengeful and bloodthirsty Finnish bourgeoisie. A considerable part of the retreating comrades remained in Russia. The revolutionary Finnish emigration managed to produce talented leaders, and laid the foundations of Finnish Communism. But the difficult conditions of life of the emigrants, the painful remembrances of their defeat, the inevitable elements of demoralisation, so inherent to all emigration, were doing their work. A process of disorganisation set in among the Finnish Communists. Accusations, doubts, suspicions, slander, mutual mistrust arose. The calumnious campaign acquired most monstrous proportions at times. One of the brothers Rakhia, an old revolutionist and member of the Central Committee, was accused of preparing to blow up the Finnish Military Courses; about others, slanderous reports were spread that they were spoiling the chances of their comrades in Finland; others again were accused of having betrayed the revolution in 1918, that certain sums of money were being expended wrongfully. The fetid streams of calumny were flowing in abundance.

The bourgeoisie was the instigator of this struggle. It was inciting the discontent. It was doing its work. The bourgeoisie is ever utilising all means. It is to the advantage of the Finnish White Guard executioners to bring disorder into the proletarian front, to incite the workers against each other, to disorganise the ranks of the workers, to confuse and destroy, to shoot

down and render ludicrous the proletarian discipline. It is so good for it to shed proletarian blood. The inexperienced, young, stubborn, narrow-minded men, who thought themselves real revolutionists, were caught in the provocators' snares. They decided to save the revolution, and fired at its very breast. They wished to "save" Communism, and hit the Communist International. They believed the calumny, just as in 1917 some of the workers believed the disgraceful bourgeois fable that the Bolsheviks were German spies. They thought that they were clearing the Party of provocators. But they themselves played the rôle of provocators and traitors.

Workers! Proletarians! Beware of the bourgeoisie.

Comrades! Beware of its snares. It has plenty of gold yet. It has plenty of poison. It has many base hired servants, inciters, slanderers, incendiaries. It has managed to tear to pieces Liebknecht and Luxemburg in Germany. In Hungary it killed Samuéli. In Russia it murdered Uritsky and Volodarsky. It made an attempt at Lenin's life by means of a woman Socialist-Revolutionary, who thought she was "saving the revolution." In Moscow it killed the best workers, by the hands of dull-headed Anarchists, at the moment when Denikin was near Tula. In Austria it attempted to poison Bela Kun and his friends. It will still continue its attempts to behead International Communism. It will often try to utilise the stupidity and inexperience of the young and new members of the Party. Therefore the Communist International calls upon you again and again, "Comrades, beware of the bourgeoisie."

The Communist International is leading the army of the international proletariat to the fight. This army can be victorious only if all its national detachments—the separate Communist Parties in the different countries—will be not a herd of animals growling and snarling at each other, but disciplined ranks of class-conscious Communist proletarians.

The revolution has no need of provocators or of dull-headed idiots who, with all good intentions, betray it. The proletarian revolution wants class-conscious comrades, who will not allow themselves to be caught by any snares of the bourgeoisie, who look upon proletarian discipline not as a plaything but a vital law of the stern, grand, and formidable workers' struggle against capital. Such men, such workers, are united in the Communist International; and it is with pain, abhorrence, and indignation that they will learn of the disorganisers who have wished to solve their Party squabbles by directing their revolvers against the breast of an unarmed woman and the heads of unarmed brothers of their own class. Anyone who desires to decide disputes in this way, who sympathises with such acts, who approves of them, can find no place in the international union of workers, but, like a traitor, will be driven away out of the Communist family. Let the bourgeois papers sing hymns in his praise, let the capitalist cannibals kiss him on the lips. Let him be embraced by the Mannerheims, Wrangels, Horthys. He is not one of us, because he is against the *workers*.

Comrades! The Communist International lowers its banners before the bodies of the fallen warriors! May their memory live everlastingly! May their blood serve as a lesson to those who have eyes to see, who have ears to hear!

Down with the international seducer—the bourgeoisie!

Long live the proletarian fighters' solidarity!

Long live the victory of the international proletariat!

The Executive Committee of the Third Communist International:

N. BUKHARIN (Russia).

E. MEYER (Germany).

A. RUDNIANSKY (Hungary).

M. KOBETZKY (Secretary).

September 11, 1920.

Address of the Communist International to the Workers of England and France

THE workers of the whole world, and especially those of England and France, should concentrate all their attention on the course of events to-day. The war between White Poland and Soviet Russia is war between the bourgeoisie and the proletariat of the entire world. This has now become clear to every intelligent worker. The issue of this war is to be determined by the conduct of the English and French workers.

How did the present state of affairs come about?

The united efforts of the English and French bourgeoisie enabled the Polish capitalists and landlords to organise an army of about half-a-million men, which was hurled against Soviet Russia in the spring of this year. The defeat of Koltchak, Denikin, Yudenich, and Miller, those Tsarist generals who have carried on civil war against Russian workers and peasants on English and French money, has forced the Allies to change only the form of intervention in Russian affairs. By means of all possible diplomatic machinations, the English and French bourgeoisie is trying to make the world believe that it has nothing to do with the campaign of the Polish nobles against the Soviet Russian Republic. But what are the facts? During many months the bourgeois government of Poland has been receiving from the Allies money, ammunition, food supplies, officers, etc., etc. When the Tsarist General, Wrangel, the ally and henchman of the Polish bourgeois government, was defeated by the Red Army in the spring of this year, and got himself into a difficult situation, the English Foreign Office interfered on behalf of Wrangel, addressing a number of official notes to the Soviet Government, and delaying negotiations till the Tsarist generals, having recovered, have taken up a new offensive against the workers and peasants of Soviet Russia. The English Premier, Lloyd George, is trying to make it appear that England should not induce Poland to make war, and that the English Government is even now concerned with nothing more than the preservation of Polish independence. But as soon as the Polish White Armies

got into a precarious situation, the English Government came out with a number of ultimatums against Soviet Russia, interrupted the peace negotiations with the Russian delegation in London, in order to exercise pressure on the Soviet Government.

The policy of the French bourgeoisie on this matter is even more pronounced. The French Press reiterates in diverse ways that the fate of the Polish bourgeoisie is bound up with that of the bourgeoisie of Europe. The French bourgeoisie has declared openly that it regards the cause of the Polish landlords and capitalists as its own cause, and that it is going to support the piratical campaign of the Polish capitalists against Soviet Russia with all possible means. In addition to this the French government, defying the working people of its own country, has solemnly recognised the "government" of the Black Hundred Baron Wrangel, that new pretender to the Russian throne, the worthy disciple and successor of the Tsarist Generals Denikin and Koltchak.

The English Government appears not to agree with the French Government on this question. There certainly are differences between the English and the French capitalists. The English merchants are preparing—if things come to the worst—to start commercial relations with Russia and heap up profits. The French merchants, on the other hand, are embittered at the fact that France, which has been ruined by the imperialist slaughter, and is dependent upon English capital, has nothing to trade with because she is herself in need of everything. The discord existing between our enemies is, of course, to our advantage. But we must not forget that this is merely a quarrel between friends, and that in the struggle against the revolutionary proletariat the English and French bourgeoisie will easily come to an agreement. The English and French capitalists will soon forget their differences and unite in their fight against the Republic of workers and peasants.

The leaders of English and French imperialism are working out a plan for the organisation

of a new campaign against the Soviet Government, and they will not stop before a new European war. The French capitalists are bargaining with the German bourgeois Government over the price for which the German landlords and capitalists would agree to join the war against Soviet Russia. The Roumanian boyars, the Hungarian hooligans, and the Finnish White Guards are being instigated against Soviet Russia by the English and French Governments.

At this moment, when the Communist International is addressing this appeal to you, it is not known yet whether the English and French capitalists are going to be successful in calling out a new war and organising a crusade against the first Labour Republic in the world. Thanks to the powerful assistance of English and French capital, the armies of White Poland have taken up the counter-offensive against the Soviet armies. The first indications of military successes have induced the Polish capitalists to thwart the peace negotiations, with the clear purpose of continuing the war. Millerand is sending telegrams of greetings to Pilsudsky, the military leader of reactionary Poland. The English Government is also secretly aiding the Polish bands. All imperialists are again cherishing the hope of being able to tighten the noose around Soviet Russia by means of the Polish White troops.

Now, what is the proletariat of Europe doing, and what is it going to do, in face of these circumstances? This is the vital question of the day.

The Communist International hails the splendid movement begun in England, which is daily assuming a more definite revolutionary character. It is for the first time, after many critical years, that the English working class has started upon the performance of its revolutionary mission. This fact is the most significant event in the political history of our times. A "Council of Action" has been created in England to lead this powerful movement of millions of workers which we are now witnessing in England.

In France, the working people are just beginning to stir. Up till now the French working class submitted to the arrest of its best leaders without raising any protest. The Party and Trade Unions in France have failed to offer proper resistance to the oppression of the French imperialists. Only recently the French Government found it possible to deport with impunity

two very moderate representatives of the English Labour movement who came to Paris in order to arrive at an understanding with the French Labour organisations about a common policy. But now one Labour organisation after another is passing resolutions calling for a general strike should the French bourgeoisie persist in its hostile activity against Soviet Russia.

The old leaders, even of the moderate Trade Unions, are taking a turn towards the Left under the pressure of the proletarian masses. Already we hear radical revolutionary phrases coming from the mouths of the most moderate leaders of the opportunist wing in England and in France.

The Communist International considers it its duty to warn you, French and English comrades, to be on your guard. If the leaders of the Council of Action in England, and of similar Councils springing up in other countries, are really going to do their duty by the proletariat, if their words will be followed by deeds, if they will remain faithful throughout, we will certainly be the first to welcome this fact. But we must not be oblivious of the past. We must not forget the lesson of the July strike of last year. We still remember that the English and French opportunists, induced by the attitude of the masses, expressed themselves in favour of and advocated that strike. But what were the consequences? The opportunists put themselves at the head of the movement in order to betray it at the critical moment. The adherents of the Second International have made themselves the champions of the new movement with a view of sabotaging it from within. The international situation in July, 1919, was such that the treachery of the adherents of the Second International led to the destruction of the Soviet Government of Hungary. The international situation now, at the end of the summer of 1920, is such that another treachery of a similar kind may cause the international proletariat even greater injury.

The old school of "Labour leaders" of France and England were forced by the labouring masses of those countries to modify their conservative attitude. The fact that Thomas, Henderson, MacDonald, Merheim, Jouhaux, and other opportunists, have gone as far as to threaten the bourgeoisie with a general strike indicates that the masses of the working people of England and France are determined to begin

the actual revolutionary struggle against the international imperialist bandits.

Workers of England and France! It may be stated, without exaggeration, that you hold the destiny of Europe in your own hands. It behoves you, therefore, not only to be firm, to be on your guard, and rely only upon yourselves; you must watch every step of the would-be adherents of the revolutionary struggle, who only yesterday hampered every advance of the revolutionary movement. Organise your scouting parties! Create such a revolutionary organisation as will prove independent of the whims, vacillations, and betrayals of the "influential" opportunists. Build up your Communist organisations, and give your support to the Communist Party. Carry out the decisions of the Second Congress of the Communist International. Do not relax in your onslaughts against the bourgeoisie. Continue the fight so well begun against the chances of a new European war. Render powerful assistance to the Soviet Republic in its defensive war against the Polish bourgeoisie, which is the vanguard of International Capitalism. Remember that no serious results can be obtained by mere mass meetings and resolutions of protest. The tactics of folded arms is not the pledge of victory. The general strike is only the first form of attack, and not the last, in the impending struggle. The armed rising, the dictatorship of the proletariat, and the organisation of the Soviet Government—these are the real weapons by means of which the working class is going to change the state of affairs in modern Europe and in the entire world. Wake up, workers of France! Organise your onslaught

upon the bulwark of world reaction situated in Paris!

Workers of England! The workers of the whole world are watching the struggle begun by you with abated breath! Do not halt in the course upon which you have just started! Sound the trumpets of war! Let the British working class finally accomplish the historic mission for which it is destined—to be the decisive factor in the fate of England and consequently in the fate of all Europe.

Long live the working class of England and France!

All hail to the struggle of the English and French workers against their own oppressors and the exploiters of the workers of all the world—a struggle which is ever strengthening, ever spreading, and becoming more accentuated!

All hail to the common struggle of the workers of all countries in defence of the Soviet Republic! Let the boycott of White Poland become general! See to it that the Allies be in very deed deprived of all possibility of supporting White Poland. Let not a single car load of ammunition reach the boundaries of Poland. Let workers' councils be launched in England and France. Let the working class of France and England put forward its own leaders, firm and resolute, who will carry the struggle to its final culmination.

Get organised for the general revolutionary strike and the armed rising!

Down with the English and French Governments of imperialist robbers.

Long live the Dictatorship of the Proletariat in England and France! Long live Soviet England and Soviet France!

THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE OF THE
COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL.

To the Central Committee and the Members of the Italian Socialist Party

To all the Revolutionary Proletarians of Italy

From the Executive Committee of the Communist International

DEAR COMRADES,

You will receive all the resolutions and information concerning the Second Universal Congress of the Communist International from your delegation. In addition to this, the Executive Committee in this letter calls your attention to

several items of the resolutions directly dealing with the Italian section of the International Association of the Revolutionary Communist Proletariat.

We trust we have obtained a clear idea as to the state of the Italian party from the official

report of your delegates, from the newspapers and other sources of information which they have brought us, as well as from the numerous conversations which we had with the Italian comrades. All the Italian delegates have been informed of the chief points of this letter: we have discussed these problems with them in detail. In this letter, the Executive Committee requests with full proletarian frankness that all members of the Italian party should pay due attention to certain shortcomings in the policy of your party. The Executive Committee considers it not only its right but its duty to do this. The struggling proletariat in no case intends to employ diplomatic or bureaucratic methods to conceal or excuse any of the fallacies or misdoings of which its organisations may be guilty. We are not at all interested in paying each other compliments; what we really want is to learn from experience of the movement of the emancipation of labour in all countries.

The Italian proletariat and party are to be found in the front line of the international fight against capital. Your party was one of the first to affiliate with the Third International. That is all the more reason for a clear understanding as regards tactics; and as rapidly as possible to suppress the harmful resistance which arises from the intentional and unintentional mistakes of the party.

* * * * *

Comrades. First of all we draw your attention to the general international state of affairs. It is obvious that the period of a decisive combat with capital has arrived. The war between capitalist Poland and proletarian Russia, a war in which the former is supported by the entire capitalist world, inevitably becomes a general European struggle between Capital and Labour. It is therefore the duty of every party which actually stands on the platform of proletarian dictatorship at the right moment to throw into the balance all the revolutionary energy of the proletariat. The point of view of indefinitely waiting for a revolution in other countries is at the present moment absolutely wrong. The arguments of certain comrades in Italy to the effect that it is necessary to wait until there is a revolution in Germany or England before making a revolution in Italy, as that country cannot subsist without imported coal, is analogous to arguments of the same kind of comrades in other countries. It is alleged that no revolution can

be made in Germany owing to the fact that the Entente is attacking that country; that in Austria a revolution is impossible because America and the colonies would refuse to trade with her. It is obvious that this outlook establishes a mutual guarantee of safety for the *capitalists* of various countries against revolution, and *delays* the international revolution at the very moment when every attempt should be made to *forward* and *develop* revolution.

The Executive Committee is fully aware of the fact that there are times when it is more advisable for the proletariat to wait until its powers have grown to the full extent, while those of the bourgeoisie should become weaker. But it should never be forgotten that every hour of "respite" that the bourgeoisie wins is in its turn utilised by the bourgeoisie for the organisation of *its* forces, for the formation of a bourgeois White Guard, for arming the bourgeois young male population, the village profiteers, and so forth.

It is obvious that the Italian bourgeoisie is not so helpless as it was a year ago. The Italian bourgeoisie is organising its forces and arming with feverish haste. It is equally busy with the work of disorganising and demoralising the Italian proletariat by means of the reformists.

The danger is great. Should the Italian bourgeoisie get a little stronger, it will begin to show its fangs.

Those few comrades who intimidate the Italian workers by the threat of Entente action are either intentionally or unintentionally misleading the workers. The Entente will now *be unable* to send its troops against the Italian workers in revolt against their bourgeoisie. The events which have taken place in England, in connection with the attempt of the British imperialists actively to support White Poland, is clear proof of this. The British working class is becoming revolutionised. The French bourgeoisie will not dare to send its troops in order to suppress the proletarian revolution in Italy. Should she enter that risk, she would no doubt break her neck over it. Those Italian Labour leaders who intimidate the workers with a possible blockade, in the event of a victorious proletarian insurrection, are not dealing with the question from its proper aspect. Let us indeed allow for a moment that such a blockade is possible. Is that, in any case, an argument against revolution?

It is quite obvious that in no place in the world

is the victory of the proletariat possible at the present moment without a great deal of suffering and destitution caused to the workers. Remember that Soviet Russia has been suffering now from the blockade for three years.

Should the progress of the revolution not be rapid in other countries, it is possible that the Italian proletariat will also have to pass the difficult and heavy road along which the Russian proletariat is proceeding since the time of the great revolution in October, 1917.

But it is much more likely that the progress of the Italian revolution will be much less painful and difficult. Soviet Russia had for a long time to fight *alone* against the entire bourgeois world. The Italian proletarian revolution will at all events not have to fight alone.

The unanimity of the Italian working class is really wonderful; the entire proletariat is in *favour* of revolution. The Italian bourgeoisie can in no case depend upon its regular troops. At the decisive moment these troops will join the revolutionists. The agricultural workers are also in favour of the revolution, and equally so is the great part of the peasantry. The last word is now entirely with the Italian Labour Party.

The Italian bourgeoisie apprehends a storm. Not in vain does it work with such fever at forming its bourgeois White Guard. Partial combats often reach such intensity that, as in the case of Ancona, the workers have been known to lose 200 men, whilst the bourgeoisie lost as many as 400 men. The civil war is spreading. Under such conditions, the indefiniteness of the position, vacillation and irresolution within the Party are likely to result in incalculable misfortunes to the working class.

Instead of safeguarding the capitalists from revolution, it is necessary to do everything to guarantee its success. The only way of doing this is by accelerating the revolution; not by means of unpremeditated individual outbursts, but by real unanimous activity.

The Executive Committee draws attention to another danger which results from the artificial delay of the inevitable explosion. The whole of Europe is economically exhausted to such an extent that the reserves left from the capitalist system are dwindling with catastrophic rapidity. This, however, is the reserve which has been created by many years of hard labour of the workers, and which will have to serve the victorious proletariat during the first phase of its

domination. Therefore, all other conditions being equal, every day of unnecessary delay is a tremendous difficulty created for proletarian dictatorship. We repeat: We are against an artificial provocation of means and ways. We are against unpremeditated individual outbursts. But we are equally against the proletarian party turning into a fire brigade to extinguish the flames of the revolution, when it is breaking out through every pore of the capitalist society.

In Italy, at the present time, all the principal conditions of *a victorious, truly national, great proletarian revolution are present*. This must be understood. Activity should be based on this. This is a statement insistently repeated by the Third International. All further events will be defined by the Italian comrades themselves.

Judging from this point of view, we are of the opinion that the Italian Socialist Party has been and is acting too indecisively. We daily receive news of growing unrest. The delegates assure us that the situation in Italy is altogether revolutionary, but in most cases the Party is *either* a passive onlooker or attempts to hold back the tide of revolution. It does not strive to *organise or systematise the movement, to introduce watchwords, or to call for decisive action against the bourgeoisie*. As a result of this, the masses are under the influence of the anarchists, which threatens the Party with losing its authority, and is the cause of numerous harmful consequences. In this way, it is not the Party that leads the masses, but it is the latter that bring pressure to bear on the former. This state of affairs is absolutely inadmissible.

Should we try to analyse the reason for this state of things, we shall find that the principal reason is that the Party has become deteriorated by reformist and liberal bourgeois elements, which in every instance of civil war become the direct agents of counter-revolution and class enemies of the proletariat. It is most naïve and absurd to confuse the personal honesty and respectability of these men with the objectively harmful part which they play. It is possible that MM. Turati, Modigliani, and Prampolini are personally honest, but objectively they are enemies to the revolutions, who should not be admitted to the party of the Communist proletariat. Every Parliamentary speech, every article, every pamphlet made and written by a reformist, is essentially a spiritual weapon of the bourgeoisie against the proletariat. It is impos-

sible to educate the masses for proletarian dictatorship so long as there are adversaries in the ranks of the proletarian party. The masses cannot possibly be organised for direct action so long as the ranks contain either open or concealed opponents who are against direct action in principle. So long as the ranks of the proletarian party contain enemies to the revolution, men who are adherents to the idea of evolutionary Socialism, the proletariat cannot be organised for a revolution by force. But in view of the fact that the Italian Party still contains such elements, naturally its policy will be one of duplicity. The Parliamentary group of the Party is overburdened with the heavy ballast of reformism, and in consequence of this it is impossible for it to pursue an actually revolutionary policy. It is indispensable for the proletariat to utilise the Parliamentary tribune. But for this it is necessary that the entire activity of the group should reflect the revolutionary tactics of the proletariat.

Unfortunately, that cannot be said of the Italian Parliamentary group. This state of affairs gives rise to a boycott movement within the Party—a movement which is not justifiable in regard to boycottism, but is perfectly right as regards the demand for the elimination of the reformists from the Party.

The position of the *Trade Unions* in Italy is still worse. Without a proper guidance by the Party of these mass organisations, it is impossible for the proletariat to be victorious. It must be mentioned that the greater number of important posts in the Italian Trade Union movement are held by the reformists, the bureaucratic clique who have the control of the Trade Union apparatus, and who impede by all possible means the development of the revolution. It is sufficient to say that these men failed to convene a general Conference of the Italian Trade Unions for a period of over six years. The reason for this was that they apprehended the possibility of letting the rudder out of their semi-bourgeois hands. The workers are in favour of revolution. The Trade Unions are against. The Italian Trade Unions, who amalgamated with your Party, are, up to the present time, a component part of the Yellow, treacherous International. Amsterdam is an avowed imperialist agency; the leaders of your Unions, such men as Daragona and others, are reformists who collaborate with the bourgeoisie in the commissions established

by the capitalists in order to fight the revolution. Such a state of things is absolutely intolerable. This is not the way that proletarian dictatorship can be organised. The Party is bound to dismiss the reformist leaders, and to replace the bourgeois agents by real leaders of the proletarian revolution. The Party should help the workers to transform the Trade Unions into a fortress of the proletarian revolution.

The Second Universal Congress of the Communist International, just like the First Constituent Convention of the Communist International, expressed itself in favour of a close alliance with all actual revolutionary proletarian syndicalist-anarchist elements, the shop steward committees, and the I.W.W.

The Second Congress has brought about this closer relation, to the great benefit of the Labour movement. The same should be done in every country, including Italy. Those tens of thousands of revolutionary proletarians who belong to the Unions led by anarchists and syndicalists (the I.W.W. and the shop stewards' committees) are a thousand times nearer to us than the reformists, who are ready nominally to belong to the Third International, but who actually impede every important step of the proletarian revolution.

Anarchism can only be defeated by first defeating reformism. Let the Italian comrades not forget this. And let them draw a resolute and courageous conclusion from this—as should be the conduct of serious revolutionists in a revolutionary epoch.

The elimination of reformist elements from the Party, the co-operation of the Party in the revolutionary struggle with the best proletarian section of the syndicalists and the anarchists—such is the war-cry of the day.

A merciless struggle against the Right reformist elements, who are objective class enemies of the proletariat, should be proclaimed. A patient elucidation of the fallacies of, and a systematic establishment of a closer relation with the proletarian, syndicalist, and anarchist elements, this is our method.

The entire skill of the proletarian strategy is based upon the connection that exists between the Party and the wide masses of the workers. The Party should therefore pay proper attention to the important shop-steward movement; the Party should everywhere be the active leader of this movement, both in the centre as well as in

the localities, by no means evading such activity on the plea that the movement is "unorganised," "infantile," "chaotic," and so forth. It is the duty of the Party to remove these drawbacks, to help this movement to spread and develop, and to lead it into the general organised revolutionary current. The fate of the whole movement depends to a great extent upon the solution of this question. The class enemies of the proletariat understand perfectly the true state of things. The correspondent of the Paris bourgeois paper, *Information*, has rightly pointed out that the key to the fate of the revolution in Italy is in the hands of the Italian Socialist Party: If the Party follows the Turati policy—that means life to capitalism; if it will take the road of a revolutionary struggle—capitalism will be dead. Prominent leaders of your Party have informed us that this kind of statement is continually made in Italy by the most influential organs of the Italian bourgeoisie.

This is not at all accidental. The bourgeoisie of almost the whole of Europe, at the present moment, maintains its power owing to the support of the reformists, i.e., the yellow and pink "Socialists."

In Germany, the bourgeoisie is saved by the Schiedemanns and Kautskys. The same service is rendered to the Austrian bourgeoisie by the Bauers and Renners. In Sweden, by the Brantings and Palmerns. In Belgium by the Vanderfeldes and the Debroukeres. In Holland, by the Troelstras and the Vliegengs. In Poland, the Dasinskys and the Pilsudskys. There is full reason for the bourgeois selecting its ministers out of the "Socialists." There is full reason why the Italian bourgeoisie is ready at any moment to appoint as ministers such men as Modigliani, Dugoni, and company. There is equally good reason why the Italian Government systematically appoints reformists, the leaders of the Trade Unions, for the most important parliamentary commissions. The fate of Italian capitalism now depends upon the policy of your Party. The Executive Committee expresses its full conviction that the Italian Party will not prolong the life of capitalism even for a single day.

Therefore, the Executive Committee appeals to the Central Committee of the Italian Socialist Party, in the name of international solidarity and the world revolution, to raise all these questions for discussion in all Party organisations, in accordance with the decision of the Congress, and

to make every attempt that these questions be solved at the Party Convention in the nearest possible future. The Executive Committee considers it necessary to declare that the question of the elimination from the Party of undesirable elements, as well as the question of all the other conditions of affiliation to the Third International, it is compelled to present in a most ultimative form; as otherwise it can take no responsibility for its Italian branch before the international proletariat. The Executive Committee trusts that the valorous Italian proletariat will allow no desertion, and will occupy one of the principal places in the approaching world struggle, which will secure the iron power of the proletarian dictatorship.

The Second Universal Congress of the Communist International expressed itself to the effect that the Communist Parties should be built upon the principle of strict centralisation, that an iron discipline should prevail in them, that their Central Committees are granted greater authority by the Congress. The civil war which, just like every other kind of war, demands military discipline and a firm welding, cannot possibly be conducted without these.

But no serious proletarian discipline is possible in the Italian Party as long as the semi-bourgeois elements remain in important posts. Every speech of Turati, Modigliani, and Co. undermines the discipline of your party. The very existence of Turati, Modigliani, and Co. in the Party is actually a negation of all serious proletarian discipline. The enemy is in our own house. Convinced and conscious enemies of the proletarian revolution should under no circumstances be retained in the ranks of the Party.

The Communist International requests the Italian workers to free the Party from its bourgeois ballast, which will help the working class, with the assistance of the iron discipline of the proletarian party, to lead it forward in the battle against the stronghold of capitalism.

The Third International was approached by the German Independents, who have a million members, by the French Socialist Party, and by other parties, with a view to affiliation with the Communist International. These parties will not be affiliated unless they accept the twenty-one obligatory conditions which were drawn up. We shall not permit that our international militant organisation be diluted. We do not consider quantity as of foremost importance.

We have no desire whatever to be shackled, and we shall allow no reformists in our ranks. These conditions are obligatory for all of us, including the Italian Party.

The moment of decisive battles is imminent. Italy *will be* a Soviet country. The Italian Party *will be* a Communist Party.

The Italian proletariat will be the best detachment of the International proletarian army.

Long live the Italian Communist Party!

Long live the Italian Soviet Republic!

Long live the Italian proletarian Revolution!

With Communist greetings,
Chairman of the Executive Committee of the
Communist International,

G. ZINOVIEV.

Members of the Executive Committee of the
Communist International,

N. BUKHARIN,

N. LENIN.

Petrograd—Moscow,

August 27, 1920.

To the Presidium and all the Members of the Communist Party of German Austria

COMRADES,

After hearing all the arguments and objections against the utilisation of parliamentarism, and after a detailed discussion on the subject, the Second World Congress of the Third International decided that parliamentarism, if only as an auxiliary measure, must not be lacking in the revolutionary militant arsenal. Within the Communist International, a complete unanimity has been arrived at on the question that parliamentarism, as a State system, is an instrument created by the bourgeoisie for the enslavement of the proletariat. Therefore, the motto of the Communists cannot be the winning over and support of parliamentarism, but, on the contrary, the greatest struggle against it and its annihilation. The dictatorship of the proletariat has developed its own form of realisation of the proletarian power: the Workers' Soviets. The bourgeoisie must be deprived of all the methods and forms of its class apparatus for the realisation of its rule, and the latter must be destroyed. And although among the positions of the bourgeoisie parliamentarism is not one of the strongest—the army, the entire bureaucratic apparatus of the State, and many others, are much more powerful supports of the bourgeoisie—nevertheless, the immediate abolition of parliamentarism is one of the first tasks of the victorious proletariat. The practical suppression of parliamentarism must be prepared mentally by the destruction of all illusions regarding bourgeois democracy and its weapon—parliament-

arism. Many circles of the working class still retain the false idea that parliamentarism, presenting the most equitable system of suffrage, is an adequate expression of the will of the people. This idea is still reigning among the numerous partisans of the social-patriotic parties, and like a phantom is hovering over the social-pacifist organisations of the centrists. The abolition of these prejudices in the working classes is, therefore, one of the most important tasks for the preparation to the seizure of the power.

In what way should such a preparation be carried out best? This is a contestable question, which has been oftentimes discussed by the International. The Second World Congress, which included the representatives of 37 countries, submitted the experience of the Communist Parties of all these countries and the views of different parties on the subject, to a detailed criticism; and categorically expressed its opinion in favour of the revolutionary utilisation of parliamentarism. The Communist International rejects on principle anti-parliamentarism, in the sense of an absolute refusal to participate in the elections, and characterises it as a naïve conception of the essence and task of the Communist Party, although often to be explained by a feeling of healthy disgust towards the parliamentary political traders. The activity of Liebknecht in the German Reichstag, the participation of the Bolsheviki in the Tsarist Duma and in the elections to the Constituent Assembly, which they soon dissolved—these are examples of a complete reconciliation between

revolutionary work and participation in elections. And even more: they serve to prove that parliamentarism may and should be made to serve the revolution. A participation in parliamentarism, not for the purpose of supporting it, but for its annihilation—that is the revolutionary utilisation of parliamentarism.

In virtue of this resolution, and according to its spirit, the Executive Committee decided that your Party, comrades, ought to take part in the forthcoming parliamentary, municipal, and Landtag elections. We expect from you that you will comply with this resolution, not only out of considerations of discipline, which is the basis for all activity of the Communist International and the Communist Parties adhering to it; we are certain that upon mature deliberation on the political situation, especially that of Austria, and the points of view accepted on this question by the Second Congress, you will also become convinced of the expediency of your participating in the election campaign.

The theses concerning parliamentarism accepted by the Congress give irrefutable proof that participation in elections may be made use of for the purpose of agitation against parliamentarism as a bourgeois form of government, and for the propagation of the idea of Workers' Soviets. A principled electoral campaign carried on under the motto: "for the dictatorship of the Soviets against parliamentarism"—will in nowise injure the position of your Workers' Soviets, the importance of which in Austria we fully appreciate; it will strengthen their position still more through the further propagation of the Communist demands. The electoral struggle which is carried on for the destruction of all illusions in regard to bourgeois democracy and bourgeois parliamentarism will never call forth a strengthening of these illusions. For the methods of conducting the elections, for the election of parliamentary candidates, and for the activity of the Communist members of parliament the Second Congress has established precise instructions, the execution of which is subject to the control of the Party and the Central Committee of the same, and constitutes an absolute guarantee for the avoidance of all opportunist parliamentary policy.

And, comrades, you must not deny the revolutionary importance that a complete utilisation of the elections and the parliamentary tribune may have.

The internal political situation of Austria authoritatively demands such a revolutionary utilisation. The Workers' Soviets in German Austria have been able in general to withstand the danger of becoming converted into weapons of bourgeois democracy by the social-patriots and social-pacifists. But the including of the Soviets in the Constitution, as proposed in Germany by Hilferding and Breitscheid—that is, the subordination and separation of the Soviets in the interests of bourgeois democracy—represents a danger for Austria which is not yet quite overcome. Therefore, it is necessary that not only should the Workers' Soviets jealously and watchfully protect their rights and strive to develop them, but that all attempts to suppress the Soviets by parliamentary means should be denounced and defeated on the spot—that is to say, in parliament itself. The struggle between the Workers' Soviets and democracy, which is ever being resumed by the bourgeoisie in all forms, even the most concealed ones, must be started in parliament also by the revolutionary proletariat, in order to propagate among the wider working circles the clearest views in regard to the irreconcilability of the Soviet dictatorship and democracy. The indifferent stratifications of the working population, especially in the villages, are further from the revolutionary movement, and more alien to it, than the industrial proletariat of the larger centres. It is easier to win over the latter by the electoral campaign, and from the parliamentary tribune. But the attraction of the village population to the revolutionary movement is, as has been proved by the experience of Russia and Hungary, a necessary premise for the victory of the proletariat. It would be a mistake to abandon a political measure which is especially suitable to this task.

The boycotting of the elections might easily lead to a reproach being directed against our Party, on the part of the unenlightened workers, in that we had facilitated in parliament the activity of the enemy of the Workers' Soviets, by retiring from the struggle. Whereas, if you take part in the elections, you will give to the most politically backward workers an irrefutable proof of the fact that, notwithstanding your participation in it, parliament is the most implacable enemy of the Workers' Soviets, and of all the real interests of the workers, and that only the suppression of parliament and its replacement by Workers' Soviets can lead to a satisfactory solu-

tion of the struggle in the interests of the workers.

The simultaneous holding of the parliamentary and Soviet elections in Austria will only facilitate the juxtaposition of the Soviets and parliament, and excite the interest in the Workers' Soviets on the part of the unenlightened masses and the villages.

The results of the parliamentary elections has this time a special importance for the development of the internal political situation in Austria. Already the social-patriotic and the Christian-Socialist coalition is broken, and it is replaced by a collaboration of all parties, including the German National Party. The forthcoming elections are being utilised by the bourgeoisie with the utmost energy, in order to obtain a considerable active bourgeois majority. But such a purely bourgeois coalition will certainly have for its object the complete abolition of the Workers' Soviets, and it will endeavour to carry this out. Do you desire, comrades, that in this struggle for the Workers' Soviets in parliament your Party should remain inactive? Ought it not, on the contrary, to take a direct part in the developing struggle in parliament itself, in order to destroy all illusions in the smallest and remotest hut of the peasant in regard to the nature of this parliament? If the bourgeoisie and its treacherous adherents desire to strangle the Workers' Soviets, and are reviling this "spurious government," it is the duty of your Party to denounce such hypocrisy at once in parliament and to stigmatise such treachery.

Yes, the Austrian parliament has frequently exposed itself. The comedy of socialisation ended in the shameful history of the "Alpina" company; the debates on the law project, on the Property Tax, laid bare the real nature of bourgeois democracy, as a complete contemning of the interests of the workers. However, the new parliament which is about to be elected will discuss a whole series of measures, the exposure of which from the Communist point of view, at each stage of the work, is urgently necessary for the enlightenment of the wider masses. The discussion of the Constitution, the union with Ger-

many—we are citing only these two most important questions—must not pass without our Party proving in each separate case, from the same parliamentary tribune, how every bourgeois attempt to solve the question tramples underfoot the interests of the proletariat.

Comrades! The internal political situation, the uniting of the world counter-revolution for the purpose of dealing a more powerful blow to the revolution, and its strongest rampart, Soviet Russia, must compel you to strain all your efforts, and use all the means at your disposal, to explain the importance of this struggle and the price of the victory of the proletariat to the most unenlightened and inexperienced worker, and urge him to take an active part in the struggle on the side of the advance guard of the revolution. In all countries the fact that the wider masses are still following the social-traitors, and still hoping to improve the conditions of life by means of reforms, and that they do not recognise the true meaning of bourgeois democracy and of parliamentarism, is the greatest brake stemming the forces and the victory of the proletariat. The whole electoral propaganda must be carried on from the point of view of mass demonstrations and their support; this is the most pressing duty of the revolutionary proletariat under the present conditions. It is for the development of the revolutionary action that the election campaign in Austria can and must serve.

Comrades! Begin the struggle against parliamentarism in parliament itself. Enrol and assemble new labour battalions which are still standing apart from the revolution. Carry on your electoral propaganda under the revolutionary mottoes:

Against bourgeois democracy!
 Against parliamentarism!
 For the dictatorship of the proletariat!
 All the power to the Workers' Soviets!
 To the help of Soviet Russia!
 Long live the world revolution!
 With Communist greetings,

THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE OF THE
 COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL.

Moscow, August 26, 1920.

To the Central Committee and all the Members of the Communist Labour Party of Germany

COMRADES,

Some time ago you addressed yourselves to us, after your Constituent Party Congress, and asked us to receive you into the Communist International. We have discussed the state of affairs in all its details with the representatives whom you sent here for a verbal explanation of your point of view. We have stated the result of our negotiations in our letter to you dated June 2, 1920. In this letter we explained in detail to you what position we occupy in the questions separating you from the Communist Party of Germany (the Spartacus Union); and we expressed our hope that you will again think over, discuss, and then establish another point of view from the one you have been professing up to now. We desired to give you the possibility of defending your point of view before the widest circles. We did not wish to state our opinion as that of the entire Communist International in the aggregate; and therefore we asked you to send your representatives to the Second Congress of the Communist International, that the Congress might hear from your own lips what your wishes are, and that it might found its opinion on what your representatives would say. You sent your representatives. We received them here as comrades and gave them a consultative vote, as they did not claim more, declaring that they were not in a position to acknowledge some of the resolutions of the Congress as binding for themselves. On insignificant pretexts, your representatives then further informed us that they did not wish to take part in the Congress, as they could not exercise any influence on its resolutions. In view of this we did not delay a moment in according to them the full rights of a decisive vote at our Congress; that is, we gave a place and a vote to an organisation whose representatives had at the same time declared that our resolutions would not be binding to them. We thought, comrades, that we had attained all that was possible and done what each of you would have approved.

But, quite unexpectedly for us and, it seems,

for you, comrades, your representatives declined to take part in the Congress, even under such conditions; and even more: they notified us that the declaration of your Party regarding the joining of the Communist International must be considered as retracted—that is to say, your representatives annulled the resolution of your Party Congress which had expressed its willingness to join the Communist International.

Comrades! We do not wish to conceal from you the impression such conduct of your representatives made upon us. Already, in our letter to you, we had pointed out the danger which some of your leaders present to the cause of the revolution; and, bearing this in mind, we demanded their expulsion. We started from the considerations that these leaders of yours were at least subjectively convinced of the correctness of their ideas, although objectively they are false. We must confess that we cannot any longer sustain such a supposition. Because you will agree: whoever believes that he is right fears neither God nor devil—and, least of all, a Congress attended by the representatives of the best part of the international revolutionary proletariat. But your representatives declined to appear before this assembly, where, if they themselves believed in their cause, they might have won over to their side the representatives of the international revolutionary proletariat. Such conduct on the part of your representatives cannot be explained otherwise than as an act of cowardice. They did not dare to defend before the eyes of the world the theories by which they had carried confusion and havoc into the ranks of the German Communists at the most difficult moment of the German revolution. They have made not only themselves ridiculous by their conduct but you also, comrades—having deserted you in the face of publicity, to the great detriment of your cause. Many labour representatives had come to the Congress from all the countries of the world who, maybe, at first—if one excepts the nationalist treacheries of the Laufenbergs and Wolfheims—were nearer to

your point of view than to that of the Communist Party of Germany. Here were the representatives of the English Shop Stewards' Committees, the American Industrial Workers of the World, the French syndicalists, and many others. We had exchanged opinions in a friendly way during long debates. In the end they joined, on all fundamental theses, the point of view of the Communist International, and their organisations will approve the decisions of their representatives and become members of the Communist International. And you, thanks to the flight of your leaders from the battle field in the face of the world proletariat, have become quite isolated. Now you are drifting like flotsam in the mighty stream of the world revolution.

Meanwhile, your leaders are doing all they can to increase the chasm between you and the world proletariat, united in the Communist International. Your representatives, as we have said, formally retracted your declaration regarding your adherence to the Communist International, and explained that they are recommending to your Party watchful tactics for the future while preserving their complete independence. They explained that the Communist Labour Party of Germany refuses categorically to accept directions from Moscow. That means that they are guilty of the most audacious misrepresentation, in saying that the will of the Communist International is but "directions from Moscow": and, on the other hand, they decline to comply with what has been acknowledged by all revolutionists as necessary, namely: the closest union of the whole revolutionary proletariat of the world. They had explained, *a priori*, that they rejected our theses, which stand now approved by the revolutionary proletariat of the whole world, as totally undiscussable for them.

In Germany itself, the Laufenbergs and Wolfheims are doing all they can to divert you from Communism. They have slandered the mighty and heroic struggle of the Russian proletariat against the world capitalism, and represented it as a struggle "for world supremacy by means of Russian Communist Party institutions." At the very moment when English and French capitalism is inventing new blows to be dealt to Soviet Russia, and is attempting to convert Germany into a vast base for their campaign against Russia, they are endeavouring to divert the German proletariat from its revolutionary duties,

declaring that they repudiated the "transformation of Germany into a Russian frontier State"—as if any revolutionist could ever harbour such a thought.

At your latest Party Congress, you pronounced yourselves to be opponents of the nationalist doctrines of Laufenberg and Wolfheim. We see in this a favourable symptom that your Party has decided seriously to weed out all the non-Communist, petty-bourgeois ideology from its midst. But if your Party has at the same time "repudiated in principle the interference of the International in the internal affairs of your Party," then we must see in this the emanation of the "national Bolshevism," repudiated by you. Such a setting up of the point of view of one national section over the aggregate ideology of the whole International is at the same time completely in the spirit of the bankrupt Second International. By this resolution your Party Congress has sanctioned the sharply negative attitude of your representatives towards the Second Congress: that is to say, it has by this withdrawn from adherence to the Communist International, the organisation of the proletariat of the whole world. In this way your Party Congress sets its own views above those of the revolutionary parties of the whole world, founded on the widest experience.

Comrades, we ask you to study conscientiously the theses accepted by the Second Congress of the Communist International unanimously almost on all questions, and the debates of the Congress, and to decide whether you will work with your leaders against or without the Communist International, or whether, after a voluntary recognition of the resolutions of the Communist International, founded on a better comprehension of the same, you will join the ranks of the revolutionary proletariat of the world.

Comrades! We desire that you should recognise that you have been led astray and that you are being carried away further every day. We wish you to acknowledge that at this moment, so full of historical responsibility, which is advancing for the German as well as the world revolution, the ranks of the German Communists must be closed. We expect of you that you will not fence yourselves off like sectarians, but that, together with all Communists, you will carry out the necessary demonstrations demanded by the actual situation, and create the requisite organised forms (a Committee consisting of the repre-

representatives of all the revolutionary parties). Further, we consider necessary to propose to you to close ranks by joining again the German Communist Party. Your revolutionary zeal, your devotion to the cause of the revolution, the lesson that you also will have extracted from the split and its causes, which has been continued for some months, will also be useful to that Party, and in all cases when it will seem to you that it is moving too slowly it will depend on you to stimulate it to a more energetic activity. Thus, and only thus, will your efforts in the service of the German and of the world revolution be crowned with success.

In conclusion, we invite you again to send representatives of your Party, and if possible rank-and-file workers, so that we could once more discuss with you your misunderstanding of our resolutions and your mistaken views on a whole series of important tactical questions.

Long live the unity of the Communists of Germany!

Long live the German, long live the World Revolution!

With revolutionary greetings,

THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE OF THE
COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL.

Moscow, August 26, 1920.

To the Marxist Left Wing of the Czecho-Slovak Social-Democracy and the Communist Groups of Czecho-Slovakia

COMRADES,

The Executive Committee of the Communist International has lately received, in connection with the Second World Congress, more precise information regarding the development of the Communist movement in Czecho-Slovakia, and especially of the tactics of the Marxist Left Wing of the Czecho-Slovak Social Democracy, and the Communist groups of Czecho-Slovakia. The Executive Committee welcomes with pleasure the fact that the Czecho-Slovak proletariat is showing ever more and more its comprehension of the methods of the revolutionary class struggle.

The Executive Committee has noted that the Marxist Left Wing is striving to propagate the principles of the Third International in the ranks of the Social Democratic workers. These tactics of working within the old parties are in compliance with the former resolutions of the Executive Committee. The latter considers it necessary, however, to point out the danger of a dilution of the Communist policy included in the absolute adherence to the motto: "Everything for the sake of the Party unity." Considerations of internal Party tactics should never lead to political acts which might be looked upon by the workers as concessions to the State or administrative requirements of the bourgeois order. The approval by the Parliamentary group of the Marxist Left Wing of the declaration of the

Coalition Government proved to be too high a price to be paid for remaining further in the ranks of the Social Democratic Party. Moreover, some points of the declaration on the tactical conduct of the Marxist Left Wing in Parliament do not harmonise with the Parliamentary tactics of the Communist International as they are now clearly established in the theses accepted by the Second World Congress.

The Executive Committee expects that the Marxist Left Wing will do all it can to place the revolutionary Labour movement in Czecho-Slovakia on the platform of the theses approved by the Second Congress, and to carry out the tasks which the Left Wing has laid upon itself in its program declaration at the Party Congress; should the Left Wing fulfil its revolutionary obligations, it would thus realise the wishes of the wider circles of the proletariat.

The Executive Committee expects from the Communist groups in Czecho-Slovakia that they will bear in mind the formation of a single Communist Party and will struggle decisively against any manifestations of sectarianism in their ranks.

The Executive Committee confidently hopes that the Marxist Left Wing and also the Communist groups will become united in their endeavour to form a single Communist front throughout the whole Czecho-Slovak territory. From the Communist movement in Czecho-Slovakia must

result in the immediate future the initiative for the creation of a single centralised Communist Party. This Party will have to include the revolutionary proletariat of all the nationalities residing on the territory of Czecho-Slovakia.

The Executive Committee, as the representative of the revolutionary proletariat of all countries, has noted with pleasure the information regarding the rapid development of the revolutionary Labour movement in Czecho-Slovakia, which is more and more turning away from the nationalist opportunist policy towards strictly uncompromising revolutionary class tactics. The Executive Committee is following with the greatest interest the whole series of revolutionary acts

and manifestations of the Czecho-Slovak proletariat, and especially its class demonstrations against the interventionist policy of the capitalistic States in regard to Soviet Russia. The Executive Committee firmly hopes that the Czecho-Slovak proletariat will soon take its place on the platform of the principles of the Third International, and victoriously raise the banner of a Socialist revolution, hand in hand with the proletariat of the other nations of Europe.

With revolutionary greetings,

THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE OF THE
COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL.

Moscow, August 26, 1920.

THE INTERNATIONAL OF COMMUNIST YOUTH

After the Congress of Communist Youth

A Sketch of the Activities of the Executive Committee of the International of Communist Youth

By a Member of the Executive Committee of the International of Communist Youth

THE Berlin Congress marks one of the most important stages in the progress of our movement. At this Congress took place the unification (with insignificant exceptions) of nearly all the Leagues of Youth, in the World International of Communist Youth. That this unification was not a mere matter of form can be seen from the fact that all the most important decisions of the Congress were passed unanimously by all the delegates of the fourteen organisations which were represented at this assembly.

After the Congress, our International was joined by several more organisations: the Revolutionary-Socialist Union of Youth "De Zaaier" (Holland); the newly-founded "League of Young Socialists" (Manchester); the American "Independent Young People's Socialist League"; "the Young People's Socialist Union in South-Slavic countries" (only just formed); the "Communist Young People's Union of Lithuania and White Russia" (Bieloruss); the "Brussels Communist Group," formerly "Federation Bruxelloise des Jeunes Gardes Socialistes"; the Bulgarian "Young People's Communist Union."

The first task set before the new Executive Committee was to establish solid connections with all our organisations, and at present we already have an apparatus by means of which we are able to impart our decisions to all separate organisations, so that we may be always posted

concerning all that is being done by them, and regularly receive through them the literature of the Leagues of Youth and the various Communist Parties.

In this work of keeping up connections, our principal organs are the various secretariats created by the Congress, to convey the directions of the Executive Committee to the different places. The object of these directions is the awakening in the working youth of all countries of clearer class-consciousness, the reconstruction of organisations, and their firmer union on the basis of the program adopted by the Berlin Congress.

The work is carried on by us, so to speak, in three directions.

1. The ideological guidance of organisations which have already joined us, and giving them moral and material assistance. We must say that, in this respect, the Executive Committee has not had to display much activity, so satisfactory and successful has been the work of the separate organisations, especially that of the larger ones, the Swedish, Italian, Russian, and German, which, owing to a continuous influx of new members, constantly expand the limits of their activities and acquire an ever greater importance for the entire labour movement in those countries.

Our interference was called for in Austria, where, principally owing to the mediation of our

local secretariat, we succeeded in adjusting some dissensions which had arisen in the organisation on account of some acts of the Executive Committee. In Switzerland the Communist Youth at one time had quite decided to secede from the Party, but found themselves financially in a very embarrassing situation; and, wishing to save themselves alive, seized upon some broad (and very unclear) mottoes like "independence of all parties," and the like. The Executive Committee hastened to the Swiss comrades' assistance, supported them with money and literature, summoned their delegates for a personal talk, and sent a representative to their conference. In Denmark, after a referendum which took place in the autumn of last year, a pretty strong social-patriotic opposition formed in the League of Youth. All the Executive Committee's efforts had almost no effect, because of the compromising tactics followed by the local Executive Committee. In the end, however, we succeeded in overcoming the tendency to preserve unity at all costs. About one-third of the opposition (reactionary) was expelled from the League, and at the April Congress the Danish League of Youth decided to join our International. In Lithuania and White Russia, after the departure of the Red troops, an illegal organisation was again created, which suffered greatly from lack of money and literature. The Executive Committee gave such assistance as it could; among other things it issued a leaflet containing the manifesto, program and constitution of the International of Youth, and another leaflet with Münzenberg's article.

2. Agitation among kindred organisations which for some reason or other have not yet joined the International of Communist Youth. As such we number the following: The Federation of Young People's Socialist Organisations of France, the Union of Young Workers of Czecho-Slovakia, the Belgian Young Guard, the Finnish Socialist Union of Youth. In all these organisations the Executive Committee strives to create an opposition of its own, in order by means of it to conquer the whole organisation, or, where it does not succeed in that, to bring about a clearly defined split. In France the opposition, which has its centre as before in the Department of the Seine, was organised very quickly, and founded the "Committee for Autonomy and Adhesion to the Third International." (Comité pour l'autonomie et l'adhésion à la III. Internationale),

which maintains a constant connection with the Lorient group. The Committee determined to have its demands attended to at the Party Congress and, if not successful in that, to secede from the Party.

In Czecho-Slovakia there is a strong opposition, which is at present organising its Press, and issues its own organ in Prague, *The Vanguard*. In Bohemia, the Executive Committee is just at this moment conducting an energetic struggle against the tendency to found a new "Independent" International of Youth; the main centres of these tendencies being the Central Committee of the local Union of Youth, with Dannenberg at the head of it. In Belgium, we had somewhat to alter our tactics, because of the Brussels group having already gone out of the Young Guards Union, and we must hope that the Flemish groups, which also have taken their stand on the radical platform, will, under the influence of the Brussels comrades and the Executive Committee, also leave the Young Guard, which has wholly fallen under the tutelage of the Belgian Labour Party. In Finland, a referendum is expected, to which the radical majority compels the hesitating Central Committee, which consists of "Right" Socialists. Thus the situation there recalls the one in Denmark last summer. But the Finnish radical opposition appears to be stronger than the Danish opposition.

Lastly, the Executive Committee also carries on an agitation in the German-Austrian League of Working Youth. (This is the only organisation which has not gone over from the old International of Youth, to the Communist International of Youth.)

After we had, by special letter, informed the Central Committee and all local groups of the true state of things, and supplied them with all the material concerning our Congress, it was decided once more to debate the question of the International of Communist Youth. (At the October Congress, Dannenberg, in his report on this question, had presented an entirely wrong view of our International). This debate was to have taken place at a conference, to which a representative of the Executive Committee was to have been admitted. The result of this conference, which was appointed for the end of March, is not yet known.

3. Creation of new organisations. Here we must, first of all, make mention of the Communist League of Youth founded in Yugo-Slavia.

This union was formed by the fusion into one Communist group of the former young people's organisations of Serbia, Croatia, Slavonia, Bosnia, Herzegovina, etc. The non-Communist elements in the young people's organisations of these countries, forming an insignificant minority, remained ununited. The Central Committee of the new organisations issues a bi-weekly periodical, the *Zrena Castava*. A specially conspicuous part in the unification of the South-Slavic organisations was played by the Paris Federation of Communist students. A new League of Youth was created also in England, the first nucleus of it in Manchester. This union, properly speaking, is still in the first stage of organisation.

Even from this brief sketch, a sufficiently clear outline may be gained of the theoretical foundation and practical methods on which was built the work of the Executive Committee. A further deepening and elaboration of the principles underlying the program will be helped by the monthly periodical issued in German by the Executive Committee (The International of Youth). The Congress decided that this periodical should be issued also in other languages, but this could not as yet be carried out on account of difficulties of a financial and technical nature. Only in Scandinavia there came out so far an assorted issue containing the principal articles that had appeared in Nos. 14 to 17*).

A similar issue is being prepared for publication in French and Italian. In many countries, as, for instance, Sweden, Spain, Yugo-Slavia, Italy, Lithuania, England, America, and France, the manifesto and resolutions of the Congress (published in No. 16), etc., have been published in pamphlet form. As a supplement to the periodical, there appears every ten days or so an issue of *Internationale Jugendkorrespondenz*, in which we publish all the news and information of the movement. Since November 12, issues have appeared, all the time increasing in volume. At the same time we are continuing the publication, "International Young People's Library" (*Internationale Jugendbibliothek*). Not long ago appeared No. 4: "The Socialist Education

of Youth and the Young People's Socialist Movement"; No. 5, "Two papers on the Problem of the Proletarian Organisation of Youth after the State has passed into the hands of the proletariat"; No. 6, "Posthumous Works of Eugene Levine"; besides which, outside of the established program, has appeared Münzenberg's "Socialist Organisation of Youth Before and During the War," and we are preparing for publication the minutes of the first Congress of the Communist International of Youth, entitled, "Under the Red Banner," and an appeal to the Youth of all countries entitled, "Down with Frontiers." The last two publications are intended to be issued in all languages. Parallel with this agitational and publishing activity, the Executive Committee proceeds all the time with its internal political work—directed towards deepening the fundamental principles of the movement. Thus material has been collected concerning the struggle of the young people's international organisations against militarism, and with the aid of this material were prepared "Theses on the Anti-militaristic Tactics of the Young Communist Organisations," which will be brought up for discussion at the next meeting of the bureau. Material has also been collected on questions of the Trade Union movement. Furthermore, the Executive Committee occupies a very definite position regarding the Communist Organisation of Students. The Executive Committee addressed a letter expressing the principles of its attitude to the International Student Conference at Geneva, sent a delegate to that conference, and in addition issued special instructions concerning the relations of Young People's organisations in various countries to the organisations of the educated youth.

All this work the Executive Committee had to accomplish under unspeakably trying conditions. The members of the Committee continually had to leave work to go off on business; arrests and sickness interfered with our work, or our printing offices would be closed, or private owners would go back on us and stop work.

*In Russia have been published Nos. 16, 17, and 18 of the "International of Communist Youth."

The International of Youth

By LAZAR SHATZKIN

THE majority of the Party comrades know only by hearsay of the organisations of youth and their international union. Meanwhile the international movement of the young people, which has been in existence about 30 years already, has played and is playing a tremendous rôle in the world Communist revolution.

The Unions of Socialist Youth began to form in West Europe in the eighties of last century and rapidly spread among all the countries of the capitalist world. They carried on the struggle against the exploitation of the labour of the young people and children which was sufficiently strongly developed in the larger industry, but particularly so in the smaller workshops, crippling physically and morally the apprentices and young assistant workers. They declared war against militarism, which made young men languish in barracks, which poisoned the minds of the wider masses of youth by its rabid jingoism, dull-headed patriotism, and loyalty to the imperialist ways of the bourgeois Government. They set the Socialist education of youth against the bourgeois nationalist ideology, conducted through the schools, the Press, the bourgeois unions of young people, and other organs of the ruling classes.

In 1907, under the chairmanship of Karl Liebknecht, the First International Congress of Organisations of Socialist Youth took place, and the International of Youth was formed. At that time the Leagues of Socialist Youth were very weak. The International of Youth numbered but a few tens of thousands of youthful proletarians. This movement of the young people, constantly developing, had attained enormous proportions by the beginning of the world war; (thus, for instance, the German "Working Youth" numbered about 100,000 members). But during the process of their development, many of the organisations of youth modified their organisational form and their work. As a result of the struggle carried on by the opportunist Social Democratic Parties and Trade Unions against the revolutionary spirit of the young

people and the independent movement of the proletarian youth, in Germany, Holland, and some of the other countries, a social-patriotic tutelage was instituted over the old organisations of youth (which formed its expression in the appointment of "Committees of Youth" by the Party and the Trade Unions); and in place of the anti-militarist struggle the chief attention was given to sport, amusements, and culture work.

The independent revolutionary unions of youth remained only in a few countries. When the world war broke out, the proletarian youth, carried away at first by the jingoist phrases, very soon got over its spell of intoxication, and was one of the first, with Karl Liebknecht at its head, to raise aloft the red banner of the proletarian revolution. The independent organisations of youth passed over wholly to the revolutionary position, moving on rapidly along the road leading from Zimmerwald to Moscow. A split took place in Germany, Austria, and some of the other countries, the result of which was the appearance of Communist organisations of youth alongside with the old social-patriotic or centrist leagues of youth. To the organisations of revolutionary youth of all countries belongs the merit of an inexhaustible struggle against the war and social patriotism, during the epoch of the most unqualified treachery on the part of the Socialist Parties.

The International of Youth recovered rapidly from the first blows of the imperialist squall. Already, in April, 1915, an international conference took place in Berne. At this conference the youth of all countries laid one of the first mines under the seemingly indestructible edifice of "civil peace" between Labour and Capital. The International Secretariat of Youth, which had been publishing *The International of Youth* during the war, organising international anti-militaristic days for the young people, revolutionarily deciding all questions of the international struggle for Socialism and the movement of youth (which caused many of its members, and its printed organ, to suffer cruelly from

the "democratic" Swiss authorities) proved to the whole world that for the young workers the union and the international solidarity of the proletarians of all countries are not an empty sound but a vital, sacred cause.

Therefore, when the October revolution was victorious in Russia, and the rising waves of the world revolution of the workers bore up the Communist International on their crests, the leagues of youth in all countries were the first to move out in defence of its mottoes for the dictatorship of the proletariat and the Soviet system. And it was from their ranks that numerous cadres of members were recruited, and frequently leaders of new Communist parties. In some countries even (Spain, Belgium, Sweden, Denmark) the Communist parties were directly formed by the revolutionary organisations of youth.

In November, 1919, an international Congress of the International of Youth was held in Berlin. This Congress decided unanimously that the Communist International of Youth should join the Third International. It accepted the new Communist program for the international movement of young people, which established the essential tasks of the Leagues of Communist Youth. The direct struggle for Soviet power in close contact with the Communist parties, a Communist rising of the young people, the struggle against the bourgeois army by means of its internal disorganisation and the organisation of a Red Guard, the struggle for a Socialist reorganisation of labour (possible only during the period of the dictatorship of the proletariat) and a Socialist education of the young—such

are the watchwords given by the Berlin Congress to the young proletarians of all countries. Lastly, the Congress created a strong international centre of youth, which during the short period of existence, proved itself to be the real general staff of the International of Youth. In this way the Second Congress of the Communist International, in which the delegates of the Leagues of Youth took part, stood face to face with a powerful movement, both as to quantity and quality: as the International of Youth includes at the present moment not less than 450,000 organised young men and girls. And naturally the question of the movement of youth was examined most seriously by the Congress, in its political, educational, and organisational aspects. The Third International has completely broken with the cowardly inimical attitude towards the independent movement of the young people, which was maintained by the Second International, and against which Karl Liebknecht and other revolutionists struggled so fiercely; because the Third International has had the opportunity, from the very beginning of the process of its formation, of becoming convinced of the great importance of these Communist Leagues for the cause of the revolution.

The Revolutionary Council of the world proletariat passed a review of the Labour Army of Youth, drawn up in battle columns, in the International of Communist Youth. And we know that its decisions will double and treble the fighting capacity, the iron organisational discipline, and ardent enthusiasm, of these hundred thousand reserves of the whole world proletarian dictatorship.

LAZAR SHATZKIN.

Resolution & Theses Adopted by the Congress of the Socialist Youth of Switzerland at Aarau in the Spring of 1920

THE proletarian youth being a part of the proletariat, the struggle for the liberation of the whole working class, in the process of the class struggle, is also a struggle for the liberation of the youth. Therefore the young people penetrated by class-consciousness in the struggle against capitalism and for Socialism are joining the ranks of the proletariat which is fighting for

its liberation from wage slavery. Therefore the tasks of the young people coincide with those of the proletariat in general. The Socialist movement of youth is pursuing its own special aims inside the working class only in so far as it is compelled to defend its own special interests.

The free Socialist movement of the youth of Switzerland must make its economic and political

tasks coincide with the general economic and political conditions of the moment and the corresponding situation of the international movement of the proletarian class struggle. The economic situation at the actual historical moment is characterised by a commencing collapse of the capitalist system of management and of the rule of the bourgeois class founded on this system—a collapse called forth by the world war. This is the cause of the totally new bearings which the Socialist Labour movement has taken since the moment of the beginning of the war; this movement in the different countries acquired the form of an international revolutionary movement, more or less strong and successful, depending on the actual conditions of the country. The new front line of the world proletariat in the face of the shattered capitalist system has received its most clearly defined and consistent expression in the Communist movement, whose organisational focus is the Third International. The principles of the latter are founded on the conviction that the moment of the beginning of the world war was for the proletariat the beginning of a period in which, by means of the overthrow of the bourgeois and the establishment of the proletarian dictatorship, for the purpose of abolishing all class distinctions, there would be created a completely new Communist economic and social order and a corresponding culture. Out of this idea there arise quite new tasks for the proletariat in comparison with the pre-war period. The proletariat need not strive to attain improvements in the conditions of life of the working class within the limits of the bourgeois order and rule, expressed by Parliament, but it must ignore the bourgeois order and discredit it in the eyes of the masses, and by means of active demonstrations prepare and carry out a decisive struggle for Communism. These new tasks compel the existing political and economic organisations not only to modify decisively their methods of struggle, which up to now have been dependent on reformism, and especially Parliamentarism, but to desist completely from its petty-bourgeois character, exclusively adapted to a political-Parliamentary struggle. The revolutionary Socialist Party must from this moment prepare the proletariat to the revolution and its realisation, taking upon itself the following tasks:

1. The propaganda of Communism among the working masses;

2. The formation and direction of such organisations which are capable of carrying out the revolution and forming an organisational basis, on which the Communist superstructure (the system of Soviets) will be erected;

3. The organisation and direction of the active demonstrations of the working masses pursuing the aims of Communism.

The revolutionary party is constructed from the bottom; its foundation is the revolutionary mass, the factory enterprises and their revolutionary committees; there is no place in it for directions from above, for the direction of leaders adapted to a parliamentary system, who occupy seats as representatives of all workers in the governments, parliaments, and all kinds of similar institutions, armoured against the direct control of the workers and destined to preserve and enforce the bourgeois order. If the Party has been up to now to a considerable degree a goal in itself, from now on it must be only a means to demonstrate distinctly and to push forward the Communist movement in the ranks of the working class.

According to its methods of struggle and its internal structure the Swiss Social Democratic Party is still a thoroughly petty-bourgeois political organisation based on principles which had a certain importance, and might find justification in the pre-revolutionary epoch, but which at the present moment have become obsolete and give the Party a reactionary character, causing it to act as a brake on the revolutionary movement. It is a typical parliamentary Party, bridled by its leaders and therefore incapable of revolutionising the masses and preparing them for the construction of a Communist economic and social order. By placing the centre of gravity in elections and voting, it diverts the attention of the workers from the real object of a class-struggle. Therefore it may see in the Socialist organisations of youth only a school of recruits, destined to train well-disciplined elements, obedient to any formula given by the leaders and suitable for its petty-bourgeois political activity.

In contradistinction to the German Social Democratic Party, the Organisation of Socialist Youth in its whole activity during the course of the war, that is to say, at the beginning of the revolutionary epoch, took up the revolutionary point of view, which it proved by accepting the well-known theses at the Extraordinary Meeting of delegates in Olten, July 20, 1919. By this it placed itself on the platform of the Third Inter-

national, and now it is joining the International of Communist Youth, which is already an adherent of the Third International. This political position does not permit the Organisation of Socialist Youth to remain any longer in organisational connection with such a party as the Swiss Social Democratic Party, and to be the latter's school of recruits; and therefore the Organisation of Socialist Youth declares itself absolutely independent in respect of the above-mentioned, and any other, political Party.

The political task of the Organisation of Socialist Youth consists in training the proletarian Youth to be revolutionary fighters for Communism in the sense and spirit of the Third International; and therefore the Organisation of Socialist Youth is glad to join the advanced ranks of the proletariat which is fighting for its immediate liberation, and to take part, as advance guard, in the active demonstrations of the revolutionary working masses. But it can carry out this task only under the condition that, in all its organisational work and activity, it should remain an absolutely free movement of the young people, free from all organisational connections with the old political parties; at the same time, however, both the organisation, as a whole, and its separate branches, are entitled to enter into coalitions with political parties in respect to separate concrete objects for the purpose of a mutual support in the class struggle, but never and in no wise should the indepen-

dence of the Organisation of Socialist Youth be restricted. Therefore it is quite comprehensible that the Organisation of Socialist Youth is working in close contact with the comrades from the Left Wing of the Swiss Social Democratic Party and the Communist Party, in all places where such may be found either as isolated cases or in the form of small groups, and that as far as possible it undertakes to carry out their work.

As the actual proletarian youth has not only to defend its own interests, it being in the first place called upon to carry out the Communist construction itself, the Organisation of Socialist Youth is charged with a specially-responsible task—of training young proletarians to be bonafide Communists, mentally and morally capable of collaborating in the work of construction of a Communist culture. And it is especially for this work that an absolute independence is necessary as it is possible to train Socialists only under the condition of a complete freedom from all narrow party aims bound by the dogmas and mottoes of leaders. Only a free education and training under which the young mind will become developed, unrestrained by superannuated and backward views, may make the young proletarian capable and worthy of passing from the "rule of necessity," that is, of wage-slavery, to the rule of freedom under which all the creative faculties of mankind will be able to develop freely.

INTERNATIONAL COMMUNIST PRESS

NEW BOOKS AND JOURNALS.

The editor of THE COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL urgently requests that all labour periodicals be sent to the office.

The colossal, really incredible growth of the Communist movement is finding its bright reflection, among other things, in the extraordinary increase of Communist literature in all the languages of the world. Journals, newspapers, publishing offices are springing, as it were, out of the earth. It would be highly desirable to give at least a general idea of the Communist Press. But this task is as yet difficult of fulfilment. First, because the picture is constantly changing: some organs are disappearing under the blows of the police, tens of others spring up at the very same time, and it is almost impossible to watch all these changes from afar, while the robbers of the Entente are still practically blockading the Workers' and Peasants' Republic. Second, our comrades have done very little to keep us in touch with all the literary novelties. We are too far behind in this feverishly onrushing life.

That is why we are compelled to set ourselves the most modest task—to share as far as possible with our readers all bibliographical news received by our Editor's office. For a beginning we are giving a general list of the periodicals and most widely-known books and pamphlets on the question mostly interesting us in France, Italy, England, the United States of America, Argentina, etc.

FRANCE.

La Revue Communiste. Paris. Ch. Rappoport.
Editor, No. 1.

In France a serious journal dedicated to the

study of Communism was more necessary, possibly than in any other country. In order to put an end to the confusion of ideas reigning among the "Centrists" and the "Reconstructionists," an organ of the Press with a clear program was absolutely necessary. Judging by the article in the first number of *La Revue Communiste*, signed by Ch. Rappoport, such a paper is now founded. "Why and how have we become Communists?" asks the author, and his answer is as follows: "The opportunist reformism and nationalistic Socialism of the Second International have, as every one knows already, become hopelessly bankrupt.

"We can affirm with assurance that the Second International has died of a chronic disease, which had to lead it inevitably to this tragic end. The disease consisted in the contradiction between its revolutionary theory, based on the class struggle, and its reformist practice, based on the collaboration of the classes.

The name of the Second International itself was a compromise. It was a Socialist or a Social-Democratic International, whereas the creators of the contemporary proletarian movement were Communists. The word "Socialism"—I affirm this on the basis of information received by me personally from Engels himself—was accepted by Marx and Engels "against their will."

Side by side with such well-time communications in *La Revue Communiste*, we meet with the articles of our valiant Comrades Loriot, Souvarine, Marthe Bigot, and Georges Pioch. Two poems dedicated by the latter to the "Russian Victorious Soviets," and to "Comrade Trotsky" prove that a real poet has understood the proletarian revolution, and that the same may be loved by a poet.

Much space is given in the journal to the Russian theorists of Communism. It is quite inadmissible, however, that the names of Crispien and Däumig should figure alongside with the names of our theorists. This is only apt to create confusion among the French and German workers.

In this number there is also an article signed by the former secretary of the General Confederation of Labour, Comrade Griffuelhes, one of the French theorists of syndicalism, who has now joined the ranks of the Communists.

Bulletin Communiste (organ of the Committee for the Third International). A weekly paper, Nos. 1 to 10.

The Bulletin is the official organ of the French Communists. It has reproduced many of the articles that have appeared in the COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL. Among many interesting letters there is one from our Austrian comrade, Otto Maschl. The answer of Lorient to the reformists, printed in the fourth number of the paper, is worthy of attention. The reformists find a pleasure in noting the insufficient "revolutionary consciousness" in France. Lorient writes: "But did the Russian popular masses possess to any larger degree the consciousness of their historical predestination? Popular consciousness is in a state of constant evolution. . . . The degree of consciousness exercises a much smaller influence on the revolution than the revolution itself on the degree of consciousness."

Among the numerous articles on the French movement in the *Bulletin*, the appeal of the Communist students of Paris, deserves attention. It bears witness to the fact that the élite of the French youth is highly conscious of the duties incumbent on it.

Le Soviet (organ of the Communist Federation of Soviets). Paris. Nos. 1, 2, and 3.

The Communist Federation of Soviets (French section of the Communist International of Moscow) insists particularly on the necessity of propaganda and practical introduction of the Soviet principle. The first number includes an open letter to Senator Raymond Poincaré, signed by Emile Giraud, in which the author asks for explanations from Raymond Poincaré on several questions: "If only, in the course of the next few days, the popular masses of Paris who have had enough of you, do not find it necessary to

carry your head through the streets on the point of a lance, to show it well to all your accomplices, a circumstance which would simplify the juridical examination of your case."

Each of these lines will probably cost its author a year of prison. *Le Soviet* has already had to experience the confiscation of its correspondence and a raid on its premises. These unpleasant facts will certainly not diminish the proportions of its propaganda. Comrade Chauvelon is giving articles on his study of Marxism; Alexandre Lebour, Hanot, and others are following the course of current affairs. From afar we can only rejoice at the various shades and tendencies of the French Communist press; however, the multiplicity of the organisations is causing us some anxiety. The Communist Party, the Communist Federation of Soviets, the Committee of the Third International, are forming three organisations, whereas unity in the Communist movement is evidently an essential condition of its force and its future development. One would like to believe that the fighters for the Soviets are acting and will be acting in close unity with the other French Communists.

The most important thing is that it is time to understand that it is not "hot-bed" Soviets that should be organised, but that real Soviets are the premise to a wide revolutionary movement of the masses. Otherwise it is only "playing at Soviets."

La Vie Ouvrière (Paris). A weekly paper edited by P. Monatte, chiefly the organ of the French Communist-Syndicalists.

It has just carried through an energetic campaign in favour of the persecuted Communists of the Ruhr province. It has helped to acquaint France with the great Hungarian writer, André Latzko, sentenced to death in Budapest for his participation in the work of the Soviets. The large dimensions and rich contents of *La Vie Ouvrière* make it an excellent organ for a wide propaganda. Therefore, like Lorient, Souvarine, and many others, Pierre Monatte is now in prison, accused of conspiring against the State.

Bukharin.—"Le Programme des Communistes." ("The Programme of the Communists.")

Antonio Coen.—"La Vérité sur l'Affaire Sadoul." (The Truth on the Sadoul Affair.)

Lenin.—"Lettre aux Ouvriers Americains." ("Letter to the American Workers.")

Lenin.—"Les Problèmes du Pouvoir des Soviets." ("The Tasks of the Soviet Power.")

Marchand.—"Lettre à MM. Poincaré et Albert Thomas." ("Letter to Messrs. Poincaré and Albert Thomas.")

Arthur Ransome.—"Pour la Russie." ("For Russia.")

Arthur Ransome.—"Six Semaines en Russie." ("Six Weeks in Russia.")

Reynaud.—"Petit Catéchisme Bolchévique." ("A Little Bolshevik Catechism.")

Boris Souvarine.—"Eloge des Bolchéviques." ("In Praise of the Bolsheviks.")

Boris Souvarine.—"La Troisième Internationale." ("The Third International.")

Jacques Sadoul.—"Vive la République des Soviets!" ("Long live the Soviet Republic!")

Jacques Sadoul.—"Notes sur la Révolution Bolchévique." ("Notes on the Bolshevik Revolution.")

Leon Trotzky.—"L'avènement du Bolchévisme." ("The Bolshevik Revolution.")

Tchitcherine.—"Terreur Blanche et Terreur Rouge." ("White Terror and Red Terror.")

X.—"Manifeste et Résolution de l'Internationale." ("Manifesto and Resolution of the International.")

X.—"Constitution de la République Socialiste Federative des Soviets de Russie." ("Constitution of the Russian Socialist Federal Soviet Republic.")

"Hommage à la République des Soviets." ("Homage to the Soviet Republic.")

Robert Thol.—"2-me et 3-me Internationale." ("The Second and Third International.")

Pochettes de Cartes Postales (Lénine, Trotzky, etc.). (Postcards with portraits of Lenin, Trotzky, and others.)

SWITZERLAND.

Le Phare. A monthly journal, appearing at Chaux-de-Fonds, under the direction of J. Humbert-Droz. Rich in international informa-

tion. Collaborators: Bukharin, Zinoviev, Miasnikov, Kollontai, Lenin, and others. The paper is very well managed.

La Nouvelle Internationale (Genève). A weekly periodical of the circles of Communist youth of the Romanie cantons which have recently decided to leave the Socialist Party in order to adopt the Communist platform.

GERMAN AUSTRIA.

Die Rote Fahne (The Red Banner). A daily paper. Central organ of the Austrian Communist Party. Founded in 1918; editor, Josef Strasser, Alserstrasse 69.

Klassenkampf (Class Struggle). A Communist daily paper for the provinces.

Rätekorrespondenz (Soviet Correspondence). Organ of the Communist Groups of the Workers' Councils. Comparatively recently founded. Editor: Paul Friedlander.

Die Kommunistische Jugend (Communist Youth). Editor: Shiller.

Der Rote Soldat (The Red Soldier). Organ of the Soldiers' Group of the Party; fortnightly.

Kommunismus (Communism). A weekly journal. Organ of the South-Eastern Bureau. Editor: Dr. K. Frank.

At present the following publications of the national minority are beginning to appear:

Prukopnik Svobody. A weekly paper. Organ of the Czech Social-Democratic Party (Centrists) of Austria. A Communist paper.

Swit (Light). A weekly paper of Communist tendency. Organ of the Polish Socialist Group.

Freie Tribune (Free Tribune). A weekly paper. Organ of the Jewish Social Democratic Labour Party (Poale-Zion). Communist tendency. Vienna, 11, Glockengasse 6.

Awangard (Advance Guard). A weekly paper of the organisation bureau of the Left (Poale-Zion). Communist. In Hebrew. Vienna, 11, Glockengasse 6.

Wecker (Alarm Clock). A bi-weekly organ of the Hebrew Bund organisations. Communist tendency. Published in Hebrew.

Nova Doba. A weekly paper of the Ukrainian Communists. Editor: Vinnitchenko.

ITALY.

The favourite and most widely known paper of the Italian proletarian masses is the famous *Avanti* (Forward), the central organ of the Socialist Party of Italy. When, during the course of the world war, after the rising of the workers in Turin, the editor of the *Avanti* was imprisoned, meetings of protest were held in all the towns, demanding the liberation of Comrade Serrati. When last year the bourgeoisie plundered and set fire to the premises of the *Avanti*, the workers of Italy collected in a very short time over 1,500,000 lire for the reparation of the damage.

The circulation of the paper is very large. The Milan edition has a circulation of over 200,000 copies. That of Turin (Via x Settembre 19) over 80,000, of Rome (Via del Seminario 87) 90,000 copies.

Another well-known paper is *Lavoratore* (The Worker) appearing in the recently annexed Trieste, with a circulation of 80,000 copies. Not far from Trieste, in the city of Pola, *Il Proletario* (The Proletariat) is published, with a much smaller circulation.

Among the journals with a Communist tendency we may note *Compagni* (Comrades) with a circulation of 10,000 copies. *Comunismo* (Communism) appearing twice a month; its circulation (at present 6,000 copies) is rapidly increasing as the masses are becoming acquainted with this new organ. *La Difesa della Lavoratrice* (The Defence of the Workwoman) appears every fortnight; 8,000 copies. All three papers are published in Milan.

One must also note the weekly *Ordine Nuovo* (New Order), appearing at Turin under the editorship of Antonio Gramsci. This journal has specialised in the question of Factory Committees, having succeeded in awakening an interest in the subject in other papers.

An interesting journal, from the point of view of the Left tendency in the Italian Party, is the organ of the Communist-Abstentionist Group *Il Soviet* (The Soviet), edited by the leader of the group, Bordiga.

L'Avanguardia (The Advance Guard), published in Rome, is the organ of the Young Socialist-Communists, a party numbering already over 40,000 members.

The Confederation of Labour has its organ, *La Battaglia Sindicale* (The Labour Struggle), appearing in Milan.

Besides the above-mentioned larger papers, in all Italy there are over 60 weekly journals of a Socialist-Communist tendency. They have only a purely local interest. We enumerate these publications according to the different provinces:

PROVINCE OF VENICE.

Verona.—*Verona del Popolo* (The Popular Paper of Verona).

Vincenza.—*Il Vincentino* (The Vicentian).

Padua.—*L'eco dei Lavoratori* (The Echo of the Workers).

Greviso.—*Il Lavoratore* (The Worker).

Venice.—*Il Secolo Nuove* (The New Century).

Feltre.—*L'Avvenire* (The Future).

Udine.—*Il Lavoratore Friulano* (The Worker of Friuli).

EMILE AND ROMAGNA.

Bologna.—*La Squilla* (The Bell).

Parma.—*L'Idea* (The Idea).

Modena.—*Il Domani* (To-morrow).

Reggio Emilia.—*La Giustizia* (Justice).

Imola.—*La Lotta* (The Struggle).

Ravenna.—*La Romagna Socialista* (Socialist Romagna).

Forli.—*La Lotta di Classe* (The Struggle of the Classes).

Faenza.—*Il Socialista* (The Socialist).

Cezena.—*Spartaco* (Spartacus).

Rimini.—*Il Contadino* (The Peasant).

Ferrare.—*La Bandiera Socialista* (The Socialist Banner).

TOSCANA.

Livorno.—*La Parola Socialista* (The Socialist World).

Florence.—*La Difesa* (The Defence).

Pistola.—*L'Avvenire* (The Future).

Colle di Val d'Elsa.—*La Martinella Rossa*.

Viareggio.—*Versiglia Nuova*.

Plombino.—*Il Martello* (The Hammer).

Jassa Carrera.—*La Battaglia* (The Battle).

LOMBARDY.

Milan.—*La Battaglia Socialista* (The Socialist Battle).

Busto Arsizio.—*Il Lavoro* (Labour).

Como.—*Il Lavoratore Comano* (The Worker of Como).

Varese.—*Il Nuovo Ideale* (The New Ideal).

Monza.—*La Brianza*.
 Pavia.—*La Plebe* (The Plebe).
 Vigevano.—*L'Indipendente* (The Independent).
 Mortara.—*Il Proletariato* (The Proletariat).
 Sondrio.—*Il Lavoratore Valtelonese* (The Worker of Valtelone).
 Bergamo.—*La Riscossa* (The Awakening).
 Crema.—*La Parola* (The Word).
 Pallanza.—*L'Aurora* (Aurora).
 Mondazi.—*Lotte Nuove* (The New Struggle).
 Cuneo.—*L'Alba* (The Dawn).

PIEMONTE.

Turin.—*Falce e Martello* (The Sickle and Hammer).
L'Ordine Nuove (The New Order).
 Alessandria.—*L'Idea Nuova* (The New Idea).
 Tortona.—*La Scure* (The Hatchet).
 Novare.—*Il Lavoratore* (The Worker).
 Biella.—*Corriere Bielese* (The Courier of Biella).
 Vercelli.—*La Risaia*.

LIGURIA.

Opeglia.—*La Lima* (The File).
 San Remo.—*La Parola dei Socialisti* (The Word of the Socialists).
 Savona.—*Bandiera Rossa* (Red Banner).

UMBRIA AND MARCHE.

Citta di Castello.—*La Rivendicazione* (The Revendication).
 Pesaro.—*L'Avvenire* (The Future).
 San Marino.—*Il Titano* (The Titan).

LAGIUM.

Rome.—*L'Avanguardia* (The Advance Guard).
 Naples.—*Il Soviet* (The Soviet).

ABRUZZIA AND CALABRIA.

Aquila.—*L'Avvenire* (The Future).
 Castanzara.—*Calabria, Avanti!* (Forward, Calabria!).
 Cosenza.—*Falce e Martello* (The Sickle and Hammer).

APULIA.

Taranto.—*Bandiera Rossa* (The Red Banner).
 Bari.—*La Ragione* (Reason).

SICILY.

Syracusa.—*Guardia Rossa* (The Red Guard).
 Palermo.—*La Dittatura* (The Dictatorship).
 Catana.—*Il Riscatto* (Vengeance).

N. Lenin. "Left Wing Communism: An Infantile Disorder." Moscow, 1920.

This small book is a good addition to the world revolutionary literature. In an extraordinarily concise form, the author has given a subtle analysis of the origin, nature, and tasks of Communism, together with an all-sided and exhaustive critique of the theoretical bases of "Left Communism" in England and Germany. In the next number of the COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL we shall give a detailed study and estimate of this work, which is of great and exclusive interest.

UNITED STATES OF NORTH AMERICA.

The Industrial Workers of the World (I. W. W.), uniting workers of many nationalities, dispose of a Press in many languages. They publish:

In English:

The One Big Union Monthly.
Solidarity.
The Industrial Worker.
The Fellow Worker.
The Textile Worker.

In Bulgarian:

Rabotnichskaya Mysl (The Workers' Thought).

In Hungarian:

A Felszabadulas.

In Italian:

Il Proletario.

In Hebrew:

Industrial Arbeiter Stimme.

In Roumanian:

Muncitorul.

In Lithuanian:

Proletaras.

In Finnish:

Tie Vapauteen.

In Czecho-Slovak:

Jedna Velka Unie (One Big Union).

In Spanish:

Solidaridad.

In German:

Der Klassenkampf.

In Russian:

The first newspaper in the Russian language was started by the I.W.W. in 1914, at Chicago. At first it appeared in a very small form, but gradually it increased its proportions and its circulation. With the growth of its success among the members of the Russian Working Colony, the persecutions on the part of the authorities increased also. The paper was compelled to change its title several times. At the present moment the name of the weekly paper is *Golos Trujenika* (The Voice of the Worker).

GERMANY.

1. THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF GERMANY.

(The Spartacus union.)

The central organ, founded by K. Liebknecht and R. Luxemburg, *Die Rote Fahne* (The Red Banner).

A Journal of practical and theoretical Marxism is the paper founded in 1919 by R. Luxemburg and Fr. Nering, *Die Internationale*.

The struggle for the Soviets is laid to the charge of *Kommunistische Raete-Korrespondenz* (Communist Soviet Correspondence); founded in 1919, published by the Central Committee of the Party, appearing irregularly.

The weekly *Die Tribune*, published by Karl Schneidt, and the Communist periodical, *Sowiet*, published by Otto Kraus, bear a general character

For circulation among the women Klara Zetkin is publishing *Die Kommunistin*, appearing three times a month.

For the poorer classes in the villages *Der Kommunistischer Landarbeiter* (The Communist Agricultural Labourer) is destined; it appears every fortnight, since the summer of the current year.

The attraction of the smaller landowners is laid to the charge of *Der Pflug* (The Plough), "a Sunday newspaper for the small peasant landowners" published since last year. Two pamphlets are serving the same object among the peasants, "Bauer, wo fehlt's?" (Peasant, Where Lies the Evil?) and "Der Steuersack und wie wir ihn loswerden!" (The Burden of Taxes and how to get rid of it).

We must note in conclusion a new pamphlet of Wilhelm Karle, "Das Dreiklassengesetz gegen die Kriegsbeschädigten und Hinterbliebenen" (The Three-class Law Against the Victims of the War and Their Families).

2. THE COMMUNIST LABOUR PARTY OF GERMANY.

The Communist Labour Party of Germany (K.A.P.D.) has only five papers, appearing very irregularly.

Kommunistische Arbeiter-Zeitung, Berlin.

Mitteilungsblatt. Published by the revolutionary industrial organisation of the local Hospital Fund of Berlin. Published once a month since 1920.

Rote Fahne, Frankfurt, a.M.

Kommunist, Dresden.

Kommunistische Arbeiter-Zeitung, Hamburg, 1919, weekly. It is also the organ of the General Labour Union of Germany.

AUSTRIA.

In the first days of July the first number of the *Proletar* appeared in Vienna, with a subtitle, "Hungarian Organ of the Communist International." The following writers are taking part in the journal: Bela Kun, Josef Pagany, Georgiy Lukacz, Eugen Landler, Albert Kirani, Julius Lengiel, and others.

The Hungarian publishing firm, "Neue Erde" (New Earth) has published the following books:

Bela Szanto "Klassenkämpfe und die Diktatur des Proletariats in Ungarn." (Bela Santo, "The Class Struggle and the Dictatorship of the Proletariat in Hungary.") With a preface by Karl Radek.

Josef Pagany. "Der weisse Terror in Ungarn." (Joseph Pagany, "White Terror in Hungary.")

BELGIUM.

In the spring of 1920 a Communist Labour Party was formed. Its attitude towards parliamentarism is a negative one, and it repudiates the "dictatorship" of the Moscow International. This Party has two organs: *Ouvrier Communiste* (Communist Worker), appearing twice a month.

De Internationale, in Flemish, also twice a month.

The majority of the revolutionarily inclined workers are not following this tendency. Their organ is *L'Exploité* (The Exploited).

THE COMMUNIST PRESS OF YUGO-SLAVIA.

The young Communist movement in Yugo-Slavia disposes of a comparatively considerable Press. We shall enumerate it according to the provinces.

SERBIA.

- Pelgrade: *Radnitchske Novine* (Workers' Gazette), a daily paper, 14,500 copies.
Crvena Zastava (Red Banner), a weekly for young people, 5,000 copies.
Ednakost (Equality), a woman's journal, appearing twice a month, 5,000 copies.
Buduchnost (Future), a paper for children, appearing twice a week, 5,000 copies.

BOSNIA.

- Kraguevatz: *Radnik* (Worker), a weekly paper, 1,500 copies.
Uchitelska Borba, a monthly journal, 3,000 copies.
 Pojega: *Narodna Volja* (The People's Will), a weekly paper, 2,000 copies.
 Saraevo: *Glas Slobode* (Voice of Freedom), a daily paper, 5,000 copies.

CROATIA.

- Bania Luka: *Narodny Glas* (Voice of the People), a weekly paper for the peasants, 3,000 copies.
 Zagreb: *Nova Istina* (New Truth), a weekly paper, 8,000 copies.
 Virovititza: *Proleter*, a weekly journal, 1,000 copies.

SLAVONIA.

- Novy Sad: *Radnichki List* (Workers' Sheet), twice a week, 6,000 copies.
 Ossik: *Radnichki Retch* (Workers' Speech), weekly, 2,000 copies.
 Vukobare: *Radnichska Straja* (Workers' Guard), weekly, 2,000 copies.
 Liubliana: *Nashi Zapiski* (Our Notes), a monthly review: 2,000 copies.

DALMATIA.

- Spalato: *Osvobođenje* (Liberation), weekly, 4,000 copies.

MACEDONIA.

Skoplie: *Socialistichke Zora* (Socialist Dawn), twice a week, 3,000 copies.

The book-publishing business is much less developed. Translations of the following pamphlets have appeared: Lenin: "State and Revolution," "Platform of the Third International," "Theses on Bourgeois Democracy and Proletarian Dictatorship"; Zinoviev: "Second International and Problems of the War," "Foundation of Third International"; Radek: "Development of Socialism from Science to Practice"; and Marx and Engels: "Historical Works." Bukharin's "Program of the Communists" is now in print.

ARGENTINA.

La International, Estados Unidos 1058, Buenos Aires. The Central organ of the Party of the Socialist International, appearing weekly, 8,000 copies, in Spanish (Communist).

La Organisation Obrera (Workers' Organisation). Belgrano 2545, Buenos Aires. The central organ of the Labour Federation of Argentina, a weekly paper. 180,000 copies, in Spanish (Syndicalist, for Soviet Russia).

La Claridad (Light). O'Gorman 115 Avellaneda F.C.S. Rep., Argentina. Published by the Left Wing of the Socialist Party, in favour of the Third International, a bi-weekly journal, 30,000 copies.

La Claridad (Light). Maza 2186, Buenos Aires. Rep. Argentina. A bi-weekly journal, published by a group of members of the Socialist Party, in favour of the Third International, 5,000 copies, in Spanish.

Documentos del Progreso (Documents of Progress). Castilla de Correo 1160, Buenos Aires, Rep., Argentina. A bi-weekly journal, published by a group of members of the International Socialist Party, with the participation of the members of the Russian Communist Union. 8,000 copies. In Spanish.



