

**WORKERS OF THE WORLD
UNITE!**

THE COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL



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THE COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL

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International*

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N. LENIN.

NIKOLAI LENIN

Translated by B. MUSCATT.

I.—Lenin's World Significance.

IT is now more than two weeks since Lenin has closed his eyes for ever. These two weeks have seen us aged by 20 years at least. This loss is one of those losses which even all-reconciling time does not mitigate. It is certain that in the further march of events, at every turn of the path and ahead of us, both this generation and the next generations of the working class will feel this loss with poignant pain. While in moments of painful adversity the thoughts of the working class will dwell on the figure of a man who could relieve their distress more easily and efficaciously than anyone else, in moments when the cause of the working class shall triumph we shall remember in sorrow that he who laid the foundation of this victory is not among us.

To speak of Lenin means to speak of the destinies of our great country, of the two wars and three revolutions that is experienced in the course of the last decade, of the crucial years which set the line of a new epoch, of the three centuries of serfdom, which not so long ago has become a matter of the past. Moreover, to speak of Lenin means to speak of the struggle of the working classes of the world for emancipation, of the imperialist war and the seeds of proletarian revolution that it sowed, of the commencement of the uprising of the oppressed people; it means to speak of the new humanity and the new epoch of which we are participants. That is why it is so difficult at the present moment to speak about Lenin.

I had occasion to expound Lenin's biography in 1918, when he was recovering from the severe wounds inflicted by the poisoned bullet which was directed from the ranks of the social-revolutionaries. At that time we had received a telegram from Lenin in *convalescence*, and at that time a sigh of relief went up from all the toilers in Russia at the knowledge that Lenin has been torn from the clutches of death. That was a time when he returned to our midst and when our hearts beat high in gladness.

And now! . . . I am aware that the nation is not so much interested now in the part which Lenin played in the history of our Party, in the history of the first revolution, in

the history, say, of the first revolutionary newspaper *Iskra*, or at the second congress of the Party, as it is in learning how Lenin lived. The people are interested even in such details as whether he smoked, and how he conducted his life. In short they are interested in everything that constituted the man as well as the teacher and leader. I am aware therefore, that I am undertaking an impossible task in trying in such comparatively small space to show what Lenin meant to the international working class and (it can now be said without hesitation) the entire new humanity.

He was as mighty as the ocean. *To our enemies* he was as severe as the stinging frost on the day in which we lowered his body into the crypt. He could be as unassailable as Mt. Blanc to the enemy. But he could be just as near and just as kind to each working-man and labourer. Hard and unassailable as he was to all those who were our enemies, the bourgeoisie and the social-traitors, he could be and was lovable not only to the working class in general, but to each individual worker and toiler with whom he came in contact. The sons of our class he warmed by the rays of his great love, which was like the southern sun. He was a *comrade* in the full and real sense of that word. This word has now become obliterated like the face of a coin through too constant use. But in it there is something great. Gorky spoke truly ten years ago when he said that this word was the symbol of new humanity. Lenin was a comrade to each and all of the workers whom he met. Simultaneously he was a teacher, a brother, a leader and a friend.

Lenin never tried to accommodate himself to the masses, he never brought his aims down to the level of mass prejudices. Closely related to them by blood ties and affection he saw his purpose in raising the masses to a higher level of intelligence in respect of those great aims, the herald and prophet of which he was.

Lenin became an historical personality long ago. We who were working under his private guidance were not always cognisant of this. We thought highly of his personality, but not sufficiently highly. When one stands close to a great mountain one fails to see the whole of it.

One may say that nearly every act of Lenin's during the last ten years set in motion millions of people over the whole world.

When Lenin came to our city on one of the April days in 1917, and spoke for ten minutes from an armoured car on the square near the Finnish station, the whole of Russia vibrated, all the bourgeoisie in our country and all over the

world instantaneously bristled up against him, feeling that he was their mortal enemy, and instantly the vast mass of working class soldiers, whom the bourgeoisie tried to set against him, with the instinct inherent in true sons of the people, realised that this was their leader, their best friend and real guide. Since then each act of Lenin's was an event of world significance. Revolutionary passions were at their highest during May-June, 1917, in Petrograd and all other large revolutionary countries. All this flood of passions seethed around the name of Lenin. Some hated him with the most intense hatred, others had unlimited faith and love in him and unconditionally followed this man, whom millions had of one accord implicitly accepted as their leader. When the Menshevist-Social-Revolutionary government retaliated for the July days of ignominious memory by throwing dirt at Lenin, whom they tried to accuse of espionage, this dirt rebounded in their own faces. And once more not only Russia but the whole world was divided into two camps—*with* Lenin and *against* Lenin. And in the centre of this seething flood of revolutionary and counter-revolutionary passions stood Lenin.

It need not be said that the part he played in the great October days of 1917, which set the line of a new epoch for our country, and the whole of humanity, was greater still. Lenin's appearance at the first assembly of the Petrograd Soviet after the October revolution and after such long underground activity was hailed as an event of world-wide importance. I do not know in the history of struggling mankind a moment more replete of content and more predestinated than that in which Lenin appeared at this meeting within half an hour of the taking of the Winter Palace and stood before the assembly of Petrograd workers who worshipped him. Lenin's words became historical when he demanded the signing of the Brest peace, and when the passions and hopes of millions of people centred around his name.

The same is to be observed all through the subsequent course of his great activities.

The days in which he lay wounded and battled with death in 1918, were keenly lived through by millions of people throughout the world. Many will remember the week when Lenin battled with death, will remember how he became dearer to each working man, and how the many-millioned working class family of the whole world waited with bated breath for the announcement that Lenin was out of danger. Yes, he entered the hearts of millions still more deeply on the days when he fought with death. And afterwards, when the revolution was passing the thorny Golgotha

path of hunger, the blockade and furious civil war every public action of Lenin's was an event of world-wide import. In these years Lenin became the leader of the working class, of all the honest elements of the peasantry and the oppressed masses of all nations.

That is why now, when Lenin is dead, when his wife finds sufficient strength and courage to speak of him and describe him to us a few hours before the funeral, the whole of Russia, from great to small, from the workers of Leningrad to the smallest children, cry at the loss of our beloved Ilyitch.

Yet we see that even in death Lenin has rendered the working class of the whole world and first of all of his own country such a service as no party in its entirety has yet rendered. Even in his coffin Lenin is still the apostle of Communism, even in death he is the trumpet call that rouses the working classes of all the world.

Who could have imagined two weeks ago the great movement which is now going on in the thick of the working classes, and is swelling the ranks of our party on account of Lenin's death? Let anybody name an event in our history or in the history of the human race which would resemble what we are witnessing to-day. Mankind has known many great men, but never has the death of one man fired so many millions of hearts as the death of Lenin, prompting tens and even hundreds of thousands of workers to seek the doors of our Party.

II.—Lenin as Theorist and Politician.

I shall attempt to describe in principal features what Lenin was and what he remains for the international working class.

We all know that Lenin is the prophet of new humanity and the apostle of Communism in the best sense of the word, a man whose name alone makes millions of hearts beat more quickly.

I understand that "Lenin corners" are being inaugurated in all the schools. That is very good: let the children of the working class, let all children possess such a "corner" in every school. What is still more important, however, is that such a Lenin corner exists in the heart of every thinking working man throughout the world. In this corner everyone of us knows the full worth of Comrade Lenin. But our purpose to-day is not to give vent to the expression of our emotions, emotions which move each of us individually no less than they do our great politic body; we must endeavour calmly as possible to grasp the significance of Lenin in the field of theory and of practice.

What I want to deal with here is **Lenin as theorist and politician**. First of all, as theorist, Lenin carried on the work of Karl Marx, succeeded in introducing into the latter's doctrine many novel ideas of his own. In my opinion, Lenin introduced the following five important points into revolutionary Marxism: *First, his view of the peasantry*. This is probably the basic feature of Leninism, the most important discovery that Lenin made. It is the idea of *combining the workers' revolution with the peasant wars*. *Second, the idea of uniting the proletarian civil war against the bourgeoisie with the movement for national liberation of the oppressed nations*. *Third, the theory of the State*. Lenin not only depicted to us a new type of human cohabitation and a new type of State organisation, but he put it into effect and completed the foundation. *Fourth, his appraisal of imperialism as the ultimate phase of moribund capitalism*. A general appraisal of the features of capitalism was provided by Karl Marx. He was, however, unable to foresee the last stage in the decay of capitalism in connection with the imperialist war and the capitalist decomposition that we are this day witnessing. *Fifth, and last, the theory and practice of proletarian dictatorship*.

Lenin was chiefly interested in the questions which constitute the quintessence and fundamentals of human cohabitation, he was interested in what the masses thought of everything that was going on in the world, he concentrated all the strength of his mind and his heart on problems of human cohabitation, affecting millions of people. This explains why he was chiefly engrossed in such simple but important matters as how, for instance, the worker in the city and the peasant in the village lived; he was deeply interested in national problems, *i.e.*, problems of cohabitation between various nationalities; problems as to what was the most ideal State, or such a question as the emancipation of women, the education of the young people, the liberation of the colonial and semi-colonial peoples, etc. Such, approximately, are the questions which absorbed Lenin's attention.

In taking a closer view of these questions, it will be seen that they are not the kind of question which concern the intellectual aristocracy alone, but that they are the kind which will always be rousing the interest of the masses of humanity.

III.—Lenin and the Appraisal of the Peasantry.

The question of the role of the peasantry is, as I have already stated, the principal feature of Bolshevism and Leninism. Marx in his time made some scattered remarks concerning the necessity of uniting the struggle of the

workers with the wars of the peasants against the landed gentry. Lenin, however, handled the question differently. Apart from mere theory, he succeeded in advancing this fundamental problem of the proletarian revolution in practice. He who has failed to grasp the significance of the new ideas Lenin introduced on this subject cannot be expected to understand the fundamentals of Leninism, or the basic tactics of the Bolsheviks. Nadejda Konstantinovna (Lenin's widow—Translator), correctly said in her speech in Moscow that the Russian worker is one side worker and the other side peasant.

Now it is quite clear that this circumstance, noted by Lenin, is not only of a Russian but of a world-wide significance.

The Communist International which will shortly mark the fifth anniversary of its activities, that is to say, merely stretch its limbs for real work, will draw to the full from the treasure-trove that Lenin has left us, knowing that the proletarian revolution will progress along the path of union between the class struggle of the workers and the peasant wars against the landowners.

Lenin on this point was not understood for a long time. Even such a prominent man as Plekhanov said to Lenin at the Stockholm Congress in 1906: "Your novel ideas tell us a tale of the past," meaning that the idea of a union between the workers and the peasants savoured ostensibly of the old "Narodniki."

Thus, even such a bright intellect as Plekhanov could not distinguish the great difference in the way Lenin interpreted the questions of a peasant revolution and the way the best representatives of the Narodniki understood it. Even Plekhanov failed to discern the instrument Lenin had found here which would help the working class of our country and the whole world not only to create an uprising similar to that of the Paris Commune, but to achieve victory as well. This simple idea, an idea which has now become part of the flesh and blood of every Bolshevik, the idea of uniting the working class and the peasantry, joining the civil war of the workers with the war of the peasantry, is one of the greatest discoveries Lenin's genius-mind has made. Thanks to this discovery the working class of our country succeeded not only in making an uprising, as it did in 1905, but in achieving victory, in smashing the bourgeoisie till it was rendered powerless, in seizing power for the purpose of leading the country to the achievement of the new order. The matter of internationalising these views of Bolshevism on the role of the peasantry, however, is only in its initial stage.

IV.—Lenin and the Movement for Liberation among the Oppressed Nations.

The idea of combining the civil war of the proletariat with the movement for national liberation is just merely hinted at by Marx. Karl Marx was a man of genius, but he lived in an earlier epoch than Lenin and was therefore only able to express the idea in a general way. Viewing the fight that Ireland put up against the English oppressors, he let fall his remarkable phrase that no nation could be free which is the oppressor of others. He exhorted the English workers to support the oppressed Irish workers and peasants against their own home bourgeoisie.

What Marx had merely let fall, became with Lenin part of his flesh and blood, one of the pillars of his policy. This is what enabled him, in a country like ours, inhabited by numerous nationalities, to discover the hidden hitherto untouched strings in the hearts of hundreds and thousands and millions, nay, tens of millions of people.

Lenin is great not merely because of the fact that he welded our class, the working class, and led it like one man; his greatness consists in the fact that, having taken the lead of the working class, he contrived to find for it allies which gave it a complete and durable victory. One ally was the peasantry, the other, the oppressed nationalities. Lenin's greatness is not merely in the fact that he knew, like nobody else did, the heart of the working man, but in that he succeeded in gaining entrance into the hearts of other section of the population, in touching the most susceptible strings both of the peasants and of the millions of the oppressed people, among whom there is no proletariat or class contradictions, and often where mediæval conditions prevail. Thanks to his candid, honest and intrepid policy in the national question he succeeded in a short time while at the head of the Council of Peoples' Commissaries in gaining the unbounded faith of millions of people of the formerly oppressed nationalities, who were accustomed to hate everything that was Russian and who hated Russia under the Czarists and bourgeois-democratic regimes. Lenin's genius prompted him to grasp the fact that it was one of the prime tasks of the proletarian revolution not only to organise the proletariat, but to secure a peasant following and win the complete and real faith of millions of people of the oppressed nationalities living in our country and all over the world.

V.—The Theory of State.

Now concerning the theory of State. As soon as the first tidings of the February revolution were received, Lenin, who was then an emigrant in Zurich, delivered his first lec-

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ture in which he propounded the idea of a State-commune. The best intellects of our Party and the party of the Mensheviks and Social-Revolutionaries were then living abroad as emigrants. The great majority of the people who heard the lecture on the new type of State-Commune, went away with the opinion that it was sheer raving or vain phantasy. None, even of the boldest intellects among the revolutionary emigrants and the revolutionary parties generally went beyond the conception of the bourgeois democratic type of American or French republic. Laying his ear to the ground Lenin a thousand miles away caught the sound of the new things our revolution was bringing. Even at the time when Prince Lvov was President of the Ministerial Council and Gutchgov the Minister for War, Lenin sensed from afar that this was not merely a bourgeois revolution, but that the national giant was rising, that an incredible human mass was astir, and the harbinger of the Socialist revolution was in the air.

On the morrow after his historical speech at the square near the Finnish Station, Lenin uttered his famous speech before the assembly of Mensheviks and Social-revolutionaries, and some of our comrades, in which he laid forth his plan of the Soviet Republic. I recall the first meeting with the revolutionary soldiers of that time which took place in the railway waggon when we were crossing the Finnish frontier from Sweden through Torneo. Kerensky's government despatched a number of soldiers to meet us. We thought they were sent to arrest us. Nevertheless we started a conversation with them which lasted a whole day and a whole night. One should have seen this first meeting of Lenin with the group of soldiers. Their chief was a middle-aged man, a convinced "national defender" who was so imbued with the spirit of Chauvinism that he shook at the mere mention of the word "Germany." One should have seen how Lenin interrogated these few representatives of the mass of "conscientious defenders" in order to learn the spirit of the people. He did not for a single moment forget that the great majority was then against us.

The meetings of the Petrograd Soviet at the time assembled no more than a handful of comrades, who did not occupy more than a fiftieth part of the hall. Lenin could listen with both ears to what the "conscientious defenders" said, he obtained from each of them the reason why they cleaved to the "defence policy," he did this calmly, confident that the morrow would be ours. He went against the stream, and explained the errors of defence policy in the hope that we would dissuade the vast majority of the nation.

I recall our joint appearance in the companies of the Semenevsky Regiment, which was at that time instigated against us. The comrades urged Ilyitch not to go, because they feared it might end badly with him. When we arrived at the barracks we had to pass through the lines of hundreds of young officers who gnashed their teeth when they saw Ilyitch, taking us for German agents. Ilyitch had to explain for half an hour why he travelled through Germany, and then he tried to pass on to the subject of land and the war. He knew the people, knew the peasants and the peasant soldiers as none of us new better. He conversed with them with the exquisite skill of a virtuoso; he conversed with these people in such wise, that the whole of this human mass, the entire barracks, which had been instigated against him, and had regarded him at the first moment with wolf's eyes, an hour later carried him out on their hands. I am sure that all the soldiers and a considerable part of the officers who were there (I know not where fate has scattered them to-day, mayhap some have died fighting for the cause of the proletarian revolution, while others may have died of epidemics) remember Lenin's speech as the greatest event of their lives. Or let us take a similar speech which Lenin delivered in front of the armoured cars at the maniége after Savinkof, where the overwhelming majority of the men did not sympathise with us, being instigated against Lenin, and regarding him with looks of animosity that spoke of their not being averse even to raising him on the bayonet's point. This was before the July days, when we were still in the minority. This man, by his manner alone, by the way in which he tackled his subject, by a single word which went straight to the heart, by a brief speech succeeded in making every ordinary person feel that he was a true friend of the people, whom one could follow with closed eyes and be sure that he would lead to the proper place.

In this difficult time, when we had to go against the stream, Lenin was especially great. In spite of the fact that the bulk of the Russian people paid no heed to what he said concerning the new type of State, an idea which Plekhanoff and with him other comrades, had called a dream-farce, Lenin succeeded in going against the current and in a very short time making the watchword " all power to the Soviets," the most popular slogan among the workingmen of Leningrad, and subsequently of the whole of Russia. This watchword " all power to the Soviets " to-day seems to us to be very elementary and self-evident. But how long ago was it when this watchword was considered new and unheard-of? To the sharpest revolutionary intellects of that time, it seemed hopelessly Utopian.

The watchword "all power to the Soviets" is Lenin's new theory of the State translated into simple language.

VI.—Lenin and Imperialism.

At first Lenin approached the problem of imperialism as the last stage of decaying capitalism purely as a theorist. His book, small yet rich in content, entitled "Imperialism as the Latest Phase of Capitalism," written while yet an emigrant before the February revolution, is widely known. Lenin wrote it with a thought to having it passed by the Czarist censor; that is to say, he wrote it in European language. In some ways this has made the book much more valuable. It is a book that should be read many times, like the books of Marx which Lenin studied and read 5 and 10 times. This book of Lenin's is not written in his usual fervent style; one will not find therein a single outspoken revolutionary appeal, but each figure therein breathes the fire of the struggle, each thought opens to us new horizons.

VII.—Lenin and the Dictatorship of the Proletariat.

Finally, we have Lenin's new ideas concerning the dictatorship of the proletariat. Marx elaborated the theory of proletarian dictatorship more than the other component parts of revolutionary Marxism, but even here Marx was limited to the theoretical field. During his life he only witnessed the Chartist movement in England and the first great attempt at revolution on the part of the Paris Communards, in respect of which Marx wrote, addressing the bourgeoisie: "If you gentlemen of the bourgeoisie want to know what proletarian dictatorship is, look at the Paris Commune." The Paris Commune, however, was crushed and defeated. Among the factors of failure was the fact that it did not constitute a single whole, that the French workers did not have a Communist Party of their own. The Paris Commune was a conglomeration of various tendencies and fractions in the Labour movement, not bound together by a single knot. Thus, one of the causes of the failure of the Paris Commune was the absence of a unified party and a unified leadership.

Marx was able to speak of the dictatorship of the proletariat only in a general way. In his book dealing with the role of the State and his numerous invaluable writings and speeches, Lenin has given us the theory of proletarian dictatorship complete from beginning to end. He has left us a treasure trove of tactics on this field that will require decades to learn and apply.

VIII.—Lenin as a Russian and World-Revolutionary.

Lenin was great both as a Russian and a world revolutionary. He was Russian from top to toe. He was the embodiment of Russia. He knew and felt Russia. Despite the many years of exile and life as an emigrant, this person breathed of Russia. While residing in Krakow, about six miles from the Russian border, Lenin frequently took a trip across the frontier to "get a gulp of Russian air." The very essence of his life was Russia, he felt Russia, he felt every blade of grass on the Russian road, he was Russian to the marrow of his bones. He knew the Russian working man like none of his contemporaries knew him, he knew in what way the Russian working man differs from the French and German. He had an unequalled understanding of the Russian peasant with all his weaknesses and his might. Lenin, the classical type of proletarian revolutionary found a place in the heart of every peasant. He was a Russian. And yet, like very few other Russian revolutionaries, he was an *international* revolutionary. From previous history we know that there have been a few great figures of Russian revolutionaries who acquired an international significance. Such are Bakunin, to some degree Gerzen, in a large degree Lavrov, who lived for many years as an emigrant, Plekhanov, who was in the course of a definite space of time, the leader both of the Russian workers and the Second International. These are four of the figures I can think of for the moment.

Lenin internationally was a greater revolutionary than these four great revolutionaries taken together. For the good of the international proletariat and the international revolution he succeeded in embodying within himself all that was strong in Bakunin, Gerzen, Lavrov and Plekhanov combined with an incomparable amazing knowledge of the masses and an unbounded infinite faith in the masses. Nobody had such faith in the creative genius of the working class masses, that is to say the toiling masses of all countries besides his own, as Lenin. Nobody could make his heart beat in unison with those of the workers, whether they lived in Moscow or Berne, as did Lenin. All this, together with his faith in the proximity of the proletarian dictatorship, a proximity which with him was now, to-morrow, made him an international revolutionary in the genuine sense of the word, long before he became the President of the Council of People's Commissaries of our Republic.

This is the reason why the death of Lenin has so keenly affected the working classes of all countries, not alone of Russia. When the international working class began to feel, if not to realise, that a new page in its history was being

turned over, it instinctively sought for the man who would head the international revolution, who would take the banner and lead the march of the international working class. It found Lenin. That is why now, when Lenin has closed his eyes in eternal sleep, he is mourned not only by the millions of Russian workers, but no less sincerely and deeply by the peasants of Albania and the workers of Mexico, the proletariat of New York and the working men of Paris, of Copenhagen, and of Peking, everywhere where there are workers and toilers. The negroes of America, the coolies of China, hundreds of thousands of people who knew of Lenin only by hearsay, who did not read perhaps any of his books, but who knew only these five letters L-E-N-I-N understood that Lenin meant the new humanity, the new banner, the new epoch, which opened its bright vista before them. He became the leader of the nascent international revolution long before he became the head of the Soviet Government; an honour and a joy such as this falls to the lot only of the chosen.

IX.—Lenin—The Creator of the Russian Communist Party.

As the creator of our Party, Lenin, especially in the early period of its organisation, proved himself to be an astonishing "diehard" and "narrow," as our opponents termed it. He boldly attacked the prejudices that existed even among the working class, and the ideas of "wide" democratism within our Party at a time when it could only be advantageous to the autocracy and ruinous to the Party. He firmly insisted that the Party should be built from above, at a time when only the method of personal selection was capable of bringing about the formation of a general staff of the future mass proletarian party, which would lead the masses in the time of a revolution. He demanded an iron discipline. It does not always make pleasant hearing when you are forced to listen day and night, year after year, to a single rigorous demand, for unlimited iron discipline within your own ranks. Discipline alone is not a thing that could flatter anybody. For many of us this is the onerous and clouded side of our activities. Lenin demanded of himself no less than of others relentless iron discipline. He ridiculed the so-called "intellectual slough," *i.e.*, the want of discipline, constant fluctuations, the search after up-to-date words and up-to-date "tendencies." He lashed each of us who succumbed to this intellectual slough, a thing which is customary not only with the intellectuals but unfortunately with individual workers as well. Lenin drove this corrosive tendency from out our ranks with a red-hot iron. He forged an incomparable instrument for the liberation of the working class such as the world

has never known; he created a party, a greater of which human history does not know. He urged, especially strongly in the middle of the '90s, the necessity of creating an *independent* Labour party. This, too, sounds elementary to-day. It should be remembered, however, that at the time many sincere leaders of the working class considered that the working class could not create an independent political party until the yoke of Czarism had been cast off, that it was the business of the working class to join in temporary alliance with the democratic bourgeoisie, and create its independent party afterwards. Nobody hated the Czarist regime more than Lenin, nobody nourished such bitter hatred of the Romanoff house as he did, but at the same time he would not think of "postponing" the building up of an independent political party. He utilised everything he could get out of the bourgeois-democracy for fighting the autocracy, and simultaneously worked on the building up of an independent working class party of our own. Beginning with the middle of the nineties, Lenin all the time indefatigably conducted a propaganda in favour of this fundamental idea, regarding the working class as the paramount head, the motor of the revolution and the chief force that would overthrow the Czar and subsequently the bourgeoisie. Comrade Lenin built up our party, also during the petty cares of his everyday work. He set it up stone by stone. What he had accomplished by years of toil was destroyed by the gendarmes in a week or two. But he always set to work again unfalteringly, placing stone upon stone, on the foundation of our party. He lit up with a powerful light the whole of the path ahead of the working class. Comrade Lenin, by combining daily activities with the winged working of his great brain, succeeded in building up our great party.

X.—Lenin as the Creator of the Comintern.

As far as it is permissible to speak of the role of a personality, it may be said that the Communist International is Lenin's offspring. Whereas the building up of a party was the most important task of his life, Lenin with still greater devotion went about the task which this time affected the workers of all the world, not alone the Russians. This was holy ground to him. It is painful to blunder within one's own party; but still more fearful was Lenin of making mistakes that would affect the workers of other countries. He first of all imparted to us this feeling of devoutness to the affairs of the International. He taught us to approach the questions which affect the German peasants and the Chinese coolies, the American negroes and the French workers with a warm heart and a cool clear head. Look long before you

jump, for it is the sacred cause of the working classes of the whole world—this is what he taught us.

At the first conferences in Zimmerwald and Kienthal, which assembled a handful of revolutionaries, at the moment when the whole international Labour movement has suffered defeat, when the banner of the working class was trampled in the dust, Lenin just as firmly believed in the star of international Labour. He said, we shall raise this banner, wipe off the dust, carry it forward and set up a Third International. Beginning with a small task, with the individual preparation of about 5 or 10 Swiss workers and subsequently continuing from the First Congress to the Fourth Congress, in which he participated despite ill-health, and the persuasions of his friends, Lenin untiringly worked at the cause of international working class unity. I remember the short speech he made in German at the Fourth World Congress. When he had finished he could barely stand on his legs through fatigue. The sweat came out all over his body. Yet he refused to listen to our admonition that he should stay away. He wanted to tell the workers of all countries that our cause in Soviet Russia was being carried forward, that NEP did not frighten us, that we would remain a Communist Party. He proudly told the Congress that we had already made 8 million gold roubles out of NEP, and seemed to show the representatives of international Labour this gold; he said this money was going to be used for the electrification of Russia, for raising our Socialist industry. He said, we shall support you, rely on us, we have strong shoulders, prepare more solidly, do not enter the lists too soon, gather your forces, hit the bourgeoisie with the back of the hand, and hit it in the chest when you are really sure that you will win. Such was the gist of his speech at the Fourth Congress, which was also his swan song.

Take for example his small brochure dealing with maladies of Leftism in international Communism. Is this not a gospel for the whole of International Labour? That brochure foresees all the difficulties and the pitfalls through which the international Labour movement will have to pass. This brochure is not less important for the tactics of the Communist Parties than Marx's "Capital" was for the theory of Communism. Every line therein abounds with experience of the Labour movement in all parts of the world. Lenin knew the Labour movement of Europe, America and the whole world, as nobody else did. Lenin endeavoured to become acquainted with all Labour leaders so as to set up a real international Central Committee—Executive Committee of the Comintern. Therefore, Lenin, who as head of the State was weighed down by a multitude of cares, used to

sit at our Congresses day and night. One could find him in a corner of the Kremlin Hall, standing for three hours, holding an English, a French or German worker by the button of his coat and impressing him with the history of our revolution, pointing out the difficulties they would have to encounter. Lenin foresaw the English Labour Government as far back as the time of the Second Congress of the Comintern, when the thought had not even entered the mind of a single English Communist. He spoke to us of the Labour Government in great detail, he prophesied the great difficulties, the advantages and disadvantages that it would create. He was as deeply interested in all the details of the international Labour movement as he was in the affairs of the Soviet Government. He took a most active part in the organising as well as the political work of the Comintern. I remember the famous 21 conditions for joining the Comintern. I wrote them entirely on Lenin's inspiration; it was he who was the father of the thought, that the doors should be firmly bolted against those "leaders" who come to us under pressure of the masses and not of their own conviction. It was he who taught the young Communist of the West that they should create their party by means of careful selection, picking out grain by grain. Many parties even to-day could not open their doors the way we are doing to admit hundreds of thousands of new members. The Communist parties in a number of countries are merely living through their 1890's and 1900's.

Lenin had the greatest respect for his predecessors, for all builders of the new life, for all soldiers of the revolution, but just as great was the contempt he felt towards the pigmies of the 2nd and 2½ Internationals. To-day I came across a newspaper of 1922, in which there is an article by Lenin regarding the 10th anniversary of the *Pravda*. Recalling the progress of our revolution, the destinies of the International he said the following about the present representatives of the Second International:

"They absolutely fail to see that from the point of view of international revolution the reversion from Chartism to toadyism by the Hendersons towards the bourgeoisie, the reversion from Varlen say to Renaudelle, from Wilhelm Liebknecht and Bebel to Zudekum, Scheidemann and Noske, is merely like the "reversion" of an automobile from the smooth straight highroad of hundreds of miles to a dirty fetid ditch of a few feet by the same high road."

"People make their own history," went on Lenin, "men like the Chartists, Varlens, and Liebknechts make

it with their head or their heart. The leaders of the 2nd and 2½ Internationals however "make" it with an entirely different section of their anatomy: they meliorate the soil for new Chartists, new Varlens and new Liebnechts" (See *Pravda*, No. 98, 1922).

Comrade Lenin treated these people sufficiently brusquely. He, however, had the greatest respect for such of his predecessors as Varlen and Liebnecht or even August Bebel, who was one-half a follower of the old heroic epoch and the other half an opportunist. Lenin had the highest esteem for Plekhanoff and taught us to respect such men.

Of the legacy which Comrade Lenin has left us, the most important is the Communist International, the international Communist movement, embodying the hopes and aspirations not only of the Russian working class, but of the whole international proletariat. It is our duty to approach the matter of international working class struggle with the greatest care and attention, it is our duty to see to it that the machine works well and properly, and does not swerve from the path on which Lenin placed it.

We shall go about this task with unlimited faith in our cause, as Lenin has taught us.

XI.—Lenin and the Imperialist War.

I believe the outbreak of the imperialist war effected the most important change in Lenin's life. It brought about a change in the life of all men, but Lenin, this giant of thought, experienced the change in his own personal life and activities. If he was *big* before 1914, that year saw him *great*. Lenin was most keenly aroused by the war; he took it as an insult to himself and the whole of humanity. He seemed to me at that time to be as tense as a taut string, he was entirely transfigured and he appeared to live through each of the shots which resounded on the fields of battle.

Comrade Lenin was not of those people who fear shooting or who are not able to look at blood unmoved. We know how calmly, while working in his room, he could listen to the roar of cannon fire, when the Soviet Republic shook within a hair's breadth of ruin, and how many scores of times he looked death in the face.

He was so painfully affected by each volley during the imperialist war, not because of any sentimental views regarding the destruction of a cathedral or even the extermination of thousands of human lives. He viewed the matter as a revolutionary and not as a pacifist. His painful sensitiveness was born of the knowledge that the world had reached a

crisis: either the bourgeoisie was to exterminate physically the flower of the working class, and drive it back for many decades, or else we were to succeed in availing ourselves of this opportunity when millions of men were under arms and the workers had rifles, in order to strike home. Lenin then advanced the watchword of converting the imperialist war into a civil war.

Lenin lived mostly in Switzerland—Zurich, in the house of a cobbler, with whom he was on friendly terms, and later in Berne. He had no room to set his eagle wings. He was cramped for lack of scope. He had neither a large paper or a large audience. We were cut off from Russia, and news reached us at very rare intervals. Lenin at that time felt like a caged eagle. And at this time, I reiterate, he became *great*. He grew under our very eyes; he absorbed all the revolutionary disaffection which the horrors of war was sowing at that time all over the world. He seemed to read all the thoughts which occupied the minds of the workers of England, France, Germany, Poland and Russia as they lay in the trenches, he gathered into one all the tears of the working class mothers, and all the groans that rose from the field of the imperialist war found an echo in his heart. He was extraordinarily sensitive to all this suffering. He grew thin and his features became more emaciated every day. He seemed to be accumulating the wrath of the revolutionary working class who were being driven to the slaughter. And here it came about that the ideas were born in his mind which have made him immortal for all time. His writings were at that time, in my opinion, like a translation in the language of proletarian revolution of Tolstoy's great book "War and Peace." Tolstoy, as a great artist, portrayed to us in objective form the problems of war and peace. Lenin, too, gathered together all the groans from the field of war, all the rage of the revolutionary working class whom the imperialist robbers had crushed, and portrayed them in his brilliant writings and his manifestoes which soon sounded like an alarm bell throughout the world.

XII.—Lenin, the Prophet.

At the beginning of the imperialist war, when the crisis of Socialism pressed with insupportable weight on each of us, when among the working class and its advanced men there were only individual cases of men like Liebknecht who timidly raised a voice against the war, Lenin waxed bigger under our very eyes, his wings grew and strengthened he grew into the great leader, who afterwards became the prophet of the international proletarian revolution.

There is no problem which Lenin has not closely handled and said something prophetic about. Let us take the most important themes: Lenin and the worker; Lenin and the peasant; Lenin and every housemaid, who in his opinion, had to learn how to administer the State; Lenin and the youth; Lenin and the working woman; Lenin and the Red Army; Lenin and the Soviet State; Lenin and public education; Lenin and the children; Lenin and the Trade Unions; Lenin and the Paris Commune, and so on. Lenin has enriched all these themes, he has given new ideas in respect of each of them. Each of these subjects is sufficient for a whole book. In all these fields Lenin was a prophet.

Nobody disapproved so much of loud words as Lenin, and he would be the first to protest at being called a prophet and clairvoyant. This is truly a trite expression that inadequately applies to Comrade Lenin. One, however, cannot suppress amazement at the degree of genuine insight Lenin displayed. Apparently it is true that when a man is born between two epochs, whose brain and heart embodies all that is best and advanced in humanity, in the foremost class—in the present case the working class—this man does not notice it, and goes about uttering prophecies as a matter of course, while men in astonishment look on and see these prophecies gradually coming true.

Let us take what Lenin said on the question of the proletariat and the peasantry, the relations between the classes in the revolution. Is this not prophecy? Is it not prophecy when a man in the nineties predicts the fundamental relations and co-ordination of two great classes—the working class and the peasantry in a great country with a population of 150 millions, and this prediction comes true? If we take his idea of the hegemony of the proletariat we shall see that he carried it through three revolutions and advocated it for a quarter of a century. Who doubts to-day that this was not the invention of a publicist or a theorist, but the insight of a great mind. Was it not remarkable prophecy when Lenin in 1914 spoke of converting the imperialist war into a civil war? When he first made this statement in 1914 no ten men could be found in any part of the world who would give credence to it. Even in our own party such men could not be found. Everybody regarded it merely as revolutionary ardour.

In 1894 Lenin wrote his first large work, "Who are the Friends of the People?" which was withheld by the Czarist censor and published only a few months ago. He was 25 years of age at the time, being a young revolutionary who had come out into the political field, a young eagle with unfledged wings. The working class was then still weak;

no party existed. In this book Lenin uttered the following prophetic words.

“When its (the working class) advanced representatives shall have assimilated the idea of scientific Socialism, the idea of the historical role of Russian Labour, when these ideas shall have been widely propagated, and stable organisations created among the working class . . . then will Russian Labour, rising to the head of the democratic elements, knock down absolutism and lead the Russian proletariat (side by side with the proletariat of all countries) along the straight road of open political struggle to the triumph of the *Communist revolution*.”

This was said in 1894, 30 years ago, during the years of unprecedented Czarist reaction. Is this not a great prophecy? During the subsequent 30 years of his activities Lenin simply elaborated this brief phrase, so rich in ideas. When viewing all this, one is compelled to recognise that Lenin was already full-grown in 1894 and that his subsequent activities consisted merely in conveying to the masses the ideas he had expressed in 1894.

When we were in one party and one International with the Mensheviks, Lenin in 1908 declared that the literary controversy we were waging against them was the precursor of future civil war which would be waged at the barricades. At the very most there were a hundred men in the whole party who took this statement seriously. Nobody thought it was anything but an ordinary case of two fractions within one party, and slighted the idea of such a serious issue. To-day we know that Lenin as far back as 15 years clearly foresaw what we were made to understand only upon the advent of the revolution of 1917. The same applies to the Commune-State and to the Comintern. When Lenin raised the watchword of a “Third International,” it was credited only by a handful of people. Nobody thought this would ever materialise. The same applies to the electrification of our country. It is quite obvious that in this connection as well Lenin foresaw a great deal which only a few believed, which a few years ago appeared incredible, and which nevertheless is fast becoming an accomplished fact. The same can be said of the Union of Soviet Republics, which few believed, and even now believe, but which will inevitably become a fact, and soon.

XIII.—Lenin as a Man and a Comrade.

I desire to speak of Lenin as a comrade and a man, a subject which so deeply interests every member of our party

and every worker in general. Nadejda Konstantinovna said truly that Lenin, besides being able to speak with the workers could also *listen* to them. To listen to others is a great art which not all can master. The world contains more people who are able to speak, than those who are really able to listen. Lenin belonged to the latter sort. He was like a sponge that could absorb all that was healthy and genuine in the life of the working class. He could do this in all situations. He did it in 1905, at the time of the first St. Petersburg Council of Labour Deputies, when he sat in the gallery of the Free Economic Society, listening to the speech of the working men and women, and drinking in every word they said. He did it at the mass meetings, squatting on the stairs among the working men, chatting with them and listening to their every word. Out of a few words that he heard he could draw for himself a whole picture. In moments when the knowledge of imminent persecution compelled him to seek refuge in casual apartments, he would enter into conversation with any middle-aged working woman or cook whom he chanced to meet, in order to find out how she was affected by the bourgeois slander and what it was that repulsed her from Bolshevism. During his peregrinations in the July days, while hiding for a week in a cabin near a stack of hay, he made enquiries of the family of the working man who gave him refuge and formed a clear idea in his mind of the conditions of life of the working class family.

Comrade Yemeljanov, in whose cabin we were then in hiding, had a son 16 years of age, who at the time considered himself to be more Left than Comrade Lenin; he was an anarchist. One should have seen how many hours Lenin spent in conversation with this youth, endeavouring to find out how he became an anarchist, and to convert him by proving that we were right. Lenin in all situations availed himself of every opportunity of getting into contact with real live workers. His love for the working class was not an abstract dimension, like that of contrite intellectuals; it was a genuine warm, potent affection for each worker, the house painter who painted the villa at Gorki, for the cobbler who mended his boots, for the Lettish cook who prepared his meals, for each toiling person who crossed his path, for all his foibles as well as his strong traits. As Nadejda Konstantinovna has correctly and beautifully stated, his heart beat for every working man. Lenin may have appeared unresponsive, he did not like to be considered sentimental, although he was, if we are to consider sentimentality as genuine humanity. Everybody felt that his heart was aglow with a transcendent love for each working man. I will not contend that Lenin did not know his worth. He did. He was a man of the

labour family, a man of the collective body. There was no ego-centrism about him. He never said, "it is my wish," "I demand" but "it is the Party's wish," the "Party demands." He knew his historic mission, however. It seemed quite natural and simple; everybody understood that Lenin spoke in the name of millions, that this was the task history had assigned to him. In this sense Lenin's consciousness often took the following form: "I and the whole of peasant Russia," "I, Lenin, and the whole working class," "I, Lenin, and all the bourgeois countries," and even more, "I, Lenin—leader of the Russian people—and the rest of the world." Without ostentation or exaggerated notions of his importance, Lenin was aware of the task that had fallen to his lot of leading the great revolution. He knew his great historical mission, but at the same time he was a man of great humanity, rare simplicity and remarkable warmth. He embodied the collective will, the energy, love and courage of the whole working class. On him was directed all the lives of the oppressed and all the hatred of the oppressors.

There was never a man more simple, more plain and more human than Lenin. Everywhere he was the same. For example, in prison. I know from reliable sources that during his first term of imprisonment in our city, Lenin instantly started seething activities: he wrote, issued proclamations outside, and became the soul of his ward. He would hammer into his neighbour for hours on end: "shut the window with a rag, otherwise you'll catch cold in the draught," while at the same time laying forth his theory of proletarian hegemony and explaining to his neighbour errors of the Narodniki. I saw Comrade Lenin in prison in Galacia. He was arrested at the beginning of the war by the Austrian Government on suspicion of being a military spy. He was seized and incarcerated in prison in the village Novi Targ, not far from Crakow. We visited him during the few days in which he stayed there. He immediately became the soul of the company, which consisted of peasants imprisoned for debt, and some other offenders. They all agreed in making Lenin a kind of sheriff among them, and he used to go with great pleasure under an escort to buy Marhorka for the whole company. In the meantime, he explained to them the Galacian laws, which he studied specially from books, so as to help the Galacian peasants free themselves of their debts. They grew fond of him immediately for his cheerful spirit, his will-power, his readiness to help, and his kindness to the common man. In this Galacian prison,

among this motley company, among people with whom he conversed with great difficulty in broken Polish, he immediately became the leading spirit. And this was the case wherever Lenin happened to be.

His will power was extraordinary. It did not desert him during his illness till the last moment. This is illustrated by a number of episodes. The time, however, has not yet come to speak of them. . . . He would joke, laugh and sing at such tragic moments when another in his place would only be capable of crying. . . . The stronger his will power, the less he seemed to notice it. He did not realise how strong he was in all that had made him a giant of will as well as a giant of thought, a mighty leader as well as a great theorist. All the will of labour, all the doggedness of a long oppressed class marching to freedom and power, all the strength of its talent, all the obstinacy of the Russian mujik, all the pertinacity of the vast masses, all the gifts of our country, with her forests, valley and rivers, all the moral force of a great nation seemed to be embodied in his brain, in his heart and his will. This has made Comrade Ilyitch not only a great revolutionary and a great teacher, but a *man* first of all. Those who ever came in touch with him, even of the most fleeting kind, have carried away a bright recollection of his personality.

See what a tribute of respect and wonder Lenin has succeeded in wresting from his enemies. People who had never seen him left him like an electric current across the ocean, some joyfully received this electric current, while others, understood that this wave would sweep away the bourgeoisie. But they all knew that this was the greatest figure the world had ever known. As a statesman, a theorist and a *leader*, Lenin, of course, was and is known to the whole world. But fewer people knew him as a man. Those who have known him will never forget the image of this really great man. Lenin loved nature in all her aspects and manifestations. This great thinker could frolic like a schoolboy. He was the first to start a tune during a stroll, he was the best skater in our company, the best cyclist, a fine tourist, the best snow-mountain climber; he loved to hunt, he was always the first to suggest bathing in the icy mountain streams of Galacia, he could laugh with infectious mirth, whistle and sing.

He whose shoulders bore the burden of such great work and responsibility worked during the last few years as if he had been born President of the Council of People's Commissars, leader of the Comintern, as if he had always been in control of a great State, and had never been a hungry emigrant, living in garrets, a prisoner and an exile. The

entire machinery of the Party and of the State moved under his control as smoothly as though it worked of its own accord, in a natural way. And this at such a time as 1918 and 1919! At the darkest moments, when Denikin was advancing on Orel, when the enemy stood within a few miles of Petrograd, when Uritzky was assassinated in the morning and shots were fired at his own person in the evening, when entire regiments were mowed down at the fronts, when we were as yet unable to handle arms, when history encumbered our path at every step with obstructions, his demeanour was calmer and cooler than before, and the machinery moved more smoothly under his hands. He himself did not sleep of nights, yet if anybody had occasion to spend the night in the adjoining room, he would be anxious in the morning as to whether that person had slept, making pretence that he himself had slept splendidly all night. This is how Lenin worked and lived.

He was literally consumed by work. We now know the results of the post-mortem examination; specialists have seen his brain and described it to us in minutest detail. Eminent German physicians have said that one-fourth of Lenin's brains remained unconsumed by work. We marvel at Lenin's strength, at the fact that he preserved so much intellectual power with only a quarter of his brains. He had better idea of the state of affairs than any person with healthy brains. We know the stupid legends that our enemies are endeavouring to circulate, "explaining" the causes of Lenin's death. The eminent representatives of science, however, have absolutely confuted this gossip; they tell us: this man was consumed, he gave his brain and his life blood to the last drop to the working class.

He never left his post. Lenin never travelled, he stood all the time at the head, he exerted the remnants of his strength, feeling that he was responsible for the entire policy. He took upon himself even the responsibility of appointing a chief of an army division, of determining points of strategy in the civil war, nominations, settling conflicts, in one or another organisation or Department, in fact all and everything. He enquired into everything. He evinced interest in the activities of any small local administration or committee of poor peasants. He was concerned in questions of public education, and such a matter even as the cinema and school primars; in short, everything that went to make up the life of a State passed through his brains. He received dozens of visitors every day. He did not live—his life burnt away, and the consuming flame was gentle and continuous. Nobody would have said that this man was sick, because he concealed the inner sides of his

own activity. He made others take a rest and treatment with the words: "You are a unit in the live stock of our Party," but he never thought of rest or treatment for himself.

Naturally, the Party did everything possible to create normal conditions of work for him and furnish him with a sufficient number of assistants. But all that the Party did was in vain; his will in everything that concerned his work was unbendable. Lenin was the most disciplinary member of our Party, the decisions of the Party were law to him, but in respect to his own work he violated the discipline and evaded the decisions of the Central Committee.

Now when we are able with the eyes of the greatest specialists to view the work of his brain, we all see that he was consumed by work, that he devoted not only his talent and all the fire of his heart to the working class, but that he gave his great brain entirely and irretrievably to the service of the first victorious proletarian revolution.

He was perfectly aware of the poor state of his health; as early as 1922 he sometimes said to his relatives and friends: "Take my word for it, I will end up with paralysis." We repeatedly tried to turn it into a joke. But he would bring up examples, and affirm that his fate would probably be the same as that of so and so, or perhaps worse. In 1922, when the first symptoms of his malady appeared, he began to study medical books and make his own diagnosis by them. At the same time he considered that his post was such that he had to direct the tremendous historical work till the last moment and the last breath.

Thus passed away our great leader and teacher, comrade and friend, who by his age could yet have carried on for ten years at least and conduct the country through the most difficult situation.

XIV.—Lenin's Funeral. His Precepts.

I do not intend to describe the funeral. I had occasion to do that previously.

Everybody, including our enemies and our friends, admit that the funeral has no precedent in human history. A million people came to pay their last tribute in a frost of 25 degrees. The same thing was witnessed all over Russia, throughout the entire union of Soviet Republics and the whole world. Recently Comrade Losovsky, who returned from abroad, narrated to me what he witnessed, being at the time in Paris. A demonstration such as the workers of Paris had not known for the last 28 years took place on account of Lenin's death. There was the same mourning and lamentation of the working class women, the same crying of the

children as here in Ilyitch's native land. Thus it was in Paris, Christiana, in Italy and all over the world. In every place where workers and class-conscious peasants live and toil, where men sit in gaol for the workers' cause, where the oppressed nationalities rise up to fight, the day of this funeral became one of deepest mourning over Lenin. A more impressive movement than that which Moscow witnessed in the course of six days and six nights the world has never seen.

We know from the narrations of the workers what these six days meant for them. It is not surprising that we, all the members of the Central Committee and Lenin's immediate disciples thought of nothing all these days but of Lenin's grave. But it appears that in Moscow and probably in this city, too, there were hundreds and thousands of working class families who during these days did not think even of their meals. Life was topsy-turvy. I heard the story of a worker whose wife is a hot Menshevist. She spent three consecutive days at Lenin's coffin, entirely neglecting the household. I believe this is not an isolated case. Lenin's death compelled an admission of his greatness even from those who till now have not admitted the justice of his cause. His death itself became the greatest event in the life of our country. I believe I am not deceived by the feeling which tells me that all Russia, the whole country, felt in a new way after Lenin's death. There is a kind of line marking off the border between Russia *before* and Russia *after* Lenin's death.

Certain politicians, wishing to render Lenin a great compliment, compare him to Peter the Great and other such figures in universal history. Foolish comparison! They have not taken the right measure. Peter the Great, Napoleon and Cromwell, of course, were great men, but not even their measure is applicable to Lenin. Such a great man the world has not yet known, and all those hictorical men I have named are pigmies by comparison with this giant of thought, feeling and will, this herald of the brotherhood and commonwealth of Labour. The movement among the non-partisan masses which has now begun is the best monument to Lenin. We should not be apprehensive about these raw forces, these hundreds of thousands of working men pouring into our Party. We should not fear this small revolution in our Party; let them come in. If we succeed in squeezing out the obnoxious elements that have got stranded there, and which are mere ballast to our Party, our ranks will have become stronger and cleaner and our Party more proletarian and Lenin-like.

In recent years, Lenin frequently looked towards the

East more than towards the West; he regarded somewhat sceptically the development of the revolution in certain Western countries, although he never for a moment doubted that the proletarian revolution in the West would in a comparatively short time triumph. In his article on May 2nd, 1922, from which I have already quoted, Lenin said :

“ The bourgeoisie can as yet maltreat and kill with impunity. But it cannot stop the inevitable and—from the point of view of world history—not far distant triumph of the revolutionary proletariat.”

Lenin, however, paid special attention to such countries as China, India, Persia, Turkey, etc. He regarded Soviet Russia as standing on the border line between the East and the West. We must not forget this precept of Lenin's and should remember his prophetic words about having a real knowledge of the oppressed peoples of the East. Lenin had an excellent knowledge of the oppressed peoples of the East, though he never came into close touch with them and did not know their language. He guessed their feelings, he rejoiced at the sight of their representatives, lived for them and was their hope. . . .

We all, all our Party and all the workers, should make a careful *study* of the inheritance Lenin has left us. This will demand years of application. Each of us should *study* the principal works of Lenin. We have to bear a tremendous responsibility. We must not spill the precious cup or dissipate the great inheritance bequeathed to us by Lenin. We must fight our enemies under Ilyitch's banner, we must meet them not only with a forest of bayonets and rifles, but armed with the iron will to win, with the knowledge of Leninism. We must carry out the precepts of Lenin and see the great cause that he left us carried to the end. This will serve as the best monument to Lenin. To serve honestly the cause of the Communist International means to serve the great ideals of Ilyitch.

We must not permit the slightest fissure to take place in the Russian Communist Party—that vanguard of the Comintern which is liberating mankind. We have received an inheritance that no Party before us has ever received. We are the richest heirs in the world. Our army is worthy of victory. There is no army greater than the army of Communards, of which Lenin was general. This army, wiping away a tear over its great lost teacher, has declared : Now to work, now we are preparing to carry out in deed the precepts of Vladimir Lenin.

G. ZINOVIEV.

The Great Proletarian Leader

Translated by M. L. KORTCHMAR.

LENIN will take his place in history as the giant who stood at the parting of the ways between the capitalist world and the new world of Communism, pointing out to oppressed humanity the road to freedom. This giant entered upon the stage of history at the dawn of the Russian Labour movement; he grew together with this movement, and in the course of the imperialist war became the evil genius to the world bourgeoisie, and the good genius to the toilers and moilers of all countries. I recollect the horror which seized the Entente bourgeoisie on learning that Lenin had returned to Russia in a "sealed carriage"; the leading bourgeois papers in England and in Italy* devoted in those days nearly as much space to the doings of Lenin as they did to the largest battles. Long before that time, when Lenin started upon his career in the Labour movement, those who came in contact with him saw the birth of a new brilliant star over Russia. Our aged Comrade, P. B. Axelrod, a member of the "Osvobozhdenie Truda" (Emancipation of Labour—Translator), and one of the founders of the Russian Marxian school, said to me once, "Plekhanov and myself have been propagating our Marxian ideas for many a day without meeting with any response in Russia, while our young followers, the new-born Social-Democrats, who came from Russia to visit us, were rather embarrassing by reason of their political helplessness. Only when we got acquainted with Ulyanov (Lenin) we heaved a sigh of relief, and said to ourselves: now, at last, we may feel at ease; the cause of Russian Social-Democracy in Russia proper is in safe hands, having found a worthy practical leader." L. Martov, who during the nineties and during the period of the old *Iskra*† (1901-1903) fought by the side of Lenin, and later on became the leader of the Menshevik Party, and fought against the latter for two decades, had to admit in his deathbed confession, in his "Memoirs of a Social-Democrat," as follows: "as soon

* (e.g. The "Daily Telegraph" and the "Corriere della Serra.")

† "Iskra" (The Spark), such was the title of the Russian Socialist newspaper started abroad in December, 1900 and edited by Lenin, Martov, Potresov, Plekhanov, Axelrod and Vera Zassulitch

as I read the first pamphlet written by Lenin I became convinced that he is of the stuff of which leaders are made."

A similar impression I obtained of Lenin when I first met him in 1901. I am an old revolutionist, already in 1885, I was a member of the Petrograd committee of the "Narodnaya Volya" (the Freedom of the People, such was the name of one of the early revolutionary groups in Russia who started an active fight upon the Czarist autocracy—Translator's note). Before meeting Lenin I had spent ten years in Siberian exile, where I met nearly all the surviving revolutionists of the preceding heroic period of the "Narodnaya Volya," and of the "Zemlya i Volya" (Land and Freedom), and when I emigrated abroad, I met the most prominent leaders of the Socialist movement of the West. And now, on comparing all these people with Lenin, I said to myself: "There is not one of them like Lenin, he has no equal!" More than by anything else, I was impressed by the revolutionary daring of this man. Until 1901 I had never heard of him, and had not known of his existence. He seemed to me quite a new man in the revolution, and I was amazed at the courage of this young man who dared to defy the whole of the Russian Social-Democracy, to break all the old traditions of the German and of the international Social-Democracy, to criticise unmercifully all the time-honoured revolutionary authorities save one, that of Karl Marx.

Lenin was not only a born leader, but precisely a born *plebian, proletarian leader*. In him there was no trace whatever of the meekness of the Russian intellectual. This man possessed a powerful, ironclad will-power and his mind was deeply rooted in the very heart of the toiling people of Russia. It was only from those quarters, from the ranks of Labour, that we obtained such indomitable leaders. Lenin was a son of the Volga, and his spirit was much akin to the historic rebels of the Stenka Razin type*. He was a leader of men and at the same time devoid of any sense of vanity. He was essentially a plebian and truly proletarian leader, entirely unconscious of self. A man of great genius, he was very simple in his manner. He wrote in common language, as though hewing with an axe; he hated any high-falutin' phrases and posing of any kind. At all times he listened attentively and with profound intuition to the moods and sentiments of the common workers and peasants, and the

* Stepan Timofeyevitch Razin, beloved Cossack-leader of the first peasant rebellions in Russia in the latter part of the 17th century, known in folklore by the endearing name of "Stenka." He was executed by the Czar's hangman in 1670, betrayed "by priests and squires," according to popular story. His memory is cherished affectionately by all classes of the Russian people to the present day. Translator's note.

slogans which he launched were always plain and simple and accessible to the understanding of the masses.

Was he a kind man or otherwise, is a question which cannot be answered offhand. Already in 1894, in his article against Struve†, he said that he knew of no common human morality; he only knew the morality of class. In regard to the bourgeois classes and to all the "compromisers" who endeavoured either consciously or unconsciously to erect a bridge between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie and to patch up the cleavage between the classes, he was severe and unmerciful, and his tactics in this respect would stick at nothing. At the same time he was extremely affectionate and tender-hearted in regard to the oppressed classes and to all those who devoted their lives to the cause of the oppressed. On more than one occasion, I learned of the wonderful care which he manifested at most critical and dangerous moments in regard to his comrades in arms, including the humblest rank and file workers in the movement. Yet, in case of treason to the movement, even if committed by one of his closest associates, he did not hesitate to take the guilty one to task, with all the vehemence and passion of a stern revolutionary judge.

For him there was no personal life apart from the service to the proletarian cause; he had no wishes and no joys outside of the proletarian struggle. He was a fiery Communist, and not only now, but thirty years ago, when everybody considered Communism as a song of the distant future, Lenin concentrated his whole mind upon the struggle for this ideal to such an extent that it seemed to him to be something tangible and close at hand. In the nineties of the past century, the "Populists"* reproached the Marxians that their "love for the distant ideal caused them frequently to neglect their love for their neighbours." This reproach was addressed to Lenin more than once by shallow and weak-kneed "Socialists" who claimed to be shocked by the number of dead bodies that would have to pave the road to the ultimate goal. These men of little revolutionary faith did not understand Lenin. Nurtured upon the traditions of the

† Peter Struve, at one time a Marxian writer, who later turned renegade. After the revolution of 1905, he joined the Liberals (Cadets), and since the 1917 revolution, particularly since the proletarian "October," he identifies himself with the darkest Russian reactionaries and counter-revolutionary monarchists. Was a member of the Wrangel "government."
—Translator's note.

* The Populists (in Russian, "Narodniki") were the followers of the early pre-Marxian "idealistic" school of Russian Socialism, a slav variety of the "Christian" Socialism of Proudhon, tinged with a sort of extatic admiration and worship of the unsophisticated mind of the common Russian people, with a corresponding measure of contempt for "Western" ideas, under which heading their successors classed also the scientific Socialism of Karl Marx.—Translator's note.

past heroic revolutionary generation of the 70's, Lenin was such a passionate hater of exploitation of man and such an ardent fighter for Communism, and such a profound follower of the scientific Socialism of Karl Marx, that to him Communism appeared to be quite near and not at all distant. He did not indulge in any "cruel experiments" with the people, as he was falsely accused. He led the people upon a safe and reliable road, and it was not his fault if the blind could not see whither this road was leading, and how near was the victory.

"Imagination is the thing!" Thus wrote Lenin in 1902, in his book entitled, "What is to be Done?" He certainly possessed great imagination, although he was neither a dreamer nor a Utopian seeker after revolutionary adventures. While his heart glowed with passion, his head remained as cool as ice. Not only was he the most profound student of the teachings of Karl Marx, but he found also the practical way and the practical revolutionary strategy for the realisation of the Marxian ideas.

Lenin was the greatest revolutionary strategist of all times. Marx was the creator of the theory of scientific Socialism, but at the time when Marx lived the historical circumstances were not favourable to the realisation of Socialism. Lenin emerged at a time of imperialist strife, when the last hour had struck for capitalist accumulation, when the world-conditions have become ripe for the social revolution, and it seems that he came into the world to carry the teachings of Marx into actual practice. In this respect, in the sphere of revolutionary practice and of revolutionary proletarian strategy, Lenin was the greatest innovator. He blazed new paths, he dared to be a Daniel, and to stand alone in fighting against prevalent prejudices and common fallacies; he followed consistently the line of development of the class-struggle, and in this was his force. Lenin constantly defied the superficial currents and views which prevailed among the intellectual Socialists, being ahead of everybody in finding the trend of the movement of the masses of the people. In regard to this movement of the masses, he possessed an exceptional gift of intuition.

I shall deal only with more significant moments of our revolutionary movement, with those turning points when Lenin blazed new paths for the revolution.

The first achievement of this revolutionary Hercules, was the creation of a party organisation capable of realising the proletarian hegemony in the Russian revolution. The idea of the proletarian hegemony was by no means new to Russian revolutionists. It was already stated by the founders of the Russian Marxian school, Plekhanov and

Axelrod, that the proletariat must be the hegemonious leader of the Russian revolution. Yet in 1900, when our revolution began to dawn, our Party seemed to be extremely backward in this respect, and it took the great genius of Lenin to raise our Party to that height.

How was this miracle accomplished?

I recollect my first meeting with Lenin in 1901. I was then the editor of "Rabotcheye Dyelo,"* and Lenin had just started the "Iskra." Comrade Lokhov (Oikhin) arranged then for me to meet Lenin and Martov at a little restaurant in Geneva. We discussed with Lenin the programme of the Party, and its political tasks and tactics, and we seemed to be quite in agreement, because I represented the extreme Left upon the editorial board of "Rabotcheye Dyelo." However, at the close of our conversation, Lenin asked me the question: "Well, what do you think of my plan of organisation?" To this I replied: "As to this point, I disagree entirely. Your plan of organisation puts me in mind of the organisation of the Macedonian rebel bands. You propose to introduce in our Party a sort of military discipline; nothing of the kind was heard of among Social-Democrats either in Russia or in Western Europe." With a merry twinkle in his eye, Lenin said to me: "You disagree with me just on this point, and it happens to be the most essential one, and so we have nothing left to talk about." At this we parted, for many years. At that time I could not see how people could part company on account of different views upon questions of organisation, when apparently quite unanimous upon all the political questions. Now I understand it quite well. If our Party had maintained its loose form of organisation, it would never have developed a consistent revolutionary policy.

A second time I was shocked by Lenin when he published his book entitled: "What is to be Done?" Lenin, knew, of course, that I belonged to the Left wing of "Rabotcheye Dyelo," he knew that as a former member of "Narodnaye Volya," I was a "politician" within the ranks of "Rabotcheye Dyelo," and the "Social-Democratic League," in which I was waging a campaign against "economism"† But already from his first interview with me he became convinced that I was not a whole-hogger in the fight against "economism" and that I disagreed with him upon the question of

* "Rabotcheye Dyelo," (The Workers' Cause), such was the title of an eclectic Social-Democratic review which faithfully reflected the ideological confusion which prevailed at that time in our Party.

† "Economism" was the title adopted by certain groups of the Russian Social-Democracy who, in order to wield an influence over the backward elements of the working class, avoided all aggressive political slogans and confined all their propaganda to the economic demands of the workers.

organisation, and for this reason he directed his arrows chiefly against me, on the correct strategical calculation that an inconsistent opponent is more dangerous than a consistent one. When "What is to be Done?" was published, with all its bitter attacks upon myself, my comrades in the organisation told me: "Comrade Martynov, you must make rejoinder to this book, for its sharpest arrows are aimed at you." Nevertheless, I stubbornly refused to follow this advice of my comrades, and I said: "This method of party organisation, as recommended by Lenin in his book, contradicts all the Social-Democratic traditions both of Russia and Western Europe; it runs counter to all our usual conceptions of Social-Democracy, it appears to me to be even a digression from Marxism, and yet I cannot help being charmed by this book. I have never read anything like it for revolutionary enthusiasm and swing, and for intellectual daring. I must thoroughly think it all over and weigh it up in my mind, before my Marxian conscience would permit me to take a stand against Lenin."

A third time I was shocked by Lenin at our congress in London, in 1903. At that congress I felt as though I was taking part in a historical pageant, as though I was not living in the year 1903, but in the year 1793, taking part not in a congress of the Russian Party, but in a meeting of the Revolutionary Convent of France, and that around me were not Russian Social-Democrats, but Robespierre, St. Juste and the other great Jacobins. The air of that congress was charged with electricity, and the least digression from the path outlined by the leaders of that congress was denounced as opportunism and rank heresy, and all this Jacobin-Marxian congress was dominated by the spirit of Lenin. It was he who created that atmosphere at the congress. What was the purpose for which he tied the Party to such an iron discipline? What for did he imbue the Party with such boundless revolutionary intolerance? At that time I did not understand it. It is quite clear to me now, as it should be to many others.

After his return from exile, Lenin resolved to pull the Party together and to organise it in a manner suitable to the tasks of the incipient revolution. Our Party was at that time in a deplorable condition. There was no unity among the organisation. The work was carried on in haphazard fashion, and "economism" was rampant everywhere. The Social-Democrats called upon the workers to fight only for an increase in wages, and in this they were guided by the so-called "theory of stages" (*i.e.* of progress by degrees.—Translator). "Forward, but not too fast, first let us win the

freedom to strike, next we shall think of the freedom of speech and association and so forth." The overthrow of the Czarist autocracy was considered as a matter of distant future. The Marxian theory was much diluted and was becoming saturated with the opportunist and reformist views of Bernstein. When the industrial crisis came, and the people began to show the first signs of revolutionary discontent, our Party became more militant, but it was still unable to place itself at the head of the movement. The movement was headed by the radical intellectuals, by the revolutionary students and by the revived "Populist" traditions as represented by the Social-revolutionaries. Individual terrorists began to fire their shots, diverting attention from the proletarian masses. It was at that time that Lenin delivered his message: "Our proletarian party is lagging behind the movement; we shall rebuild it and raise it to new heights; we shall show that the working class party alone can be the leader of the revolutionary movement of the masses; we shall not give our support to any other revolutionary and opposition parties and groups, but we shall compel them to support us, we shall make them follow our proletarian chariot. Upon this depends the whole future of Russian Socialism. In order to attain this, we must wield an iron broom to sweep out of the ranks of our Party all traits of opportunism, we must declare a relentless and irreconcilable war upon all bourgeois tendencies that are penetrating into our Party, whatever Socialist cloaks they may be draped in. We must select our seasoned professional revolutionaries, we must introduce an iron discipline in the Party and create a united militant centre around our Party paper, around the "Iskra." We are accused of Jacobinism. Yes, indeed, we are Jacobins. A Jacobin connected with the organisation of the working class, this is the very ideal of a revolutionary Social-Democrat!"

This was the task undertaken by Lenin, and it took him only a year or two to demonstrate that this task was realisable. The "Iskra" was a great success, and exceeded all the expectations of its founder. The "economists" and the Social-revolutionaries and their practice of individual terror were swept away. I remember how Mr. Minor, an old Social-revolutionary, told me upon his return from Siberian exile: "I never read this filthy 'Iskra.'" A few minutes later the same man produced a copy of "Iskra" from his pocket and said to me: "You see how they lie about us in this paper." Poor Minor could not help reading the "Iskra" however much he hated it. All the opportunists and future traitors to Socialism gnashed their teeth on witnessing how the Social-Democratic Workers' Party, under Lenin's leader-

ship was hewing to the right and to the left, blazing its path for the leadership of the revolution.

Lenin rallied our Party at the London congress under the banner of revolutionary Marxism. At the start of the congress there was complete unanimity, but towards the end a sudden split took place: one-half of the delegates, headed by Martov, rebelled against the firm policy and against the strict discipline in the Party. Martov came out with a pamphlet against Lenin, criticising the firm policy propounded by the latter. Thus came about the split between the "firm" and "mild" followers of the "Iskra," who subsequently began to call themselves Bolsheviks and Mensheviks, respectively. In a formal way the split was due to different interpretation of the meaning of membership in the Party. Lenin insisted that every member of the Party should be a member of the organisation, taking part in its work and submitting to its discipline, while Martov rejoined that under our political circumstances, when the Party had to carry out its work by underground methods, the Party should allow more latitude. Martov said that when working underground we should not want everyone to join the organisation who accepts our programme. The Mensheviks maintained that an iron discipline and strict military rules would stifle the self-activity of the working class. The Bolsheviks replied that the proletariat would not be scared by discipline, that it would only debar from the Party the unreliable intellectual elements. Both Lenin and Martov were agreed that the proletarian party should be constituted in a democratic fashion, but they differed in the interpretation of the meaning of democracy. Martov placed chief importance upon the freedom of opinions and upon the freedom of criticism within the programme; Lenin insisted chiefly upon the unity of action and upon the unity of will for the realisation of the programme. Martov and his friends understood democracy in the liberal sense, and they thought that it could be realised by liberty of opinion; Lenin and his followers understood democracy in the proletarian sense, and they thought that it could be secured by uncompromising hostility towards bourgeois and reformist ideology, which would win the confidence of the proletarian masses and thus make the Party fully democratic. The subsequent events have shown who was right in this quarrel; the Bolsheviks persistently allied themselves with the wide proletarian masses, while the Mensheviks with equal persistency associated themselves with the bourgeois-democratic intellectuals.

Lenin reconstructed the Party upon a new, Jacobin basis; he created a new type of Social-Democratic organisation, which is sharply distinguished from the organisation of all

the other Social-Democratic parties of the Second International. To this he was directly prompted by the necessity of creating a party that could wage the most determined and relentless fight against Czarism. But this was not his only motive. In his "What is to be Done?" he wrote: "We are a handful of people who climb upon a tortuous path over a cliff, grasping firmly each others hands. We are surrounded by enemies on all sides, and nearly all the time we have to march under the enemy's fire. We have formed a voluntary union for the very purpose of fighting with our enemies, not for retreating to the nearest swamp." In speaking of the numerous enemies, Lenin did not refer merely to the supporters of the Czarist autocracy. These enemies were far from numerous. At the beginning of the first Russian revolution the Czarist autocracy was opposed not only by the proletariat, but even also by large numbers of the bourgeoisie. We know that in the middle of 1905, even such big manufacturers as Morozov and Schmidt donated large sums of money to help the insurrection. Lenin referred in the above quotation to the Socialist opportunists of all countries, to those who later on, under the banner of Social-revolutionaries and Mensheviks, were scared by the realisation of the proletarian hegemony in the revolution, and by a too sharp collision between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie. These enemies, disguised as friends, did not want the proletariat to become independent; they wanted an alliance with the Liberal bourgeoisie and were afraid of plebian retribution to the counter-revolutionary bourgeoisie.

Lenin has rebuilt our Social-Democratic Party on a Jacobin basis, and on the principles of the proletarian dictatorship in order to dispose quickly of the modern Gironde of the Socialist compromisers. And on casting a retrospective glance, we can now conceive the historic significance of this dictatorship to our Party. The dictatorship in the Party was the necessary postulate to the proletarian dictatorship in the country. If Lenin had not rebuilt our Party on a Jacobin basis in the early 90's, and had not introduced the iron discipline, if he had not maintained this regime in the Bolshevik faction after the split, and later on in the Bolshevik Party, then the Party would have had neither the courage nor the ability to carry on at the present time the work of the October revolution.

Thus we see the first stone upon which Lenin laid the foundation of our present Communist structure already in the years 1901-1903. Another daring step in the direction of the Socialist revolution was taken by him in 1905, after the manifestations of the revolutionary peasants' movement in Russia. In 1905, Lenin advanced the slogan, "The dicta-

torship of the proletariat and of the peasantry in our bourgeois revolution." This slogan was like a thunderbolt to the Mensheviks, just like the Jacobin slogans had been in their time. The Mensheviks said to Lenin: "We are now passing through the stage of the bourgeois revolution in Russia, our purpose is so far to clear the way for the further development of capitalism in our backward country, whereas you are advancing the slogan of the dictatorship of the proletariat and peasantry to fight the entire bourgeoisie as a downright counter-revolutionary mass. If you will succeed in bringing about this dictatorship, if you will break the power of the bourgeoisie, you will at the same time destroy our capitalist economy which the bourgeoisie alone is able to control, and thus you will throw back our country for half a century." The Mensheviks said further: "You are heading for the proletarian dictatorship, but ours is an economically backward country; you admit yourself that Socialism is as yet impracticable in this country. Under these conditions, what will the proletarian dictatorship do you? The proletarian party, having taken into its hands the power of the state, will not be able to realise its Socialist programme, and bankruptcy will be inevitable." To this Lenin replied: "The dictatorship of the proletariat and peasantry is not the task of to-day. One must be a Don Quixote to assert that we could realise the dictatorship this very day: but historic necessity urges us to steer in the direction of the proletarian and peasant dictatorship even now, under the present international and Russian conditions. We are confronted with two possibilities: either our revolution will miscarry and end in a deal with the landowners and with the monarchy; or it will be victorious to the end, and then it will lead in our country to the rule of the proletariat supported by the teeming millions of the peasantry, and then it will lead inevitably to relentless war between these classes and the counter-revolutionary bourgeoisie. He who rejects the proletarian and peasant dictatorship, must reject beforehand the victory of the revolution. Dare we be victorious? This is the question. And there can be but one answer: of course, we do! One must be a Philistine of the lowest stamp to reject the victory of the revolution for the sole reason that this victory will confront us with great difficulties." Many years later, upon his death-bed, Lenin expressed this thought by a very apt allusion. He wrote: "In my life I was guided by the maxim of Napoleon I.: '*On s'engage et puis on voit,*' which means, 'first we start the fight, and then we shall see.'" Lenin was at no time a revolutionary adventurer. He never undertook anything which was not warranted by the actual chances of the revolutionary forces and objective con-

ditions, yet neither was he a doctrinaire philosopher or politician; he never neglected any opportunity that presented itself for the furtherance of the revolution, upon the irrelevant assumption that the revolutionary victory would confront us with new difficulties which we are not prepared theoretically to overcome. Lenin, the apostle of revolution, was not at all like John, the apostle of Christianity. The latter said: "In the beginning was the word," whereas Lenin said: "In the beginning was the deed!" Already in 1905, before the nature of the Russian revolution could be clearly gauged, Lenin was enabled by his unerring revolutionary instinct to feel the shortest cut to victory, and it was upon this tactical basis supplied by Lenin that Kautsky in 1906, when he was still faithful to the Marxian spirit, outlined our tasks for the day after the revolution. Kautsky stated this in the form of an answer to a question addressed to him by Plekhanov, who feared that the Bolshevik policy would lead the country to ruin. Plekhanov questioned then the prominent leaders of the Second International whether they thought the Russian revolution was going to be a bourgeois or Socialist one. Kautsky replied: "It will be neither bourgeois nor Socialist. It will be a new type of revolution which the world has not yet seen; it will be a revolution that will be half-way between the past bourgeois and new Socialist revolutions. It will be **the beginning of the social revolution in the city and the bourgeois revolution in the village**, for Russia is not yet ripe for a complete realisation of Socialism, while the time is gone for bourgeois revolutions. Therefore—Kautsky continued—the Bolsheviks are right and Lenin is right in basing their policy upon a prolonged union* between the proletariat and the peasantry for the fight against the counter-revolutionary bourgeoisie." This road, which was mapped out by Lenin in 1905, and theoretically substantiated and clarified by Kautsky one year later, is the very road which is now followed by the Russian revolution, which has nationalised the whole of the large industries in the towns and chased the landowners out of the villages, while retaining the petty forms of peasant property. Furthermore, the solidarity of the proletariat with the peasantry is the way which will apparently be followed by the social revolution in every country throughout the world.

It needed the unique mental courage and insight of Lenin to outline in 1905 the road which was to lead the proletariat to victory 15 years later. The great mental courage of Lenin was particularly demonstrated in this instance, for his slogan was at variance with the prevailing views and practices

* Kautsky speaks of "union"; at that time he still hesitated to use the term "dictatorship."

of all the parties of the Second International. Bebel used to say : " Every time that I discuss any practical question, or any practical step of the Party, I ask myself whether or no it is going to arrest the development of the productive forces, and if it is, then I reject it unconditionally." Lenin saw that this rule, although feasible and reliable for ordinary times, was altogether inapplicable to the revolution, because revolution is unthinkable without a temporary upsetting of the productive forces. For this reason he had the courage to launch the slogan of the proletarian and peasant dictatorship in backward Russia. He knew that the realisation of this dictatorship will immediately confront us with great economic devastation ; but he also knew that these unavoidable costs of the great revolution will eventually be repaid a hundredfold.

A third daring revolutionary step was taken by our proletarian leader in 1915, in the beginning of the world war. The imperialist war was the immediate cause of the bankruptcy of the Second International. The bankruptcy was self-evident. The banner of the International bore the inscription : " Workers of all countries, unite !" whereas in actual practice, in 1914, the workers of all countries were dragged into a bitter war against the workers of other countries, and in close union with the bourgeoisie of their respective countries. Lenin was not the only one to protest against this treason at the very outbreak of the war ; a similar attitude was taken by the internationalist minorities of the various Socialist parties. But the slogans launched by Lenin at that time were so daring, I should say so defiant, that they contained a challenge not only to the social-patriots, but also to all the internationalists. What was the immediate cause of the treason of the Socialist parties of the Second International ? Everyone of the Socialist parties was afraid that if it will reply to war by revolution, and if the revolution will not spread to the neighbouring country, then it will lead to the destruction of their own country, and to the annihilation of those treasures which the proletariat has accumulated by long years of struggle. It was a vicious circle with no way out, because all the talk of the internationalists about pressure from the masses upon their governments for the purpose of ending the war, and of pacts among the various Socialist parties to that effect, were mere words which were devoid of any practical meaning. In order to break this vicious circle, one had to take the bull by the horns, and Lenin was the only man who dared to tackle this job. He said : " In order to put an end to the imperialist war, it should be transformed into civil war. Those who will start the civil war may be menaced by defeat in the imperialist war, but we have no fear about that. Particularly to us, Russian

Social-Democrats, defeat in the war is the least evil." This "defeatism" aroused the protests not only of social patriots, but even of all the internationalists, including the most Left ones, as for instance, Comrade Trotsky. He was told: "You want Russia to be defeated, consequently you want Germany to win, and in this case it is social-patriotism inside out! You reason the same way as the social-patriots, but for another country, not for your own." This accusation, as everyone can now see, was quite beside the mark. Lenin wanted the Russian proletariat to take the initiative of the revolution, because in Russia it was easier to carry it out, because the Russian bourgeoisie and the Russian state were less capable of resistance to the revolution than the Western States, because this link was the weakest in the imperialist chain. Lenin knew and did not disguise the fact that if we start the revolution during the war, it will lead directly to our military defeat. But he knew more than that; he knew that the revolution started by us will spread also to Germany and that our defeat like the German victory will be but short-lived. He therefore, said: "Dare!" and he was fully vindicated by history. For this was the very thing that happened. Ludendorff writes in his memoirs: "When we learned of the revolution in Russia, we felt like a mountain falling off our shoulders. Unfortunately, we did not foresee at the time that the Russian revolution would be the beginning of the end of the German monarchy." In answer to the lament of this war lord of German imperialism, we say: "Fortunately, our great proletarian leader was incomparably more farsighted as a strategist than the leaders of the mighty German army, like Hindenburg and Ludendorff." Lenin could see farther than his nose, and he therefore launched such slogans as appeared rather unreasonable to the other Socialists. From the very beginning of the war, Lenin launched the slogan of "fraternisation at the fronts." Short-sighted wiseacres rejoined: "What will this slogan lead to? Our soldiers will take it up in full earnest and will lay down their arms, while the disciplined German soldiers, on orders from their commanders, will pretend to fraternise, and use this fraternisation as a means to our defeat." Lenin, of course, was fully aware of that, but he said to himself: "Yes, at first the German soldiers will pretend to fraternise, at first we shall suffer defeat; but later on they will be contaminated by the revolutionary germ and emulate our example; sooner or later they will come round to our position." And so it happened.

One of the greatest obstacles to the unfoldment of the revolution during the war was the fear that a military victory would cause the dismemberment and partitioning of the coun-

try. As a matter of fact, the Russian social-patriots tried to scare us that a German victory would lead to the disintegration of great Russia, and to the secession not only of Poland and Finland, but also of Georgia and the Ukraine. Lenin replied to this in 1915 by launching a slogan which appeared as sheer madness not only to social-patriots and internationalists, but even to the late Rosa Luxemburg, nevertheless, it turned out to be truly prophetic. He said: "You fear the break-up of great Russia, and I tell you that it should be our very aim to break up into parts this accursed Romanov monarchy which holds in chains of bondage to great Russia so many oppressed nationalities. I am a son of great Russia, and I love my people. I love it because it has glorious revolutionary traditions, because it have given us the Decembrists*, the "Narodnaya Volya," the peasant rebellions and the revolution of 1905, because it has shown its ability to fight for liberty; nevertheless, a great nation cannot be free while it holds other nations in bondage. Every honest Social-Democrat should launch this slogan: let the nations oppressed by our dominant race be given the liberty of self-determination, including *the right of secession*. Let the oppressed nations choose their own fate." The rejoinder to this was: "But this will lead to the destruction of the entire economic organism of Russia; it will destroy our big industries, it will throw us back economically for a whole century, it will disunite the different units of our Russian proletarian army." Lenin replied: "Do not worry. It is our duty as Social-Democrats of great Russia to demand the freedom of the nations that are oppressed by us, and the workers of these oppressed nations, after the overthrow and destruction of the Romanov monarchy, will themselves take the necessary steps to unite with each other in one union upon new principles, upon proletarian principles, for it is a matter of simple arithmetic that a larger union will afford better opportunities for life and work." Here again, Lenin proved equally daring as a revolutionary and as a seer. The words spoken by Lenin in the beginning of the war in 1915 are now coming true before our own eyes. The old monarchy has been torn into shreds and burned in the flames of the revolution. But out of its ashes has emerged the new Union of republics which are held together by the proletarian cement, which are so well welded together that even many of

* Decembrists (in Russian, "Dekabristy") is the title given to the first Russian "Jacobins," a group of young officers of the guard, who, in December, 1825, inspired by the slogans of the Great French Revolution, revolted against Czar Nicolas I. upon his accession to the throne and demanded a constitutional government. The memory of these early martyrs is held sacred by all Russian revolutionaries.—Translator's note.

our class-enemies had to change their minds and to hail our Lenin as the gatherer of the Russian land.

It was not upon this national question alone that Lenin displayed such wonderful foresight in 1915. He also declared that the imperialist war will unleash the revolutionary national movements in the East, and that capitalism, having entered upon its last phase of imperialism, will succumb not only under the blows of the proletariat of the industrial countries, but also under the blows of the millions upon millions of colonial slaves, that we must therefore maintain firmly not only the alliance of the proletariat and the peasantry in our country, but also the alliance of the proletariat of the capitalist countries with the oppressed nations of the East. And this great prediction of his has already begun to yield fruit before our own eyes. When the great Lenin died, the sad bereavement was felt not only by the world's proletariat, but also by the teeming millions of the Eastern nations that are stifled by imperialism. He is considered by them not only as a great revolutionary leader, but as a real prophet.

Impregnated with boundless revolutionary enthusiasm and possessing greater knowledge of the Marxian teachings than anyone, Lenin could see far ahead, and many times he called upon the proletariat to take such steps as appeared to be sheer madness to shallow thinkers. When Lenin returned to Russia in spring of 1917, when he propounded his famous theses to the effect that we must throw upon the dust-heap of history the old Social-Democratic banner and raise the banner of Communism, that we in Russia must head for the social revolution, establishing not a democratic republic, but a soviet republic after the model of the Paris Commune—his words sounded strange not only to all the bourgeois and social-opportunist parties, but even to all the Bolsheviks, who thought that Lenin in his foreign exile had become detached from the Russian soil and had lost his sense for Russian actuality. Once again, history has shown the great Lenin to have been in the right. Not being a revolutionary adventurer, he did not propose to overthrow the government against the will of the soviets which were then swayed by the influence of the Mensheviks and social-revolutionaries; but he understood that in the flames of revolution, by persistent debate, this influence would soon be removed and the soviets would be convinced of the necessity to take over the power of the State.

When the decisive moment came in October, Lenin took again his course against the current. When Lenin launched the slogan of "seizing power and carrying out a revolt on the eve of the congress of soviets," it sounded as the greatest

revolutionary daring even to his most prominent comrades-in-arms. Was it not the height of folly to take power under such conditions when the Bolsheviki were opposed by a united front which included not only all the outspoken bourgeois parties, but also all the petty-bourgeois Socialist parties, the whole of the Democratic intelligentsia and even such an organisation as railwaymen's union? One old Bolshevik has told me: "I was at that time far away from the capital, and when I heard of this slogan launched by Lenin, I said to myself: we have had our Provisional Government, and now we are going to have our Short-lived Government; but I was used to following Lenin, and I follow him once more." Once again Lenin was shown to be right. The Bolsheviki were then opposed by a united front of the whole of the Democratic intelligentsia, and of all the parties, but he was followed in firm steps by the masses of workers and peasants. This was enough to encourage Lenin in his daring. Lenin was not given to romantic dreams; he did not deceive himself for a single moment as regards the difficulties of the situation, but he knew that the Party, having the workers and the peasants on its side, will triumph over the greatest difficulties. I remember the first day of the revolt, when Lenin emerged from his hiding place and made his first appearance in the Taurida Palace delivering his speech. He said: "We face great difficulties. We are old underground campaigners, we have not been trained to take care of economy and of the administration of the state, but we shall learn to!" Yes, indeed, the Bolsheviki did not learn this art before October. I remember how the Bolsheviki, fearing lest they might repeat the mistake of the Parisian Communards promptly seized the State Bank after the October revolution. They thought they had thereby gained possession of this State system of credits, whereas as a matter of fact, they only got possession of the premises, which was a source of endless merriment to the Mensheviki. But he laughs best who laughs last. Now, the Bolsheviki have learned the art of finance so well that the German financiers are ready to take a leaf out of their book in the matter of stabilisation of currency.

Relying upon the revolutionary will of the masses as expressed in the revolutionary dictatorship, Lenin expected to compel all the sabotaging bourgeois specialists to submit to the authority of the soviets and to serve it with their knowledge and experience. And this he achieved in full measure.

Danton, the Jacobin leader of the time of the great French Revolution, used to say: "In order to be victorious in a revolution, three qualities are needed; daring, daring and once again, daring!" In the possession of these three qualities, Lenin was without equal. He was a genius of strategy;

he was capable not only to take the revolutionary initiative and to execute a brave advance, he could also manoeuvre and retreat when necessary, and in proper time. Yet, while retreating, Lenin never laid down the weapons, keeping them always in readiness for new revolutionary advances. Already in 1897, in his pamphlet "On the tasks of the Russian Social-Democrats," Lenin wrote: "Under certain conditions we should be guided by the French adage: '*Il faut reculer pour mieux sauter*' (One must fall back in order to make a better jump). Everytime that Lenin retreated was only in order to gain more impetus for the next advance. Lenin had more than one retreat and more than one fall in the course of his revolutionary career, but he always fell square like a cat upon its four legs, and the recrudescence reaction never managed to throw him to the ground.

I shall recall a few instances of the famous retreats of Lenin. His first retreat occurred after the defeat of the revolution in 1905. At that time he clung to the utmost to the hope of raising the revolution in Russia again, and this stubborn hope led the militant organisations of the Party into becoming degenerated into bands of expropriators. When it became painfully evident that the situation had changed, that the tide of the first revolution had receded, that further persistence in the attempt to raise a rebellion would lead only to complete demoralisation of the Party, Lenin launched the slogan: "Hitherto we spoke French, now we must learn to speak German. Hitherto we used the methods of direct storming, of street demonstrations, of direct assault upon the enemy, as the French have done in their revolutions. Now we must take stock of the changed circumstances and adopt the roundabout way, taking advantage of the very least legal possibilities offered by the Stolypin regime, participating in elections to the Duma, in legal labour conventions, in legal trade unions, in workers' mutual insurance societies and so on." Yet, while calling for a retreat, Lenin at the same time advised to retain the weapons and to prepare for the next revival of the revolution. Whereas the Mensheviks, who long before Lenin resolved to adapt themselves to the Stolypin regime, considered the revolution as accomplished and began to talk about the necessity of liquidating the old "rotten, bureaucratic, illegal," party, and so on, Lenin insisted upon retaining the old Bolshevik militant centre and the old illegal apparatus, urging that the revolutionary slogans should be maintained in their entirety, in the anticipation of a new rise of the revolution. And in 1912, after the Lena events*—when the expected rise did come, the Bolsheviks illegal apparatus proved equal to the task. With its aid the Bolsheviks promptly won the masses, and easily ousted the

Mensheviks from the legal positions in which they had entrenched themselves.

This was the manner in which Lenin retreated during the first revolution. In a similar way he retreated during the October revolution. On becoming convinced that it was impossible to continue the war against Germany, that the peasants would not fight any longer, Lenin, who hated any kind of revolutionary phrase-mongering, promptly ordered the retreat and signed the Brest-Litovsk Treaty, which he considered and continued to consider as a "shameful peace." Yet, while ready to bow before the stronger enemy and to concede to him a large slice of Russian territory, Lenin was adamant in one respect. He rejected in the most determined manner the German demand for the denationalisation of the Russian industries and their restoration to the former owners, because, while signing the Brest-Litovsk Peace, he was not in the least inclined to give up the conquests of the October revolution. He steadfastly clung to these conquests, anticipating another turn of the wheels of history that would enable us to tear up the predatory Brest-Litovsk Treaty as a scrap of paper, and to extend wherever possible, the rule of the soviets to the whole of the former territory of Russia. Here again, Lenin retreated in order to gain impetus for further advance in the future, under more favourable conditions, which he did.

Another retreat was executed by Lenin after the Kronstadt mutiny, when he adopted the new economic policy. In view of the manifest peril of rupture of the union between the proletariat and the peasantry, Lenin proposed to the Party to give up the food levy in favour of the food tax, and gradually began to withdraw the methods of war-time Communism. Yet when the bourgeois powers at Genoa and The Hague attempted to lay their hands upon the chief conquests of the October revolution, upon the nationalised Russian industries, Lenin declared with full emphasis: "The retreat has been completed, and henceforth we shall not take one single step backward!" And history again has furnished the most convincing proof that the positions taken by the Communist Party under Lenin's guidance after the retreat of 1921 are fully adequate for the systematic march towards Socialism. In retreat or in advance, the mighty proletarian leader never lost his head and never let go the rudder of the proletarian ship.

Lenin was the greatest hero in the history of the revolution, but a hero in the Marxian, materialist sense of the term.

* The massacre of strikers in the goldfields on the Lena river in Siberia in 1912, which aroused the proletarian masses in Russia once again to revolutionary action after the temporary digression which followed the defeat of the revolution in 1905.—Translator's note.

While defying the circumstances and heading against the current, whenever necessary, he never let the ground slip from under his feet. His great daring was based upon his correct study of the trend of development of the class-struggle, upon his profound insight into the cesspool of the revolution and into the bowels of the revolutionary movement of the masses. He was not a revolutionary adventurer. The idea never entered into his head to turn the wheel of history at will. He drew his energy from a clear understanding of the laws of revolutionary development, and the very advent of such a great proletarian leader we can explain only by the fact that the historic circumstances were ripe for it, that the capitalist world was getting ready for its doom, and that the objective postulates for the victorious proletarian revolution were already in evidence. Had Vladimir Ulyanov been born at a different stage in human history, he would not have become the great Lenin, the giant who shook the world.

There are two reasons which render the proletarian revolution infinitely more onerous than all the past revolutions in history. In the first place, all the past revolutions transferred the domination from one class to another without affecting the basis of human exploitation, whereas the proletarian revolution purports to alter our present society to its very foundation. Secondly, in all past revolutions, the new ruling class, as for instance, the bourgeoisie, was already armed to its teeth. The bourgeoisie engaged in the bourgeois revolution when it already possessed knowledge, experience and high culture, when it already occupied commanding eminences in the economic life, and so on. The proletariat, endeavouring to alter the state of society, must needs start its revolution in a state of poverty, economic as well as cultural. Within the bourgeois society it cannot acquire the requisite knowledge and experience in the organisation and management of the national economy and of the State. All this it has to learn after the victory. Therefore, the proletariat must display the greatest daring, the greatest enthusiasm and courage, in the fight for power. Therefore, the proletariat, to gain its first decisive victory, needed the guidance of such a giant as Lenin, who possessed unbounded revolutionary daring and who dared to take upon his shoulders such a burden that would have broken the spine of any ordinary mortal. Death has now deprived us of this leader. Shall we be able to go on with his work in his absence? This is the painful question which confronts us after the death of Lenin, and which is equally vital to the proletarian Communists the world over.

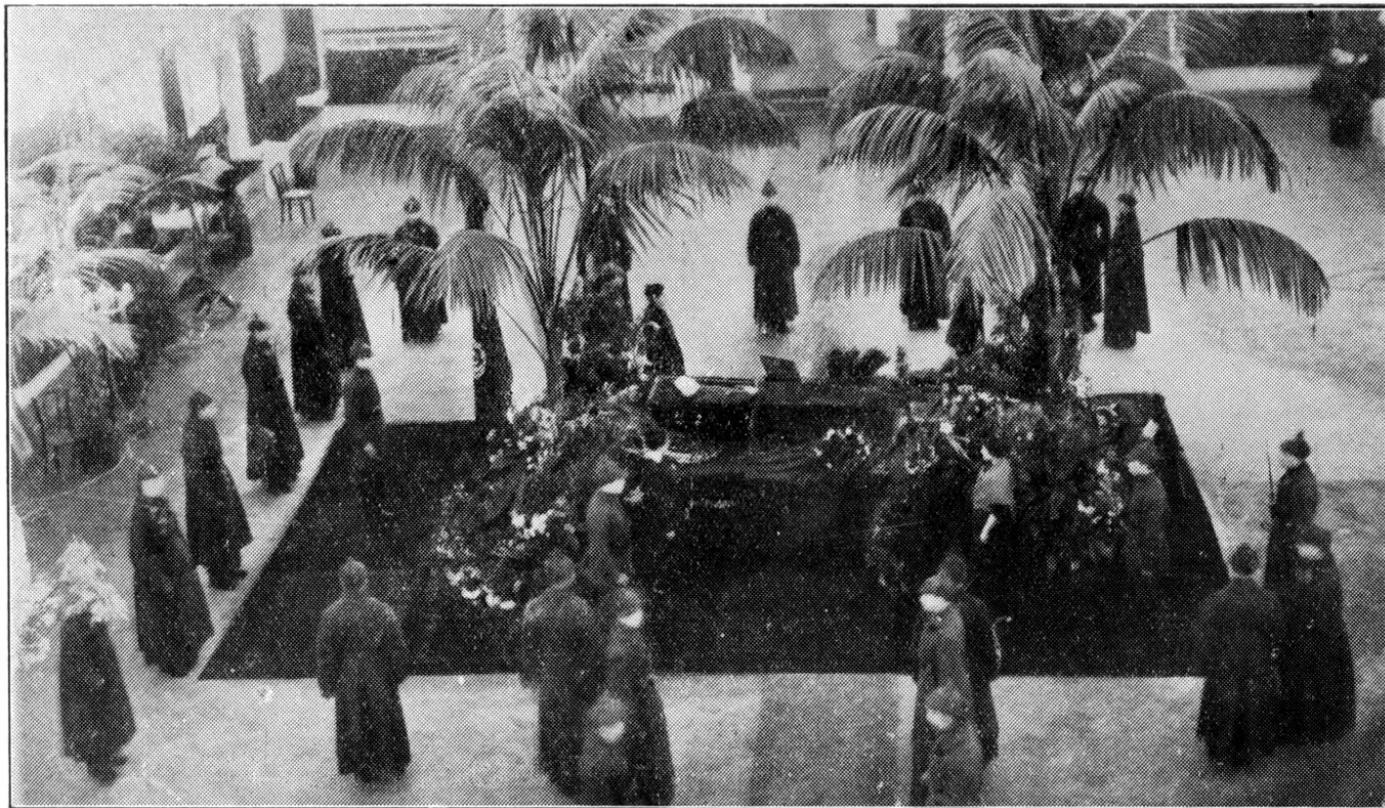
In order to answer this question we must remember that

Lenin was unusually blest by fate. The Biblical story tells us that Moses, after delivering the Israelites from Egyptian captivity, was not permitted himself to enter into the Promised Land. The fate of the Biblical Moses was shared by many a great man: they were not permitted to live to see the day when their ideas got universal recognition. For instance, the great Shakespeare was appreciated only two centuries after his death. The great Lenin was one of the few favoured ones who lived to see the success of his work *in excelsis*. He not only led the Russian proletariat to the assault upon the citadel of the bourgeoisie, but under his guidance our proletariat carried the Communist revolution through the most difficult pass. Of course, there are many bitter struggles in store for the proletariat in Western Europe, which will, perhaps, be more cruel than the ones we have experienced. Nevertheless, we in Soviet Russia have already emerged from the most trying period, for Lenin has managed to put our proletariat upon the great highway, along which it will be able to march for many years while awaiting the support of the revolution in Western Europe. This was the great luck for Lenin, and still more for our Communist Party. Lenin is dead, but he bequeathed to us inexhaustible treasures. The vast fund of experience which has been accumulated not only in the literary works of Lenin, but also in the recollection of those comrades who fought by his side during many years under the most diversified circumstances, during revolutionary high-tide and during its relapse, during the underground struggle under Czarism and during the open movement, in fights against foreign invaders and in civil war against internal enemies, in defensive warfare and in peaceful reconstruction—this fund of experience will for many years be a pillar of light upon our road to Communism, and if the Russian Communists have already assimilated this experience to a considerable degree, our comrades in Western Europe are just beginning to do so. It is a fountain which will never fail them, and from this fountain our European comrades will draw light and guidance in the revolutionary struggles that are ahead of them. We, therefore may say: our Lenin is dead, but his teachings are alive, and they will help us carry on the work to the end. His death will only compel us to rally even closer under the banner of Leninism, increasing the sense of responsibility in every one of us, in every soldier in the ranks of the revolution.

A. MARTYNOV.



... FROM THE SANATORIUM (GOR KY) TO MOSCOW.



IN THE CENTRAL HALL OF THE TRADE UNIONS.



AT REST.



FUNERAL PROCESSION IN THE RED SQUARE.



IN THE RED SQUARE.



COMMUNIST LEADERS AT THE GRAVE.

Lenin as a Theoretician

Translated by M. L. KORTCHMAR.

I.

THE few remarks that I am jotting down at the request of the editors of this memorial publication* are not by any means claimed as a thorough treatment of the subject. Lenin's work is so large in scope, depth and extent that it requires a much profounder way of approaching it. The work of Karl Marx, even to-day, 41 years after his death, is far from exhausted. This subject, as it was pointed out by Rosa Luxemburg upon more than one occasion, is closely interwoven with the exigencies of the proletarian class struggle at the various stages. The struggling working class always draws from theory only that which is immediately required for its class struggle. It cannot afford the luxury of studying theory for theory's sake. Yet the degree of serviceableness of the Marxian theory in the actual practice of the class struggle depends very largely upon the width and depth of its study. Revolutionary practice draws only in piece-meal fashion upon the funds of revolutionary theory. The relationship between theory and practice is by no means unilateral, it is versatile and dialectical. The practice of the class struggle is fertilised by theory, and in its turn becomes the fruitful soil for theoretical study.

This relationship may be compared to the one that exists between "pure" science and applied. For instance, the mathematical genius of a Gauss or of a Riemann had evolved for many years in advance those mathematical methods which were to be applied later on in the physical theory of relativity. The gigantic theoretical armoury of Karl Marx furnished, first of all, the means for the political independence of the working class, for its separation from the bourgeois revolutionaries, for its independence as a class. It was only in the second place that the Marxian theory provided for the proletarian class struggle through the long period of parliamentary and economic fights and of the extensive political and economic organisation of the proletariat. The period of the final revolutionary struggle, and of the establishment of the Socialist commonwealth, was but roughly outlined.

* Special edition of "Rote Fahne," No. 38.—Translator's Note.

It speaks volumes of the incomparable genius of Marx that he was able to outline the aspect of the final revolutionary struggle, and of the future commonwealth, at a period when the line between bourgeois and proletarian revolution was just begun to be drawn, when the huge development of capitalist economy and of bourgeois power was imminent while the proletarian class struggle was making its first and unsteady steps. He thus went ahead of his time, not merely by way of mental speculation, but by a profound realistic analysis of the actualities of capitalist economy and politics and of the manifestations of the proletarian mass-struggle.

Nearly all the theoretical followers of Marx, during the period of parliamentarism and trade unionism, have flattened, and consequently falsified, the teachings of Marx. They took from him that which seemed suitable for the time being. They lost view entirely of the things that Marx had to say about the proletarian revolution and its concrete forms. The Marxian revolutionary theory was turned by them into a manual for the historic interpretation of the past, and not for revolutionary action in the present.

It was here that the work of Lenin began, and it was not accidental. With the breadth of the growing Russian revolution he revived the discarded Marxian theory of the proletarian revolution, and enriched it with the mass-experiences of the proletarian class-struggle *of his time*. The idea of the proletarian dictatorship, "forgotten" by Kautsky, was discovered by him afresh, so to speak. For more than a score of years Lenin engaged in theoretical fights to refute the reformist and anarchist flattening and falsification of the Marxian theory. His greatest achievement in this respect was to define the *concrete forms* of the proletarian dictatorship in the light of the mass experiences and creative actions of the Russian proletariat, and to reveal the role of the soviets, which was connected with *concrete criticism*, for the overcoming of the bourgeois democracy.

In this respect Lenin was both a creative genius and a pioneer. And in this respect, his importance is universal as a guide to all those countries where the proletarian revolution is on foot.

The second great achievement of Lenin was to work out the organisation of the revolution under the conditions of Soviet Russia.

His third and latest task was to lay down the basic principles of policy for the first state of the proletarian dictatorship, for Soviet Russia.

And here we find elements of universal importance to

the proletarian class-struggle. But here it will be the task of his successors to draw a critical distinction between the things that are universally applicable and the things that were peculiar to the Russian circumstances. No one has pointed out this necessity with greater emphasis than Lenin himself. To translate Lenin from the Russian into the West-European is not merely a linguistic task, nor the task of one individual. It is the fundamental task of the proletarian revolution under the circumstances of Western Europe and America. Next comes the task of adapting Leninism to the needs of Asia and Africa. The legacy of Lenin must be a further developed and concretely defined in the light of the circumstances of the proletarian revolution in Western Europe, and of the experiences of the mass-struggle in Western Europe. It is the task of a whole generation. This task will not be served by the mere adoption of Lenin's teachings; this is just enough for a start, but further creative work is needed for their elaboration.

II.

Both in Marx and in Lenin the practical revolutionary can hardly be detached from the theoretician. Both to Marx and to Lenin the guiding principle was not merely to expound a new interpretation of the world, but to change it. Born of revolutionary determination, and of a profound dialectical analysis of existing society, the Marxian theory became the greatest practical force known in history. "The theory becomes a force as soon as it gets the masses." In this respect, Marx was a true disciple of Hegel, the last and greatest of German philosophers. Hegel, the idealist, was by no means a dreamer dwelling in the clouds, as it is frequently imagined. His idealistic philosophy tended towards the practical. Dialectic materialism was moulded in Marx's hands into a mighty weapon of revolution. He got hold of the masses because he was born out of the life of the masses. The whole secret of the incomparable force of Lenin is to be found in the forcefulness of his revolutionary theory. The bourgeois mind cannot help resorting to fanciful allegations of external force used by Lenin. Lenin, like Marx, acquired his great personal power by merging his own personality in the idea of the proletarian revolution. External force was used by Lenin much less than by any bourgeois ruler.

III.

Lenin's particular achievement for the proletarian revolution in Russia was the erection of a bridge between the bourgeois peasant and the proletarian-socialist revolution. This problem was solved by Lenin for Russia with the greatest

precision imaginable. But the importance of this solution extends far beyond the boundaries of Russia. It is equally important to Central and Western Europe as well as to America, although in those countries the specific Russian problem may not present itself in the same shape. For the peasant revolution in Russia, on close examination, is really a repetition of the peasant revolutions in France in 1789, and in the other European countries in 1848. The peculiar nature of the peasant revolution in Russia is due, firstly, to its connection with the proletarian-socialist revolution in Russia, and secondly, to its coincidence with the period of world-revolution in general. This places the Russian peasant revolution far above the peasant revolutions of the past, which were connected with bourgeois revolutions. Under the Russian circumstances, the peasant revolution served as a prelude, to the proletarian-socialist revolution. Small peasant proprietorship in Europe is considered as the preliminary stage to the proletarian revolution, whereas in Russia it was brought about by the revolution. Yet the definition of the role of the peasant revolution in regard to the proletarian revolution is of particular importance to the colonial countries with a predominant peasant population. The linking up of the proletarian movement in Europe with the national revolutions of the colonial countries is one of the most important theoretical achievements of Lenin.

IV.

Lenin's greatness as a theoretician consists of a happy combination of revolutionary daring and the utmost realism. The eclectic opportunist is likely to be swept off his feet by the march of events, and thrown into the camp of the class enemy. The anarchist and the syndicalist will lose the ground of reality from under their feet. Lenin, the revolutionary realist, headed for the revolutionary goal through the very stress of the events. Lenin never allowed the formulæ of others or of his own to befog his outlook upon the realities. Still less could he be blinded by sham realities or by bourgeois phraseology. He fought relentlessly against opportunism, but equally so against "Left" digressions.

V.

In the same sense as Lenin confessed himself to be an orthodox Marxist, we confess our faith in Leninism; in the sense of the living revolutionary theory, not in the sense of the dead letter. Leninism has become the watchword and the clarion-call of our comrades in the Russian Party. For this reason the whole of the Communist International marches under the banner of Leninism.

May we always be conscious of the truth that Leninism, like Marxism, is essentially a living creative method which combines the greatest revolutionary daring with the keenest realistic analysis.

VI.

The literary style of Lenin was "the man himself." Of utmost simplicity and lucidity, vigorous, unconventional, wholly adapted to the purpose, no external varnish, no phraseological embellishments, truthful, sustained by strict logic and animated by revolutionary passion.

The literary and oratorical style of Lenin is somewhat perplexing to the West-European at first blush. It is the style of profound intuitiveness which hammers itself into the brain by sheer insistence and repetition, without resorting to the usual methods of rhetoric.

U. THALHEIMER.



The Literary Legacy and Collected Works of Ilyitch

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IT is the year 1893. Alexander the Third rules over Russia. In the provincial depths of Samara, the banished student Vladimir Ilyitch buries himself in local statistics, and in the study of the economic life of the peasantry seeks an answer to the problem of the fate of the Russian Revolution. From the mass of dry figures of the local statisticians that answer stands out ever more clearly. The countryside is becoming stratified. That old support of the Czar's monarchy—the uniform poverty and destitution of the village—is failing. The factory is appearing on the scene and with it the proletariat, the grave diggers of Czarism and the bourgeoisie. Vladimir Ilyitch sets forth his conclusions in an article entitled "New Economic Movements among the Peasantry," which he sends to the Moscow journal *Yuridichesky Vestnik*. At the head of the *Yuridichesky Vestnik* are the recognised stars of Russian liberalism, the pillars of the Moscow University, professors Kablukov and Muromtsev. They, of course, are for the "people" and "freedom of the press." But they reject Lenin's article. After a few weeks the manuscript is "turned down" and disappears into the "archives" of the secret police. There it lies for exactly thirty years. After **thirty years**, Lenin's first scientific work written for the press and dedicated to the peasantry, becomes available to the reader.

1894. The voices of the heretic-Marxists are becoming more and more audible. Not a single article of theirs has yet been printed in Russia, but their views are gaining more and more partisans among the youth. The generals of literature, the honourable guardians of the liberal and popular traditions, hold complete sway over the newspapers, journals, and publications, but the voices of the underground Marxists grow ever more disturbing. Throughout the whole press a campaign is started against the obscure, nameless "Disciples of Marx," who have no press of their own. The "Friends of the People," overwhelm their readers with

books, brochures, journals and newspaper articles, filled with lies and slander directed against the revolutionary Marxists. These attacks demand an answer. A full explanation is needed of the views of those who advocate the organisation of a workers' party on the basis of scientific Socialism, and a complete exposé of the hypocritical "Friends of the People," who are obstructing the organisation of a workers' party in Russia. Ilyitch takes up his pen and writes his pamphlet: "The Friends of the People—Who They are and How They Make War on the Social Democrats." Neither publisher nor printer can be found for the pamphlet. And so this booklet of 150 pages, the only exposition of the revolutionary views of the workers' party, is copied by hand, and 250 copies are hectographed. These copies fall into the hands of a few fortunate people here and there. The widely distributed literature of the liberals and populists—who, of course, are in favour of the freedom of the press—fails to mention the booklet. In the arrests that shortly afterwards take place practically all of the copies of the booklet are seized by the police. The booklet disappears. Only two of the three parts of the pamphlet are discovered, after 28 years, in the Berlin archives, and become available to the reader.

1895. The advance skirmishers of bourgeois ideology, the defenders of capitalism, the future banner-bearers of the Cadet Party, are clamouring loudly in all the journals, newspapers, books and societies. The revolutionary teaching of Marx is being distorted and adapted to the needs of Russian capitalism. Ilyitch throws himself into the struggle with an article which exposes the counterfeiters of Marxism. The Czar's censors burn the book which contains Ilyitch's article. The counterfeiters continue to sell their wares. The press of the liberals and populists pretends that nothing has happened. Only after twelve years does Ilyitch's article see the light.

1907. The revolution of 1905 is crushed. For ever? How can the defeat be explained? What did the peasantry say of the revolution? Is the peasant problem solved? Safe from the Petersburg spies, Ilyitch studies the peasant movement of the years 1905-06, in the little Finnish village of Kuokall, two hours distant from Petersburg. He reads over the peasant decrees, and the speeches of the peasant deputies, examines figures, compares data, searches for the answer to the fundamental question of the future of Russia. The answer is found. The peasants are not satisfied, they cannot be appeased. The peasants demand all of the land,

and the revolution will go on until this demand is granted. Ilyitch expounds the results of his studies in a dispassionate, legal manner in his book, "The Agrarian Question and the First Russian Revolution." No publisher is found for the book. The huge manuscript, the fruits of long and persistent labour, the result of a work attempted by no one else, lies for ten years, until 1917, in the bottom of Ilyitch's trunk. It travels with him from Finland to Geneva, from Paris to Krakow, and after ten years, is borne back to Petersburg on the waves of the victorious revolution, and so, at last, finds a printer.

1908. Under the protection of advancing reaction a campaign is opened against the very fundamentals of Marxism, and against its philosophical conception. Huge tomes and little booklets proving the bankruptcy of Marxism and materialism pour forth by the dozen. Yushkevitch, Valentine and Bogdanov and their like gain possession of the platforms and the legal press in order to preach the philosophy of reaction. Ilyitch applies himself to Berkeley and Hume, Kant and Hegel, Mach and Avenarius. The result is his book "Marxism and Empirical Criticism." Quite unexpectedly a publisher is found for the book. But not, to be sure, a publisher whose plant is at the service of the "masters of the minds" of the counter-revolutionaries, who publish the obscenity of Artzibasheff, the servile prose of Miliukoff, the "Lumieres" of Isgoeff, and Berdiaeff's "investigations" into the orthodoxy of Homiakoff. The publisher of the philosophical workers of Ilyitch becomes at once a candidate for prison. Within a few weeks after the printing of the book he is in jail. Of the 3,000 copies that are printed only three or four hundred find their way into the bookshops, and the remainder are left to rot in the warehouses of the arrested publisher. Not until 12 years after its writing does Ilyitch's book become available to those readers for whom it was intended.

1909. Reaction is developing. The liberals celebrate their victory over the revolution. The manifesto of counter-revolutionary liberalism, praising the work of Stolypin and throwing mud on that of the workers and peasants is distributed in tens of thousands of copies (See the magazine, *Vekh*). The renegades of all colours, firmly established in the newspaper offices, journals and publishing houses, keep on a constant snarling at the revolution, corrupting the consciousness of the masses with lies and calumnies, pouring out the poison of their contempt on the fighters of 1905. At their disposal are the million sheets of the daily papers, supported at the expense of the big capitalists, at their service are the

publishing companies, with a turnover of hundreds of thousands of roubles. Ilyitch, abroad, defends the interests of the workers and peasants. At his disposal are the four small pages of a workers' paper, appearing once a month. And sometimes there is not enough money even for that, and then the paper comes out only once in two months. The doors to legal literature are closed. There is no one to print the articles and books of this irreconcilable "sectarian" who summons the people to prepare for a new revolution, and who excludes himself from the "decent" society of counter-revolution by his "indecent" attacks on all the stars of Russian public life, beginning with Miliukoff and ending with Martov.

1917. The June days. *Pravda* is destroyed by Kerensky's officers and closed down by order of the republican government. They are hunting for Ilyitch in order to kill him. But in Ilyitch's travelling bag lies a manuscript of researches which is soon to become world famous, which will be translated into all foreign tongues, and without reference to which no historian of Socialism nor theoretician of the nature of the State will be able to get along—"The State and the Revolution." Fleeing from his republican murderers, Lenin writes me:—

"Entre nous, Comrade Kamenev, should they do away with me, I beg of you to publish my little pamphlet "Marxism on the State," (it got stuck in Stockholm). It is bound and has got a dark blue cover. It contains all the quotations from Marx and Engels and also from Kautsky against Pannekoek. It also contains a number of notes and remarks. All this should be formulated. I think that it should not take longer than a week to get the material ready for publication. I think it of the greatest importance, as it is not only Plekhanov and Kautsky who have made blunders. This, of course, must remain entirely *entre nous*." (The latter refers to the "July events" in 1917. The pamphlet in question is V. Lenin's work published subsequently under the title "State and Revolution.")

II.

Here are some random facts which depict the conditions of the political and literary work of Ilyitch. It must be remembered that right up to the October Revolution, this born leader, organiser and educator of millions had at his disposal only one means of action—the pen and the word of a free lance publicist. His pen was backed by nothing but inner conviction. Behind him was no bourgeois machine ready to distribute in millions of copies any vulgarities that might fall

from the lips of a Bismarck, a Stolypin or a Lloyd George, nor had he the official seat of a deputy, or the chair of a professor from which to attract the attention of the bourgeois crowd. On the contrary, all the forces of the world were ranged against his utterances. Against him were both the conscious interests of the ruling groups, trying either by money or brute force to break every thread stretched between the proletarian publicist and the proletarian masses, and also the elemental hatred of those people who instinctively tried to close the mouth of this indefatigable and fearless man, who dared at each turn of history to have "his own opinion," which fact, in itself was to the complacent bourgeoisie like a red rag to a bull. Thus was formed the "conspiracy of silence" against the greatest man of our time. Right up to 1917, with the exception of a few months in 1905 and 1906, Lenin exists neither for the world press nor for the Russian press. Faced with the "historical" figures of Rodzianki, Guchkov, Count Bobrinsky and Prince Trubetskoy, how could the editors of *Rech* and *Russkii Vedomstvo* discern the figure of the editor of an underground sheet and the author of brochures for workers and peasants—Ulianov?

Twice the workers and peasant masses rose; twice they shook the foundations of the ruling régime, and so won freedom of speech for their own publicists, their own teacher, their own tribune. The uprising of 1905 was needed to give Ilyitch the chance of talking for a few weeks with the workers of Russia; the October victory of the proletariat was needed to set free the words of Ilyitch so that the villages and factory towns of all the world might hear them. The history of the publicist activities of Ilyitch should become a striking example for our Soviet party schools and universities, of what the bourgeois States and "freedom of the press" within the bourgeois State really mean. Better than any theoretical consideration of the question, a study of the conditions of the publicist work of Ilyitch reveals the existence of those methods with which the bourgeoisie—under the most democratic covering—attempts to hold the workers in mental slavery.

We shall never know what an amount of mental energy ready to be poured into articles, books and investigations, has not been availed of for the education of the masses, and only very rarely do we meet with an outburst of indignation from Ilyitch against the wall of lies, hypocrisy and repression which stood for decades between him and his readers. Nine-tenths of all that Ilyitch wrote (up to 1917) was written for illegal publication. There were years when even this possibility of talking with the party and the working class was not within his reach. And when such opportunity did

present itself, it was, of necessity, extremely limited. During the three years (1900-1903) of Ilyitch's closest associations with *Iskra* (Geneva), altogether 52 numbers were issued, that is, about three numbers in two months. During the period of the war, from August, 1914, to February, 1917, that is, throughout two-and-a-half years of unprecedented deception practiced on the working class, Ilyitch—the great, the only unmasker of those lies, he who was to save the name and honour of Socialism—was able to issue only twenty numbers of his own paper. This "newspaper," by the way, consisted of only one sheet, comprising less than one-tenth of the daily text of one bourgeois paper, *The Times*. With this weapon of propaganda, Ilyitch took up the fight against the poison which the world press carried to all sections of humanity, having entered the service of the Hohenzollerns, Hapsburgs, Romanoffs, Clemenceau and Lloyd George from conscience, not from fear.

These are only examples of the weakness of that weapon which the bourgeoisie left in the hands of Ilyitch for the spreading of his ideas. But the possibility of utilising the illegal press was limited still further by the very conditions governing its distribution. How many of the articles and works of Ilyitch, printed on the underground presses of Petersburg and Moscow, Geneva or Paris, actually reached the workers and peasants? How many were destroyed in arrests and raids? And even those which reached the masses could not be preserved, could not serve as a constant source for research, reference and study. Once read, the article passed out of reach of the readers. A reader would often obtain the first part of an article, but not its conclusion. In the end, the working masses received the thoughts of Ilyitch as passed on by local workers, propagandists, agitators and organisers—the fortunate few to whom was given the opportunity to read the original numbers of the underground, illegal and foreign papers or brochures. As a rule, the underground literature was anonymous. It was a collective and not an individual production. Lenin's articles in *Iskra* and *Proletaria* were unsigned. Not only for the masses, but even for those responsible workers who were in close reach of the centre, the personality of their leader, Ilyitch, was concealed in the group, in the collective editorship and the collective authorship of the resolutions. To this it is necessary to add that Ilyitch's articles in the illegal periodical journals were not once reprinted until 1920, when his articles from the *Iskra* were printed in the Fourth Volume of his "Collected Works." They were to be found only in files of old illegal newspapers, which were kept, of course, not in public libraries, but in the Police Department.

Summing up : as a result of the united efforts of the liberal supporters of the "freedom of the press" and the zealous guardians of the existing order, the overwhelming majority of the political works of Ilyitch, even those already printed, are in fact novelties for any wide circle of readers.

Only during the last year or two have hundreds and thousands of pages of Lenin's political writings of the period 1900-1907, come within the reach of the wide circles of the party and the masses for whom they were intended. Thus did the bourgeoisie do their work ; and if, notwithstanding all their efforts, the **ideas** of Ilyitch (if not his original work) became accessible to the wide masses of the workers even prior to October, it was only because the bourgeois conspiracy came up against the indomitable will of the party, which in **actuality was a mass apparatus for broadcasting Ilyitch's ideas among the workers.**

III.

To talk with the workers—that was the fundamental purpose of all the literary activity of Ilyitch. In 1897, during his Siberian exile, he wrote abroad, to the place where his brochure "Penalties" (intended for the rank and file work) was published : "I would wish for nothing so much, I have dreamed of nothing so much as the possibility of writing for the workers. But how can that be done from here? It is very, very difficult, but, in my opinion not impossible."

Everybody knows now that Ilyitch, better than anybody else knew how to write and speak for the wide masses. He could not endure superficial elegance of phrase, he scorned any attempt to adorn a thought, and was very fond of quoting the words of Bazarov, "My dear friend, Arkady Nikolayevitch, do not talk so beautifully," he regarded confused style as an indication of confused thought, which he was organically incapable of enduring.*

With all his strength of will, therefore, Ilyitch sought opportunities for talking openly to the masses, and that is why he prized so highly every possibility of acting directly upon the people by means of the printed word. After ten years of underground publicist activity, the first opportunity that came to Ilyitch of working openly was in November, 1905. But the workers' movement was comparatively still so weak at that time that Lenin was able to address his articles openly to the masses only during one month in 1905 (Novy Zhizn,

* Because of this, in Russian artistic literature he preferred Tolstoy, Pushkin, Nekrassov and Tchekhov to all others, and kept the "classics" in his permanent library. Of the publicists he had the greatest admiration and respect for Chernishevsky, whom he knew very well, and was fond of quoting.

November-December, 1905) and for a month and a half in 1906 (the period of the First Duma). During the period of the Second Duma (1907) the Bolshevik press enjoyed literally only a few days of open existence. Then the door was forcibly shut, and for a long period. The rise of the workers' movement after the Lena massacre gave the weapon of the legal press once more into the hands of Lenin. The uninterrupted development of the workers' movement from that moment (April, 1912) right up to the catastrophic war of August, 1914, guaranteed almost continuous existence to the Bolshevik *Pravda* newspaper. But in what form! Confiscations, fines, arrests of the editors and suppressions poured down upon Lenin's paper in a constant stream, as if from the horn of plenty. So highly did Lenin value the opportunity of open intercourse with the workers through the open press, that he perused with the utmost strictness every expression and every phrase that might implicate the paper.*

It is only necessary to compare the style, tone and content of Ilyitch's articles in the *Social Democrat* with those in *Pravda* of 1912-1914 in order to feel that before us in *Pravda* stands a giant with bound hands. Collaboration with the editors of *Pravda* from abroad, was, indeed, the greatest joy for Ilyitch, but it was torment at the same time. Every comment on this or that event was inevitably delayed for a week at the very least. The choice of theme was extraordinarily difficult. The paper came out irregularly. The articles very often did not reach the editors, were lost in the post, fell into the hands of the police. To this must be added the fact that the Petersburg editorship, thanks to suppressions, arrests, etc., was often under the control of comrades whose ideas did not harmonise with those of Ilyitch's group. "We haven't enough capable people," writes Ilyitch in September, 1913, "It was only with the greatest difficulty that a year after the starting of the paper we were able to find even a tolerable editorial staff in Petersburg." One of the best editors of *Pravda* during that period, Comrade M. Olminsky, writes of those days: "Lenin's articles were cut to pieces not only by the censor, but also as a result of an incorrect attitude toward the authors on the part of the editors—'Any article,' said they, 'which falls into my hands, becomes my very own—I shall do with it whatever I wish.'" (Italics mine.)

Such were the conditions under which Ilyitch had to work even in his own legal, Bolshevik press, in those short moments

* For this reason Ilyitch changed the signature to his articles almost every day. In *Pravda* his articles were signed with the most diversified combinations of letters, having nothing in common with his usual literary signature, such as P.P., F.L.-ko., V.F., R.S., etc., etc. This necessity of constantly changing his signature was still another obstacle between the words of Ilyitch and his readers—the working masses.

when this press was allowed to exist at all. Under such conditions special importance attaches to Ilyitch's correspondence during the entire period of his activities. Ilyitch carried on a voluminous correspondence with the comrades scattered all over Russia and Europe. No comrade ever addressed himself to Ilyitch with a request for the elucidation of some problem or other who did not receive a letter in reply or, more often, a small tract on the subject which interested him. During certain periods—when the opportunities of appearing in print were especially restricted, his letters grew into whole notebooks. During the first period of Ilyitch's work—up to 1901—these “notebooks” were circulated throughout Russia, awakening the mind of the party, and forcing it to define its position on the basic questions of the world conceptions and tactics of Marxism. This correspondence, these “notebooks” of the nineties, played the same role in the whole future course of the revolution as the correspondence of Belinsky, Bakunin and Gertzen played in the Russian Liberation movement of the forties. A mass of these “notebooks” were lost in the depths of the Secret Police archives, but some of them were preserved, and will serve for a long time as objects of study. Savants and historians will still write their dissertations about them for many decades to come.

IV.

All that concerned Lenin is important. And of extreme importance is the form in which Lenin's works will be given to the world proletariat.

When, by the will of the workers' revolution, Ilyitch was transformed from the leader of the party and a Communist publicist into the leader and organiser of a new state, the great majority of his writings from 1893 to 1916, in their original form, were unknown not only to the wide masses of the people, but even to more or less wide circles of the younger members of the party. It was simply impossible to obtain them.

When, in connection with his 50th birthday, at the beginning of 1920, I told Vladimir Ilyitch that I was about to begin collecting his works, and introducing a proposal to that effect at the Party Congress, Ilyitch protested, “What for? It's of no use—why bother with all that I've written for thirty years. It isn't worth it.” I was only able to make him budge from his position by referring to the fact that the youth must learn, and that it was better that they should learn from his works than from the works of the Martovs and Tugan-Baranovsky's. This first attempt to give Ilyitch's

writings into the hands of the party and the working class is completed. The works of Lenin comprise 24 books.

These 24 books contain about 725 printed folios, out of which about 50 are taken up with commentaries, documents from the history of the party, references, etc., and the remainder (675 folios) are filled with the writings of Ilyitch himself. From the above-mentioned facts, it is clear what a tremendous amount of preliminary work was necessary in order to collect for the first time all of Lenin's printed works. First of all, it was necessary to go through those *hundreds* of legally and illegally printed organs (newspapers, journals, magazines, reports, etc.) in which Lenin's articles were printed. The second and most difficult problem was to *sort out* the articles written by Ilyitch from many others. No less than one-third of all of Ilyitch's articles appeared in the press without any signature whatever. Another third was signed, but signed with a number of the most unexpected pseudonyms which he never used more than once. In the great majority of cases, the manuscripts of these articles have been destroyed. The editorial archives of *Pravda*, *Sozialdemocratia*, *Proletaria*, *Iskra* and dozens of other publications have not been preserved, or are still inaccessible. The compilation of an *exact* list of the articles of Ilyitch is, therefore, a most difficult and complicated task, and is still far from being finally established. It will demand much protracted research and investigation.

Finally, a matter no less complicated is the dating of Ilyitch's articles, and the elucidation of those passages in them (mostly of a polemical nature), which, while preserving all their interest and value for the party and the reader, are often associated with episodes of party life which have escaped the memory of even the oldest members of the party. Lenin's writings are filled with references to resolutions, decisions, decrees and literary works, the tracing out of which in itself presents tremendous difficulties.

It is natural that under such conditions the *first* collection of Lenin's works should be considered as only the *first attempt* to assemble his literary legacy. It was only as an *attempt* that the project was originally considered. If we had decided at the very beginning to explain and establish the *whole* literary heritage of Ilyitch, to verify all his articles according to the original manuscript, not permitting a single mistake to pass—it would have taken many years longer to complete the collecting of his works. And indeed, it must be regarded as a crime against the party and the working class that even an *incomplete* collection of Ilyitch's works has

not been made available to them until 1924—the seventh year of the proletarian revolution.

The nineteen volumes of Lenin's collected works contain everything printed by Lenin between 1893 and 1923, that is at all essential, and for the first time sets free for circulation among thousands of readers hundreds of pages of Lenin's writings which until this time have only been available to a very few. This, to be sure, is no small thing, but, I repeat, it is only the first step. We must go further.

The first collection of Lenin's works was planned at the collection of all his *printed* works. The problem set before the Lenin Institute is much broader. The party, the working class, and the government, (represented by the Congress of Soviets) demand the publication of a *complete collection of Lenin's works*, which should be a *strictly scientific publication*. This demand cannot be interpreted otherwise than in the sense of publishing *everything that was ever said or written by Ilyitch*, which lends itself to publication.

It must be said here, that the strict fulfilment of this demand—if the second edition of Lenin's works is not put aside for years, but started at once as the Institute wished to do, and should do—is hardly possible in full measure. It is probable that for many years to come the letters and notes of Ilyitch will continue to pour in to the Institute, and for years the archives and "black cabinets" of the Russian and foreign police bureaux will give us more and more new material. In any case, we must try to make the work as exhaustive as possible. Every writing of Ilyitch's must have a place in this "Complete Collected Works." The difficulty in the distribution of this great mass of material is not only in its exhaustiveness and scientific handling, but to make of this collection of Lenin's works what it must be, that is, a weapon and a text-book of struggle in the hands of the proletarian masses.

All the material which must be included in this new collection, may be divided into the following categories, according to its character.

(1) The works of Lenin (articles, books, brochures) which he himself intended for publication. These works, independent of the fact as to whether or not they actually were published, and independent of the reason for their not having been published, (the absence of suitable vehicle, disagreements of the editors, losses through censorships, etc.)—must make up the basis of the collection. They compose its core.

(2) The works of Lenin, which at the time of writing he did not intend for publication, having as their aim the

exchange of opinion with comrades, or affecting a definite group of comrades. First among these come the notebooks of which we have spoken above. To a similar category belong such works as the writings of 1900 on the discussions with Plekhanov, "How the *Iskra* was almost Extinguished," as the "Project for a Party Programme," of 1902 (still unpublished), or the also unpublished "Story of the Second Congress of the Russian Social Democratic Labour Party." Here also belong three "notebooks" of replies to A. Bogdanov, entitled "Notes of a Rank and File Marxist on Philosophy," unpublished, and alas, still not found. A considerable amount of such material must be published together with the works indicated in paragraph 1, and in the same chronological sequence.

(3) Projects of resolutions and decrees of party congresses, conferences, etc., all kinds of information on party events, announcements by the Central Committee, "editorial statements," etc. All of this must be included in the ordinary way if the personal authorship of Ilyitch can be established. If this work represents the fruit of the collective work with the participation of Vladimir Ilyitch, it should be placed as supplementary material in other volumes.

(4) The letters of Ilyitch. The Institute has already collected about 500 original letters.*

All of these are *political* documents. They are all to be printed. It is thought best, however, not to print them among the articles, (with rare exceptions dictated by the contents of the letters themselves). The letters will probably be divided among two or three supplementary volumes to the collected works.

(5) Manuscripts of preliminary work. In the Institute there are dozens of Ilyitch's notebooks containing extracts from the most diverse Russian, English, French and German works; on the agrarian question, on the history of the Commune (Notebook of VI. II., 1895—evidently the result of his first journey abroad, and his work in the National Library in Paris) on philosophy, etc. In such notebooks, it is possible, for instance, to follow all of Ilyitch's work on the protocol of the Second Party Congress, which he worked out for the booklet "One Step Forward, Two Steps Back." These manuscripts may often be utilised in commentaries and in supplementing other works of Ilyitch, for which end

* Chiefly belong to the period before the October Revolution. The letters are addressed to Plekhanov, Axelrod, Martov, Smidovitch, Matron, Noskov (Boris) Krijhanovsky (Clare), A. M. Gorky, A. M. Kollontay, A. G. Shliapnikoff, etc., etc.

they should be printed in the form of supplementary volumes.

(6) The speeches and reports of Ilyitch. Ilyitch's speeches up to 1917 have been lost for us. His numerous reports at foreign meetings are also lost. The Party was too poor and too badly equipped to have stenographic reports made. Although his hearers have retained the strongest and deepest impressions of the innumerable speeches of Vladimir Ilyitch, right up to the October Revolution, they were only actually preserved in extracts and the transmission of the secretaries of the Second, Third, Fourth and Fifth Congresses, and the Congress of Liège (1903). Of all the remaining utterances of Lenin not a single word has been preserved. There were not even stenographic reports of the speeches at the Second Congress of Soviets. Since 1918, Ilyitch's speeches at the *most important* meetings have been taken down (although, according to his own personal declaration, very badly), and thus have been preserved.

These, of course, must be included in the ordinary way in the collected works.

(7) Decrees, regulations, orders, resolutions, telegrams, etc., written by Lenin in his capacity as the head of the government. This material is still absolutely untouched. It needs special working over, special commentaries, and must comprise special volumes, "The State Papers of Lenin," supplementary to his collected writings.

All of the above-mentioned material which will take up in all probability not less than 40 volumes, must be arranged in chronological order and supplied with commentaries not so much of a bibliographical, as, what is more important, of a historical character. The commentaries must make it possible for the readers to orientate themselves on those questions and those movements of the class struggle treated of by Ilyitch, without turning to other sources.

The collected works must be supplemented by one or two volumes in the form of "Guides to Lenin," containing bibliographies, names, topical chronological tables of events, etc.

We must turn our attention to the working masses, and make available for them those works of Lenin which for years and decades have been hidden from them by the bourgeoisie and the Czarist government with the active support of the whole apparatus of the bourgeois press and bourgeois "public opinion."* To give to the working masses the

* Within what period shall we be able to complete the work we have set ourselves? I hope, that, thanks to the preparatory work that has been done in connection with the first edition of collected works, we may be

writings of Lenin means to hasten their victory. To this end all our strength must be directed.

V.

In the collected writings of Lenin are reflected not only the revolutionary struggle of the Russian workers, but the whole course of world history during its most decisive decades. These writings are the best and most profound commentary on the events of world importance which have taken place during the last thirty years; it is the only commentary dealing with them from the revolutionary point of view.

Furthermore, the works of Lenin must become the core of the *new science*—the science of the liberation of humanity. Here the question naturally arises as to whether the science expounded in the collected works of Lenin is actually a new science. Is it not rather simply an exposition or popularisation of the science of Karl Marx?

This is certainly true, but only in the sense that the teachings of Lenin as a whole and in all their aspects and ramifications are based on the scientific Socialism of Karl Marx and Frederick Engels. That is the iron foundation on which stands the whole structure of Leninism. Tear Leninism away from this foundation and we completely fail to understand Leninism. But, nevertheless, we undoubtedly have in the works of Lenin a new science. The new element in this science consists in the adaptation of the basic principles and methods of Marxism to a historical setting and period entirely unknown to Marx.

In the first period of his activities (1890-1914) Lenin, with the help of the methods of Karl Marx, had to solve the problems arising out of the peculiar conditions of a bourgeois-democratic revolution taking place in a backward agrarian country with a proletariat, developed, and unified out of all proportion to the general backwardness of the country. This unique situation directed Lenin's attention to that aspect of the teaching of Karl Marx in which the theoretical and practical Marxians of Europe, in that period were least interested, and which they studied and understood least of all. Already the "Marxism" of Lenin differed strikingly from the Marxian shiboleths voiced during the eighties and nineties by the German pupils of Marx.

During the second period of his activities, (1914-1917), and in the midst of the increasing contradictions of the im-

able to finish the new edition by January 21, 1925. It is necessary, however, for everyone to do his duty, and place at the disposal of the Lenin Institute all material which will help us make the edition of Lenin's works complete, exact and worthy of our leader and teacher.

perialistic epoch, Lenin had to apply the methods of Karl Marx to the formulation of the tactics of the working class. During that time the teachings of Lenin in its very fundamentals, and built on the basic principles of Marx, for all time, diverged from the teaching of those who considered themselves the internationally recognised expounders of Karl Marx (Kautsky, Plekhanov, and the others) to the adaptation of the teachings of Karl Marx to an epoch of developing imperialism, the deduction from the basic principles of Marxism of conclusions applicable to an essentially new epoch in the history of humanity, and the elaboration of a new tactic for the working class from these conclusions, here indeed one may discern the element of a new science.

But Lenin was destined to introduce further still new elements into the teaching of Marx when he—foremost of the pupils of Marx—became the organiser of the first government of the victorious proletariat. Here, in the realm of theory, he was turning over ground hitherto untouched and undeveloped; new processes were being revealed; the manner in which revolution is prepared and ripened in the depths of capitalist society; the reasons for the inevitability of revolution; and finally the realisation that although the first steps could be learned from Marx, beyond that the virgin soil of theory began. "The way to make a proletarian revolution is not told in any book," Vladimir Ilyitch was fond of saying. And here began that work for which Lenin had no predecessors nor teachers. Each position, not only of policy, but also of theory, had to be won in the heat of battle. Most dangerous of all were the established formulas, the natural tendency to apply to the entirely new conditions created by the first victory of the proletariat, the principles and formulas developed in another epoch and for different ends. In the decrees, orders, telegrams, and resolutions, which Lenin wrote in those years, he completed in action that part of the theory of scientific Socialism which had not been written by his teacher.

The teaching of Lenin was created in the course of the struggle. Lenin did not write and could not have written a text book of Leninism. I am even afraid that every attempt to expound the teaching of Lenin in paragraphs, divisions and sub-divisions, to create any kind of a "Handbook" of Leninism, a collection of formulæ applicable to all questions at any time—will certainly fail. Nothing would be more foreign to Lenin in his work than any tendency to catechism. The general of a fighting army, he experienced defeats and gave battle under constantly changing conditions and therefore had no time to expound academically (or, if

preferred, systematically) his general theory of war. He always considered that it was "pleasanter and more useful to make revolution than to write about revolution."

There it is that his teaching, the science of proletarian revolution which he created, is to be found only in that long series of works, each one of which is permeated through and through with the anxieties and lessons of a particular historical situation. Even the most "academic" of his books: "The Development of Capitalism in Russia," "Marxism and Empirical Criticism," productions of a strongly polemical nature, were written under great pressure and were concerned with a given situation. This is why we can only approach the real science of Lenin through a consideration of his *complete works* in the light of contemporary events.

In addition to its active, vital character, this science is also remarkable for its comprehensiveness. There is probably not a single question which Lenin has not touched upon in his works. Everything from the basic questions of philosophy to the detailed questions of co-operative or financial policy under Socialism engaged the attention of this master mind, and found therein a clear and exact solution, having its place in a unified system. Lenin, a scholar, publicist, and statesman of unprecedented capacity, propounded in his teachings all the questions which must inevitably face the world proletariat, that most active part of humanity. The collected works of Lenin can be called satisfactory only if they help the proletariat to master Leninism, the magnitude of his idea, and all the concreteness of his policy in the most simple, orderly and thorough manner.

It is possible for the proletariat to fulfil its historic mission, break the chains in which the workers are bound and "conquer the whole world" only if it is armed with a clear and well-ordered theory of its emancipation. In the works of Lenin this theory, created by Karl Marx, found its most complete and revolutionary expression. In this period, the beginning of the world proletarian revolution, the proletariat will attain their final victory only if they hold in their hands the lantern of Leninism.

L. B. KAMENEV.

Extracts from Lenin's Writings

THE NECESSITY TO SEVER CONNECTION WITH OPPORTUNIST-MENSHEVIKS.

*(Extract from a speech delivered at the Third Congress of
the Communist International, 28/11/21).*

It is not enough to know by heart Communist resolutions and to use revolutionary forms of speech at every opportunity. This is not enough, and we are decidedly against all Communists who know by heart this or that resolution. The pre-requisite of sincere Communism is—severance from opportunism. We shall talk freely and openly to all Communists who subscribe to this, and we shall be entitled to say to them boldly: “Do not commit foolish acts, be wise and clever.” But such language will only be addressed to Communists who have severed all connection with opportunism, and this does not as yet apply to you. Therefore, I reiterate, I hope that the Congress will endorse the resolution of the Executive Committee. Comrade Lazzari said: “We are in a preparatory period.” Nothing could be truer. You are in a preparatory period. The first phase of this period is—severance from the Mensheviks, similar to the severance between us and our Mensheviks in 1903. And it is due to the fact that the German Party has not broken off all connection with the mensheviks, that the entire German working class is undergoing great hardship and suffering during the prolonged and wearisome post-war period in the history of the German revolution.

REVOLUTIONARY TACTICS OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY AFTER CAPTURING POWER.

(From pamphlet, "Left Wing" Communism, Chapter 8.)

After the first Socialist revolution of the proletariat, upon the overthrow of the bourgeoisie in a country, the proletariat remains for a time weaker than the bourgeoisie, simply by virtue of the latter's far-reaching international connections, and also on account of the ceaseless and spontaneous re-birth of capitalism and the bourgeoisie, through the small producers of commodities in the country which has overthrown them. To overcome so potent an enemy is possible only through the greatest effort and by dint of the obligatory, thorough, careful, attentive and skilful utilisation of every breach, however small, between the enemies; of every clash of interests between the bourgeoisie of all countries, between various groups and species of bourgeoisie within individual countries; of every possibility, however small, of gaining an ally, even though he be temporary, shaky, unstable, unreliable and conditional. Who has not grasped this has failed to grasp one iota of Marxism and of scientific modern Socialism in general. Whoever has failed to prove in practice, during a considerable period of time and in sufficiently varied political situations, his ability to apply this truth, has not yet learned to aid the revolutionary class in its struggle for the liberation of all toiling humanity from its exploiters. All this applies equally to the period before and after the conquest of political power by the proletariat.

THE TASKS OF THE REVOLUTIONARY CLASS.

(From pamphlet "Left Wing" Communism, Chapter 10).

History in general, the history of revolutions in particular, has always been richer, more varied and variform, more vital and "cunning" than is conceived of by the best parties, by the most conscious vanguards of the most advanced classes. This is natural, for the best vanguards express the consciousness, will, passions and fancies of but tens of thousands, whereas the revolution is effected at the moment of the exceptional uplift and exertion of *all* the human faculties—consciousness, will, passion, phantasy—of tens of millions, spurred on by the bitterest class war. From this there follow two very important practical conclusions; first, the revolutionary class, for the realisation of its object, must be able to master *all* forms or aspects of social activity, without the slightest exception (completing, after the conquest of political power, sometimes with great risk and tremendous danger, what had been left undone before this conquest); secondly, that the revolutionary classes must be ready for the most rapid and unexpected substitution of one form or another.

REVOLUTIONARY TACTICS AND COMPROMISES.

(From pamphlet "Left Wing" Communism, Chapter 8.)

Naive and quite inexperienced persons imagine that it is sufficient to recognise the permissibility of compromise in general, and all differences between opportunism on the one hand (with which we do and must wage uncompromising war) and revolutionary Marxism or Communism on the other will be obliterated. But for those people who do not yet know that all distinctions in nature and in society are unstable (and, to a certain extent, arbitrary), nothing will do but a long process of training, education, enlightenment, political and everyday experience. In practical questions of the policy appropriate to each separate or specific historic moment, it is important to be able to distinguish those in which are manifested the main species of inadmissible treacherous compromises, which embody opportunism detrimental to the revolutionary class, and to direct all possible efforts towards elucidating and fighting them. During the imperialist war, 1914-1918, between two groups of equally ruffianly and rapacious countries, such a main fundamental species of opportunism was social-chauvinism, that is, upholding "defence of Fatherland," which, in such a war, was really equivalent to a defence of the plundering interests of one's own bourgeoisie. Since the war, the defence of the robber "League of Nations," the defence of direct or indirect alliance with the bourgeoisie of one's country against the revolutionary proletariat and the "soviet" movement; the defence of the bourgeois democracy and bourgeois parliamentarism against "Soviet power," such are the chief manifestations of those inadmissible and treacherous compromises, which taken in all, have given rise to an opportunism fatal to the revolutionary proletariat and the cause.

**PRINCIPLES OF REVOLUTIONARY TACTICS OF
COMMUNIST PARTIES UNDER GIVEN CONDITIONS.**

(From pamphlet "Left Wing" Communism, Chapter 10.)

The main thing now is that the Communists of each country should, in full consciousness, study both the fundamental problems of the struggle with opportunism and "Left" doctrinairism, and specific peculiarities which this struggle inevitably assumes in each separate country, according to the idiosyncracies of its politics, economics, culture, national composition (*e.g.*, Ireland), its colonies, religious divisions, etc. Everywhere is felt an ever-widening and increasing dissatisfaction with the Second International, a dissatisfaction due to its opportunism and its incapacity of creating a real leading centre, able to direct the international tactics of the revolutionary proletariat in the struggle for the world Soviet Republic. One must clearly realise that such a leading centre can, under no circumstances, be built after a single model, by a mechanical adjustment and equalisation of the tactical rules of the struggle. The national and State differences, now existing between peoples and countries, will continue to exist for a very long time yet, even after the realisation of the proletarian dictatorship on a world scale. Unity of international tactics in the Communist Labour movement everywhere demands, not the elimination of variety, not the abolition of national peculiarities (this at the present moment is a foolish dream), but such application of the fundamental principles of Communism—Soviet power and the dictatorship of the proletariat—as will admit of the right modification of these principles, in their adaption and application to national and national-State differences. The principal problem of the historical moment in which all advanced (and not only the advanced) countries now find themselves, lies here; that special national peculiarities must be studied, ascertained and grasped before concrete attempts are made in any country to solve the aspects of the single international problem, to overcome opportunism and Left doctrinairism within the working-class movement, to overthrow the bourgeoisie, and to institute a Soviet Republic and proletarian dictatorship.

THE FUNDAMENTAL CONDITIONS FOR THE VICTORY OF THE PROLETARIAN REVOLUTION.

(From pamphlet "Left Wing" Communism, Chapter 9.)

The fundamental law of revolution confirmed by all revolutions, and particularly by all three Russian revolutions of the twentieth-century, is as follows: It is not sufficient for the revolution that the exploited and oppressed masses understand the impossibility of living in the old way and demand changes: for the revolution it is necessary that the exploiters should not be able to live and rule as of old. Only when the masses *do not want* the old regime, and when the rulers are *unable* to govern them as of old, then only can the revolution succeed. This truth may be expressed in other words, revolution is impossible without an all-national crisis, affecting both the exploited and the exploiters. It follows that for the revolution it is essential, first, that a majority of the workers (or at least a majority of the conscious, thinking, politically active workers) should fully understand the necessity for a revolution, and be ready to sacrifice their lives for it; second, that the ruling class be in a state of governmental crisis which attracts even the most backward masses into politics. It is a sign of every real revolution, this rapid tenfold, or even hundredfold increase in the number of representatives of the toiling and oppressed masses, heretofore apathetic, who are able to carry on a political fight which weakens the government and facilitates its overthrow by the revolutionaries.

PLIABLE REVOLUTIONARY TACTICS—NO RIGHT OR LEFT DOCTRINAIRISM.

(From pamphlet "Left Wing" Communism, Chapter 10.)

That which has happened to Kautsky, Otto Bauer and others highly erudite Marxists, devoted to Socialism, and leaders of the Second International, could and ought to serve as a useful lesson. They fully appreciated the necessity of pliable tactics, they learned and taught to others the Marxist dialectics—and much of what they have done in that respect will remain for ever a valuable acquisition to Socialist literature. But in the application of these dialectics they made a great mistake; they showed themselves in practice to be so *undialectic*, and so incapable of reckoning with the rapid changes of forms and the rapid filling of old forms with new contents, that their fate is not much more enviable than that of Hyndman, Guesde and Plekhanov. The main reason for their bankruptcy was that their eyes were "fastened" upon one fixed form of the growth of the working class movement and of Socialism. They forgot all about its one-sidedness, and were afraid to perceive the sharp break which, by virtue of objective conditions, became unavoidable; so they continue to repeat the simple, at first glance, self-evident truth, once learned by rote: "Three are more than two." But politics resemble algebra more than arithmetic, and it is more like higher than lower mathematics. In reality all the old forms of the Socialist movement have been filled with new contents; there appears before the figures, consequently, a new sign, a "minus," and our wiseacres stubbornly continue to persuade themselves and others that "minus three" is more than "minus two!"

Communists must endeavour not to repeat the same mistake; or to speak more precisely the same mistake—committed the other way round by the Left Communists—must be corrected sooner and more quickly in order to get rid of it with less pain to the organism. Not only Right but Left doctrinairism is a mistake. Of course, the mistake of the latter in Communism is at the present moment, a thousand times less dangerous and less significant than the mistake of Right doctrinairism (*i.e.*, Social-Chauvinism and Kautskianism); but, after all, this is due to the fact that Left Communism is quite a young current, just coming into being. For this reason the disease under certain conditions can be easily cured, and it is necessary to begin its treatment with the utmost energy.

The old forms have burst; for the contents (anti-proletarian and reactionary) obtained an inordinate development. We now have, from the standpoint of the development of international Communism, strong, powerful contents at work for Soviet power and the proletarian dictatorship, and these can and must manifest themselves in any form, new as well as old; the new spirit can and must regenerate, conquer and subjugate all forms, not only the new but the old, not for the purpose of reconciling the new with the old forms, but to enable us to forge all forms, new and old, into a weapon for the final decisive and unswerving victory of Communism.

The Communists must strain every effort to direct the movement of the working class, and the development of society generally, along the straightest and quickest way to the universal victory of Soviet power and the proletarian dictatorship. This truth is incontestable. But it is enough to take one little step farther—a step it would seem in the same direction—and truth is transformed into error! It is enough to say, as do the German and British "Left" Communists, that we acknowledge only one straight road, that we do not admit manoeuvres, co-operation, compromises—and this will already be a mistake, which is capable of bringing, and, in fact, has brought and is bringing, the most serious harm to Communism. Right doctrinairism has foundered on the recognition of only the old forms, and has become totally bankrupt, not having perceived the new contents. Left doctrinairism unconditionally repudiates certain old forms, failing to see that the new content is breaking its way through all and every form, that it is our duty as Communists to master them all, to learn how to supplement with the maximum rapidity, one form by another, and to adapt our tactics to all such changes, caused not by our class nor by our endeavours.

World revolution has been given a powerful impetus by the horrors, atrocities and villainies of the world imperialist war, and by the hopelessness of the position created by it. This revolution is spreading more widely and deeply with such supreme rapidity, with such splendid richness of varying forms, with such an instructive, practical refutation of all doctrinairism, that there is every hope of a speedy and thorough recovery of the international Communist movement from the infantile disorder of "Left" Communism.

**LEARN FROM THE EXPERIENCE OF THE RUSSIAN
REVOLUTION.**

(From speech delivered at Fourth Congress of the Communist International.)

At the Third Congress of 1921, we adopted a resolution concerning the organisatory upbuilding of the Communist Parties and concerning the method and the substance of their work. It was a good resolution. But the resolution is almost exclusively Russian; it was wholly derived from a study of Russian developments. That is the good side of the resolution, but it is also the bad side. It is the bad side of the resolution because hardly any foreigner (I have read the resolution over again before expressing my conviction), is able to read it. In the first place, it is too long, for it contains fifty or more paragraphs. Foreigners are apt to find it impossible to read anything of this sort. In the next place, even if a foreigner should manage to read it through, it is too Russian. I do not mean because it was written in the Russian language, for there are excellent translations in the various tongues, but because it is permeated with the Russian spirit. Thirdly, if by a rare chance a foreigner could understand it, he could not possibly carry it out. That is the third defect.

I have talked matters over with some of the delegates, and I hope that in the later course of the Congress I shall find it possible (not in the Congress itself, for in that I am unfortunately not able to participate), to talk matters over in full detail with a large number of delegates from various lands. My impression is that we made a great mistake in the matter of this resolution, thereby blocking our own advance.

Let me repeat, it is an excellent resolution, I myself endorse every one of its fifty or more paragraphs; but we did not really know what we were about when we turned to foreigners with our Russian experience. Everything in the resolution has remained a dead letter. If we fail to understand why, we shall make no progress.

I think the most important for us all, Russians and foreigners alike, is that after five years of the Russian Revolution, we should set ourselves to school. Now for the first time we have the possibility of learning. I do not know how long this possibility will last. I do not know how long the capitalist powers will give us the opportunity of learning in peace and quietude; but we must utilise every

moment in which we are free from war that we may learn, and learn from the bottom up.

The whole Party, and Russia at large, show by their hunger for culture that they are aware of this. The aspiration for culture proves that our most important task consists in this, to learn and to go on learning. But foreigners, too, must learn, though not in the sense in which we have to learn, namely, to read, to write, and to understand what is read. This is our lack. There is much dispute as to whether such things belong to proletarian culture or to bourgeois culture. I leave the question open. This much is certain, that our first task must be to learn reading and writing and to understand what is read. In foreign lands, this is no longer necessary.

Foreigners need something different. They need something higher. First of all, they have to learn how to understand all that we have written about the organisation and upbuilding of the Communist Parties, which they have subscribed to without reading and without understanding it. You foreign comrades must make this your first duty. This resolution must be carried into effect. These things cannot be done between one day and the next. That is absolutely impossible. The resolution is too Russian. It is a reflection of Russian experience. That is why it cannot be understood by foreigners, and why foreigners are not content to treat this resolution as a miraculous picture which they are to hang on the wall and pray to. That sort of attitude will not help us forward. You will have to make a portion of Russian experience your own. How can it be done? I do not know. Perhaps the Fascists in Italy will do us a good turn by showing the Italians how. After all, they are not so highly cultured that the development of Black Hundreds in Italy has become impossible. This may have a good effect. We Russians must look for means of explaining to foreigners the elements of this reason. Otherwise it will be absolutely impossible for them to carry it out.

I am confident that in this sense (we have to say, not only for the Russians, but for foreigners as well) that the most important thing for us all in the period now opening is to learn. We Russians have to learn in the general sense. You have to learn in the special sense that you may gain a genuine understanding of the organisation, structure, method and substance of revolutionary work. If you do this I am confident that the prospects for the world revolution are not merely favourable, but splendid.

The Fifth Anniversary of the Comintern

“ Universal History is making inexorably for the goal of proletarian dictatorship but its path is by no means smooth, straight and simple.

“ In other countries . . . the development of the revolution was slower. The road it took was our road, but it progressed far more slowly.”—LENIN.

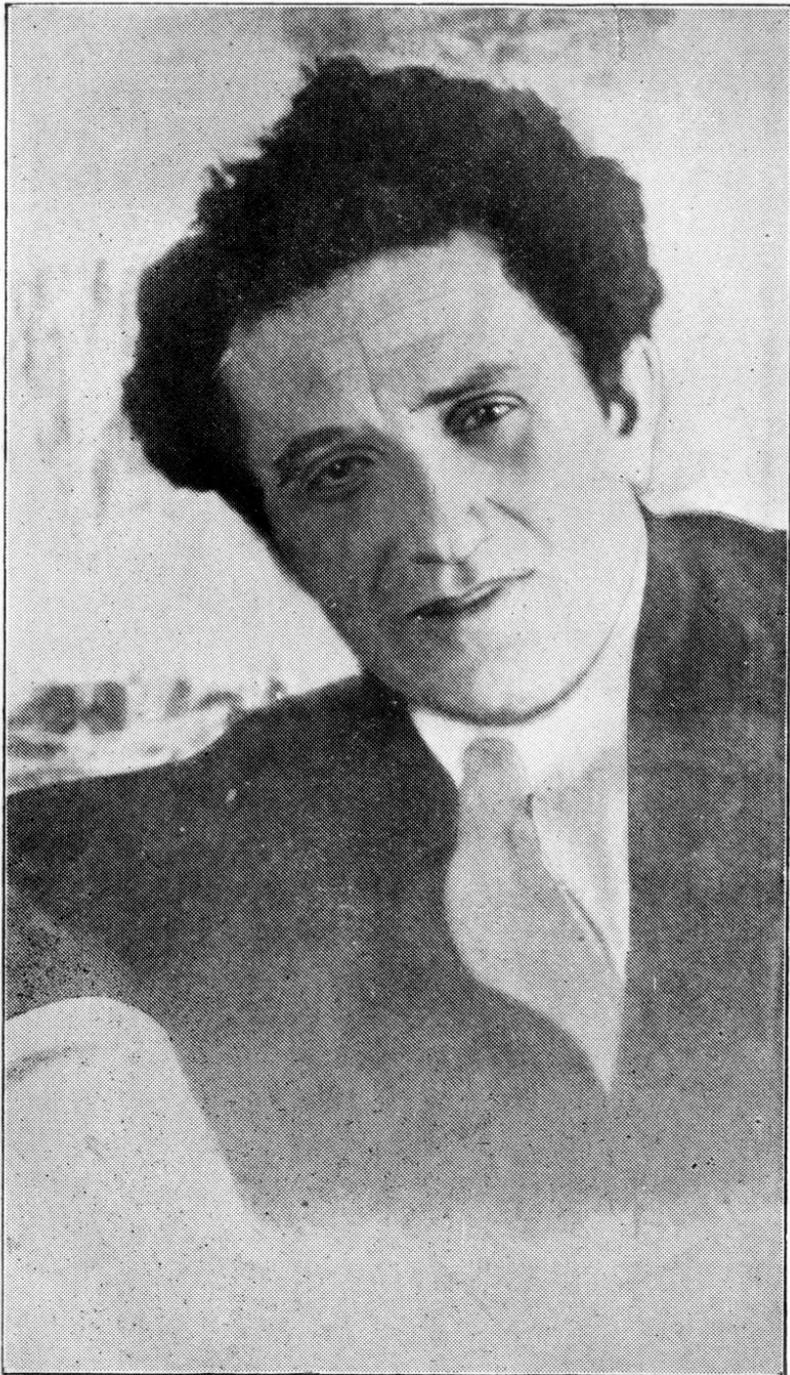
THIS day we are marking the Fifth Anniversary of the existence of our International Association of Workers, the red banner of the Comintern is trimmed with the black of mourning. When the first inauguration congress of the Comintern was in preparation, Karl and Rosa were still alive. Today, the fifth anniversary of the Comintern we are meeting at a time when we have lost not only Karl Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg, and when Mahring, Tibor Samuelli, Raymond Lefevre, Toghihs Ticzko, Max Levine, John Reed and many more first-line fighters of the Comintern have dropped out of our ranks, but when we have lost LENIN, the inspirer, founder and creator of the Comintern. The black crepe of sorrow over this irreparable loss hangs over the fifth anniversary of the Comintern. Only yesterday millions of hearts heaved in common sorrow by the grave of the teacher and leader of the Comintern. Only yesterday hundreds of thousands and millions of advanced proletarians of the whole world swore to carry on Lenin's cause.

Still, whatever be, raise higher our banner, up with Lenin's banner of the Comintern

* * * * *

Lenin was for the Third International what Marx was for the First International. Not without justification is the following statement made in an article of the “New Statesman.”

“ At the time of Lenin's appearance Marxism was converted into a lifeless barren formula, a conglomeration of doctrinaire ideas concerning the theory of value and the inevitable evolution of the Socialist State. The “Capital” of Marx was the gospel of many, but in practice it served merely as a text book by aid of which the Social-Democrats endeavoured to justify their opportunist policy. Briefly, it



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would seem that Marx's works were forever buried in the grave of their author.

"Lenin changed all this. He resurrected Marx and gave to Marxism a new theoretical content, turning it into a source of vital ideas and stimulants to action. Thanks to Lenin, Marx is living again to-day, but he lives in the new interpretation which Lenin gave to his doctrine. What comes to the fore now is no longer Marx's theory of value, but Lenin's interpretation of Marx's theory of the historical process and, based thereon, the theory of State and revolutionary policy." ("New Statesman," 2nd Feb., 1923).

There is a good deal of truth in this. This "Marxism" was indeed a "conglomeration of doctrinaire ideas" and worse still, an apology of the capitalist system, inasmuch as it was associated with the Second International and inasmuch as its priests and interpreters were such men as Kautsky, Bernstein, Vandervelde and Adler.

Into this fetid atmosphere of decay there broke in like a life-giving storm the Communist International, whose theoretician and standard-bearer was Lenin.

A fine description of Lenin was given by a bourgeois newspaper in Prague (*Pragepresse*):

"He was like a rock broken loose from the mountain heights, all the force of which was destined to clear the path for the new, that new which the old world considers not only attainable but possible in the near future."

Exactly so. This rock broken loose from the mountain heights concentrated all its might in scattering wide the debris piled up by the leaders of the Second International and clearing the path for the new, genuinely revolutionary and genuinely Marxian, international movement of the proletariat.

* * * * *

Lenin himself gave the following definition of the significance of the Third International and its place in history:

"The First International laid the basis of the international struggle of the proletariat for Socialism.

"The Second International marked a period of preparation, a period in which the soil was tilled with a view to the widest possible propagation of the movement in many of the countries.

"The Third International has garnered the fruit of the labours of the Second International, casting off the refuse of its opportunist, Social-Chauvinist, bourgeois and lower middle class tendencies and has set out to achieve the dictatorship of the proletariat.

"The international union of parties, directing the most

revolutionary movement of the world, namely, the movement of the proletariat to overthrow the yoke of capitalism, has the inestimable advantage of resting upon a basis of unprecedented solidity.

“The importance of the Third Communist International in the world’s history is, that it was the first to put into life the greatest of all Marx’s principles, the principle summarising the process of the development of Socialism and the labour movement and expressed in the words: ‘The Dictatorship of the Proletariat.’

“This marvellous prophecy and great theory is becoming a fact.”

These words of Lenin’s have been translated into all the languages of modern Europe—more than that, in all the languages of the world.

A new epoch has been started in universal history.

Humanity is freeing itself of the last form of slavery: capitalist or wage slavery.*

Lenin never forgot the merits of the Second International in the *past*. During the height of the controversy with the followers of the Second International, Lenin, in an article devoted specially to the present Prime Minister of the so-called “Labour” Government, Ramsay MacDonald, wrote:

“When it is stated that the Second International is dead and has suffered shameful bankruptcy, it needs to be properly understood. It signifies the death and bankruptcy of opportunism, reformism, petty bourgeois Socialism. For the Second International has to its credit a service *els a’ei* (for all time) which no intelligent working man will ever repudiate, and that is—the building up of mass labour organisations, co-operative, trade union and political; the utilisation of bourgeois parliamentarism, and generally all bourgeois democratic institutions, etc.†

The Second International was, according to the well-known term of Karl Kautsky, the “instrument of peace time.” The Third International on the contrary was born in the storm and stress period of the imperialist world war. It built its tactics so as to be able to direct the struggle of the international proletariat not so much in the peaceful atmosphere of propaganda, as in the period of storm and stress of civil war following the imperialist wars.

The fifth anniversary of the Comintern sees it standing as an organisation more or less completely formed. It began

* “Third International, Its Place in History,” 15th, April, 1919,—Journal of “Communist International.”

† The tasks of the Third International, July 14th, 1919. “Comintern.”

to form in 1919, or properly speaking in 1914. It is known that as early as 1914, when the first shots were fired in the fields of the imperialist war, the Central Committee of our Party, inspired by Lenin, advanced the watchword of creating a Third International. The five years from 1914-1919 may properly be called the embryonic period of the Comintern. These five years saw the first groups of Communist adherents gathering together. During the Zimmerwald Conference a Zimmerwald Left was formed, which was the first organised nucleus of the future Communist International. Finally, there broke out the great proletarian revolution in our country. When in May, 1918, the Bolshevik Party in Russia, having already possession of the State power, decided to change its name to the Russian **Communist Party** and a few months later when the German Spartacists also changed their name to the **Communist Party of Germany**, it became evident to every revolutionary that the Third International had been born.

We should not conceal the fact that at the inauguration of the Communist International, we all counted on a much more speedy development of the international revolution than there proved to be. There was a time for example just prior to the Brest Peace when the first big labour strikes broke out in Vienna and Berlin, and we all literally counted the **hours** of what appeared to us as the inevitable outbreak of decisive revolutionary fights in Europe. The tempestuous revolutionary disaffection of the proletariat in a number of countries towards the close of the imperialist war justified the hopes of an exceedingly rapid denouement. Let us not forget that soviets had already begun to be formed not only in those countries which were participants in the war, but in such neutral and rich bourgeois countries as Switzerland and even Holland, and that no less a man than Troelstra—one of the principal men in the Second International and the principal leader of the opportunist Dutch Social-Democratic Party was forced to admit that the workers could have seized the power in Holland

On the morrow after the first inauguration congress of the Comintern, we wrote :

“ To-day, while we are writing these lines, the Third International has as its chief base three Soviet Republics—Russia, Hungary and Bavaria. Nobody will be surprised if by the time these lines appear in print there will be not three but six and more soviet republics. Old Europe is hurtling with terrific speed towards the proletarian revolution.”

“ Those few Soviet Republics which are putting into

practice the dictatorship of the proletariat comprise the base of the Comintern." This is what Lenin wrote in April, 1919.

"Looking at the Third International one wonders at the rapidity with which it develops, passing from victory to victory"—said Lenin in his speech on the first anniversary of the Third International (Note: "The Third International," March 6th, 1920).

Yes, not only we, but our most rabid enemies were at the time convinced that the Socialist revolution on an international scale would develop at a frenzied speed. In the beginning of January, 1919, Kautsky published the Program of Socialist transformation, which began with the words: "9th November, 1918, the proletariat of Germany conquered political power."

The central organ of the German Social-Democrats, "Vorwärts," on the 24th April, 1919, published a remarkable article under the heading "Videant Consules!" which said:

"If we want to save Germany from the Russian Soviet system based on the principle of 'all power to the soviets,' there is only one thing for us to do: we must give the German workers a reasonable soviet system, such a system under which the soviets would be the Second House next to the National Assembly and would represent the interests of the proletariat on all questions In this manner we would contrive to establish a certain equilibrium of forces and perhaps even secure (even!) the preponderance of the bourgeois parties."

Most remarkable of all is that the author of the above article was not a mere German Social-Democrat, but Freiger Karl Schenk-von-Schweinsberg. Even certain representatives of the German bourgeoisie sought safety from the proletarian revolution in attempting to unite the soviets with the national assembly. The fraction of the Independent Social-Democrats at the Second Congress of the German Soviets approximately at the same time moved a resolution, in which it was solemnly stated:

"The Second Congress of Soviets adopts the platform of the Soviet system. In accordance therewith, the political and economical organisation of Germany should be based on the formation of the Soviets. The Soviets of Workers' Deputies are the recognised representation of the working class population in all fields of political and economic life. ("Freiheit," April 13th, 1919.)

Undoubtedly, the objective premises for the rapid development of the proletarian revolution in 1918-20, viz.,

during the first years of the Comintern, did exist. The bourgeoisie in Europe was utterly disorganised. A considerable portion of the workers were armed. The economic situation was such as to urge the broad masses of the workers to put up a determined fight. But for the counter-revolutionary part played by the Social-Democrats, victory would undoubtedly have been achieved in a number of countries. In summing up the first year's activities of the Comintern, Lenin said :

“ If the International (meaning the Second International) would not have been in the hands of the traitors who saved the bourgeoisie at the critical moment, most of the chances in many of the belligerent countries at the close of the war, including certain neutral countries where the people were armed, would have been in favour of a swift revolution, and then the issue would have been different.*

Under the still fresh impression of the monstrous treachery of the Social-Democrats, we wrote the following in an article “ The Social-Democracy as an instrument of Reaction.”

“ The stronger the official social democracy is in any given country, the worse off is the cause of the proletariat. This can now be regarded as a fully established axiom. This is undoubtedly the case under other corresponding conditions.”

The Second International proved strong enough to be able temporarily to save the international bourgeoisie. “ The late Harry Quelch was expelled by the German Government in 1907 from Stuttgart for having called the assembly of European democrats a thieves' kitchen. The leaders of Berne International are not only a thieves' kitchen, they are a bunch of low murderers. They shall not escape the judgment of revolutionary labour.” This is what Lenin justly wrote of the leaders of the Second International in July, 1919, when it was made perfectly clear that only the international Social-Democracy was able for a time to save the bourgeoisie.

Usually, the most popular argument of the Social-Democrats against the Comintern is the assertion that the rapid development of the proletarian revolution which we expected has not come about. “ Where is your world revolution?” maliciously cry these “ leaders,” rubbing their hands jubilantly. First, they helped the bourgeoisie to crush the vanguard of labour and thereby put back the revolution for a time, and then exclaim : “ Where is your world revolution?” They act like those blacklegs, who, having sold themselves to the capitalists, first break the strike

“ Third Communist International,” March 6th, 1920.

and then mock at the workers who remained true—"Well, why don't you strike? A lot your strike did for you!" They behave like the robber who having gagged the mouth of his victim, mockingly asks: "Well, why don't you cry?"

From the point of view of our hopes and subjective impatience—the just impatience of revolutionaries—the international proletarian revolution in the course of the first five years of the Comintern's existence did not develop sufficiently quickly. But the objective premises for the development of the revolution are still operative. If we compare the development of the proletarian struggle during the period 1919-24 with the preceding years of "normal" evolution of the international labour movement in the period of the Second International, it will be seen that in fact, the present pace of its development is, in spite of all, a **frenzied one**. A small strike in Belgium in connection with questions concerning general franchise rights would, during the preceding peaceful period of development of the international labour movement, have been regarded as a tremendous event. Whereas the five years period during which the Comintern exists, is, in fact, replete with formidable battles of an incomparably larger scale.

Things are still moving

The Communist International was called to life as a result of the first imperialist world war. It was unable instantly in open warfare to route the international bourgeoisie, but it became a power sufficiently formidable to make the international bourgeoisie think well before starting a second imperialist slaughter. One need not be a prophet to see that had the bourgeoisie started a new war, we should to-day have dozens of Liebknechts in each country. The activities of the Comintern during the first five years, created such conditions that in the event of a new imperialist war breaking out we should have had a strong band of men in each country whole-heartedly devoted to the cause of the international revolution, who would undoubtedly have drawn along with them not only the Communist workers but, large sections of the non-partisan and Social-Democratic workers. A new imperialistic war would beyond doubt have been the signal for an international revolution in the direct sense of the word—if not at the very beginning, then at any rate during its progress and immediately after its close.

The Communist International has not "made" the international revolution—we are told. But the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, embracing one-sixth of the entire globe—is it not a chip, and a very imposing one at that, of the international revolution? The heroic struggle of the

scattered legions of international labour under the guidance of the Comintern—is that not one of the chief reasons why the Soviet Government in Russia survived and is now standing as firm as a rock? The newspaper of the French Government *Le Temps* (§21047) wrote the following words in 1919, in a leading article entitled “The Safeguarding of Peace.”

“The League of Nations and the Bolshevik Government are two institutions which cannot live together in the world. You want a durable peace? Then take Petrograd.”

Everybody will agree that to-day, at the fifth anniversary of the Comintern, nobody speaks of Soviet Russia in that way. That this is so, should, to a large degree, be placed to the credit of the Comintern.

* * * * *

The development of the international proletarian revolution was and is slower than we expected. Slower still is the liquidation of the Second International. And slow as well, is the birth of Communist parties, and their final welding as militant detachments of the proletarian vanguard of international Communism.

In a speech devoted to the anniversary of the Communist International, Lenin said :

“Weighing the state of affairs it may be said that the Second International is dead and the masses of workers in Germany, England and France are passing over to the side of the Communists.

“The masses of proletarians and semi-proletarians are coming over to our side not by days but by hours. The Berne International is a Staff without any army, which would collapse like a house of cards if it were to be exposed utterly in the eyes of the masses.”

This is what Lenin wrote on July 4th, 1919 in an article against MacDonald.

On the whole this view is correct even at the present time—but only on the whole. Serious reservations must, however, be made in respect of time and tempo. The Second International is dead. This is true if we are to apply former criterions. Regarding the Second International as an international revolutionary labour organisation, we should be forced to conclude that **as a factor of international revolution** it does not exist; but **as a factor of international counter-revolution** it is, alas, of serious significance. The historical perspective of the Comintern has killed the Second International, but has not yet done away with it altogether.

Does the Second (now the London “Labour Socialist”)

International exist as a genuine international association of revolutionary workers? Certainly not. As a matter of fact the leaders of the Second International **do not need** such an association of revolutionary workers. The role of the leader of the Second International is now that of a mere agency of international capital among the working class, to impede the international revolution and introduce demoralisation, chaos and confusion into the ranks of international labour. To carry out **this** task the leaders of the Second International **do not at all need** a specially centralised and unified international organisation. To carry out this task it is quite sufficient to have the Second International and its ally—the Amsterdam Trade Union International, as they are to-day.

The Second International shines now almost exclusively with the **reflection** of the bourgeoisie. Where and when the affairs of the bourgeoisie are in a fair way, here the Second International stands on comparatively firm ground. And *vice versa*, where bourgeois domination totters, then the ground shakes beneath the Second International. The best illustration of this is Germany. When the ground shook under the feet of the bourgeois government in the autumn of 1923, it was made clear to everybody that the German social-democracy rapidly fell in close connection therewith. Now when the position of the German bourgeoisie has slightly improved and the mark has been “stabilised,” a corresponding improvement and “stabilisation” has set in in the position of the social-democracy. Of course, this is only for a time—a short time. The German bourgeoisie no less than the German social-democracy is breathing now by aid of artificial respiration. This is **not** in earnest, neither is it for long. One, however, cannot fail to see the close connection between the fate of the bourgeoisie, which is ekeing out the last days of its domination, and that of the social-democracy which is nearing the end of its influence.

The cinders of the Second International will continue to reek and fumigate the atmosphere until there is a decisive victory of the proletariat in at least two or three of the important countries. Among the working class, especially if taken internationally, there will always be found sections, fairly large in point of numbers, who would serve as a social support for the agents of capital operating among the workers. First of all, we have the labour aristocracy, and then the browbeaten backward elements. The heterogeneity of the working class and its low level of education will, so long as the principal instruments of education remain in the hands of the bourgeoisie, guarantee this “success” to the yellow leaders of the Second International.

The birth of the Communist parties proved in practice to be more complicated, often more tortuous, and in any case more protracted than we imagined it at the time the Communist International was being formed.

“Europe is going to revolution not the way we went; but Europe, in fact, is doing the same thing. Every country must go (and is going) its own way in conducting the internal struggle against its mensheviks, its opportunists and social-revolutionaries who exist under different names, and to a more or less degree in all countries.”

Thus spoke Lenin in his speech at the first anniversary of the Comintern, which has already been quoted.

If the international revolution would have developed more swiftly, or if, in any case, the working class of Europe and America would have gathered serious experience in **revolutionary** practice during the 25 years preceding the imperialistic war of 1914, there is no doubt that the process of formation of Communist parties would have progressed much quicker. The Russian working class, owing to the peculiarities of historical development, were compelled already before the revolution of 1905 to go through many of the phases which the European workers are going through only to-day. We, in Russia in 1905 had, so to speak, a rehearsal of the revolution and it is partly due to this that the Russian proletariat succeeded in taking advantage of the moment of collapse of the imperialist war to seize power. Therefore, Lenin was profoundly right in pointing out that “owing to historical events and the utter decay of the autocracy it was easy for us (the Russian working class) to begin the revolution, but the easier it was to begin, the harder it became for this solitary country to continue.” Reviewing the progress made by the Comintern during its first years’ work, Lenin said that “in other countries where the workers are more developed, where industry is larger and labour more numerous, the development of the revolution was slower. **The road it took was our road but it progressed far more slowly.**

Exactly so! This is precisely what we should say in respect of the process of formation of the Communist parties in the most important countries of Europe and America. On the whole “the road it took is our road, but it progressed far more slowly.”

The malicious enemies of the Communist International in the ranks of the counter-revolutionary social-democracy, as well as mere fools and ignoramuses, who do not understand the grievous throes of birth which are the inevitable concomitant of the formation of Communist parties, point with savage exultation or at best with dull incomprehension

to the numerous "crises" experienced by various parties of the Comintern for the last five years. The "critics" of all sorts fail to see behind the outward difficulties of these "crises" the great progress which the international labour movement and its vanguard, the Communist International, has made in spite of everything.

If we take the history of our party, now the powerful Russian Communist Party, which is ruling one of the greatest States in the world, and roughly trace the history of the evolution of the Russian Social-Democratic Labour Party, in which we co-operated for many years with the Mensheviks, into the present Russian Communist Party—how many "crises" shall we find? It should suffice to mention only the chief phases of the Russian revolutionary labour movement: "legal Marxism," "economism," the attempt to create *intermediate* organisations conjointly with the social-revolutionaries, "menshevism," "liquidatorship," "otzovism," "oboronchestvo," etc. It may properly be said that all the evolutions, from the Russian Social-Democratic Labour Party to the Russian Communist Party were nothing but "crises." That is just the very reason, dear critics, why the Communist islands in the boundless bourgeois sea form and consolidate—especially at the beginning—with such incredible difficulty. That is just the very reason why the vanguard organisations of the oppressed class—having a clear Communist programme, an indomitable will to fight and flexible Communist tactics—organisations which can avoid all reefs and shoals on the path to proletarian victory, are formed so slowly, in stubborn strife, on the basis of difficult experience.

People for whom the real nature of the Communist movement is like the book with the seven seals, absolutely cannot comprehend the tactics of the Comintern. Often it appears to them (this is especially so at the present time) that the Comintern switches now to the right, now to the left, almost at the whim of separate leaders.

As a matter of fact, the tactics of the Comintern have a deeper motive.

With the highly heterogeneous conditions prevailing in the various countries, the Comintern is faced with two dangers. The Communist parties did not fall like ready-made manna from the sky. The greater part of them issued from the womb of the Second International, and therefore the inheritance of Social-Democratic traditions **inevitably** weighs down on them to some degree.

This is one danger—the Right.

The slower the international revolution develops, the

greater under certain conditions may this Right danger become.

On the other hand, the Communist parties, so long as they remain the minority in the working class, are prone to become estranged from the masses and to lose sight of the great rearguard and the middle sections of the working class—the heavy infantry of the proletariat. The thin vanguard strata attempt to lift a burden that is beyond their strength, and may cause damage to themselves. Revolutionary impatience is not always a good counsellor. Hence, the “Left” danger.

The Comintern is compelled to reckon with an extraordinary heterogeneity of conditions. On the whole it **must** turn the helm now to one side and now to another, in order to carry the still unwelded parties through the shoals of “right” and “left” out into the open sea. Sources for exultation on the part of enemies and fools there are many. Let men speak what they will; we shall go our way and forge real strong Communist parties all over the world.

One of the causes of the comparatively slow formation of Communist parties in Europe undoubtedly is the **delayed** split in the Second International and the various Social-Democratic parties.

Practically every Communist party has passed through its own peculiar difficulties.

The **German Communist Party**, as a party, undoubtedly was born rather late. Then the Spartacist Union at the beginning of 1919, not having yet gathered sufficient strength took upon its shoulders a task beyond its might when it attempted to organise an armed uprising against the power of the bourgeoisie and Social-Democrats, at a time when the Communists did not have a strong following among the German proletarians. Then in Heidelberg, there was the hasty amputation of the most valuable “Left” revolutionary wing, which operation was effected by “surgeon” Paul Levi, who, in his further evolution proved unable to catch the pulse-beats of the proletarian struggle. Then, after the “Parteitage,” in Halle, the small Communist party immediately grew inflated by an excessive mass of people, who at best sympathised with Communism, but were not really Communistic.

In March, 1921, the German Communist Party organised the so-called March uprising, which culminated in heavy defeat, causing big crises within the Party, and starting the profound discussion at the Third Congress of the Comintern. This inevitably brought about new crises in the German Party, which resulted in the expulsion of Paul Levi, the

withdrawal of a number of parliamentarians from the former group of Left Independents and the crisis of the so-called K. A. G. (a group which called itself "The Communist Labour Association," headed by Frisland and Co.).

The increase of the Right elements in the party led, on the other end, to a resuscitation and a strengthening of the "Left" group which, in the person of the leaders in any case, suffers greatly from the "infantile disease" of "Leftism." While we are writing these lines the German Communist Party, which is one of the principal sections of the Comintern, is experiencing another severe internal strife—unavoidable after the truly profound crisis which the German labour movement passed through in the autumn of 1923. Each crisis, however, leaves the German Communist Party more united and richer in revolutionary experience, even though it be purchased at a high price.

One must be completely ignorant of the soul of the labour movement to view all this as so many "mistakes" and "crises"; he must indeed be hopeless who cannot see that this is precisely the atmosphere which forges and strengthens the German Communist Party as the leader of future victorious battles of the German proletariat, the future victor, the future leader of Soviet Germany.

The French Party retained for too long a time within its ranks the lowest brand of social-patriots, together with adherents of the "Centre" and future Communists. As early as in 1919, Comrade Lenin called the "Humanité," the present organ of the French Communists, a social-patriotic paper. Not so long ago, Frossard was the most influential man in the French Communist Party, after it broke with the social-patriots, Frossard, who has now openly sold himself to the bourgeoisie. (In "democratic" France, it is the recognised practice that if there is a case of treachery, it is sure to be one of the general secretaries of the Communist parties, who, playing at political leap-frog, finds himself at the point where he is a broker of the bourgeois "Left bloc"). The first portion of the work of creating a Communist Party in France has been accomplished. When real revolutionary battles will begin in France, when the French Communist Party will come **face to face** with the problems that have confronted the German section of the Comintern for the last few years, we shall certainly come up against new difficulties in France as well. That will be the time for sifting the unreliable elements and the undesirables, and that time will show which of the French Communists are ready to fight the bourgeoisie and social-traitors to the very end in actual deed, and not only by resolutions and manifestations. The

crises, in parenthesis and without parenthesis, which the French Communist Party has lived through, undoubtedly have been very useful to the labour movement in France. Of particularly great importance is the rapprochement which has been attained between the genuine nucleus of the French Communists and the best part of the French revolutionary syndicalists. Not all of us appreciate the full significance of this rapprochement; in fact, the beneficial consequences will be very great.

Or take the **Italian Party**. It was one of the first to begin to cleanse itself of the large specimens of social-patriots. The first split (the expulsion of Mussolini and Co. from the Socialist Party) took place two or three years **before** the imperialist war of 1914. But this split was not radical enough. Mussolini quitted the Party, but covert Mussolini adherents remained. The close of the war found a numerically large Italian Party, in which there were three conflicting tendencies: reformists, centrists and future Communists. The weak conduct of the centrists and the perfidy of the reformists led to the ruin in 1920 of a revolutionary movement of the Italian proletariat that was remarkable for its range and scope. Next came the split at Livorno. The centrists remained with the reformists, drawing after them certain wavering Communists and the nucleus of the revolutionary proletarian masses. The Communist Party, as it was formed at Livorno, was not sufficiently mature. Then there came the second split within the Socialist Party. The best of the former centrists took up their stand firmly with the Comintern. The rest "manœuvred" so badly, that they were ultimately ejected from their own party by a company of businessmen, headed by a certain Nanni. Then there began a process of rapprochement between the Communists and the fusionists (adherents of unification of the Communist and Socialist parties) a process which has not been accomplished to this very day.

When victory was at the call of the Italian proletariat, the reformists and the centrists saved the bourgeoisie. Only in the course of a number of years, by passing through a series of severe crises, are the best men of the Italian labour movement making up for the past. Unless it passes through these crises, in parenthesis and without parenthesis, the vanguard of the Italian proletariat will not become tempered or be in a position to create a party which would no longer shake when the final shock came.

Czecho-Slovakia. Here, too, crises were not dispensed with. Who knows what new difficulties will spring up before our section in Czecho-Slovakia when the decisive hour will

strike. Only the blind could fail to see how strong our party in Czecho-Slovakia has grown during recent years, how the originally small opposition group has grown into a powerful Communist Party with a following which comprises the bulk of Czecho-Slovakian labour. How significant alone is the fact that the national friction which played so great a part before and debased the labour movement in Czecho-Slovakia, is now disappearing and has even already disappeared.

Of very great interest is the development of the Communist parties *in the Balkans*. Even the strong and compact party of Bulgaria, behind whose activities stand 28 years of development, and which had long ago split with its Mensheviks, was unable without a crisis to change from a Communist Party of **peaceful propaganda** into a **militant** Communist Party, capable of fighting the bourgeoisie for power with arms in hand and not only with sticks at an election campaign.*

The other Communist parties in the Balkans, some more slowly and some more quickly, are traversing the same path. The Jugo-Slav Party, which was numerically very big at the time of its legal activities, and subsequently very small when the White Terror drove it underground, has passed through the usual process of very severe crises, some of which are still lingering even to-day, and only by this means is beginning to change from a Communist party of peaceful propaganda into a **militant** party.

We have the same thing, with certain variations, in Rumania and Greece as well.

The development of the Communist parties in **Scandinavia** is proceeding on its own peculiar way. The proletarian revolution in these countries is not yet knocking at the door. There the process of formation of Communist parties of peaceful propaganda is still going on. There (Norway) we see the somewhat protracted cohabitation of the Communists with the centrists and syndicalists of a reformist turn. There (Denmark) the Communist Party, as a matter of fact, is just being created. There (Sweden) we still have some centrist relapses. The Communist parties in the Scandinavian atmosphere are particularly slow in the process of formation. They lack that revolutionary ozone, which is so indispensable for the development of the Communist organism.

* The criticism which the Bulgarian Communist Party was subject to by the Comintern in the summer of 1923 was of necessity very severe. We are glad to be able to state now that the most prominent leaders of the Bulgarian Communist Party have now recognised the correctness of our attitude. The time unfortunately has not yet arrived when we could publish the documents in connection with this matter.

In **America** and partly in **Japan**, we have made considerable headway. We are justified in expecting the American labour movement to spring very pleasant surprises. The approaching revolution in Japan (Japanese 1905) will instantaneously convert the now small illegal Japanese Communist Party into an important factor of the international revolutionary movement.

In **England** the promises for the creation of an important **mass Communist Party** are finding soil only to-day. We shall deal with these premises in the next chapter.

In the colonies and semi-colonial countries, during the five years existence of the Communist International, only the foundation for serious revolutionary activities has been created. The next five years will to a considerable extent have to be devoted to work in this field. For the Comintern program speaks of a world revolution and not merely of a European one.

Finally there is the **Russian Communist Party**. Our party during the past five years has likewise passed through many "crises." The crises of the Great Russian Revolution have been the crises of the party. From a party with a purely labour make-up, the Russian Communist Party for a time was converted into a party embracing three large groups: working men, peasants and employees, etc. The present cessation of the process of declassing of the proletariat, and the growth of Socialist economy after the end of the civil war, has enabled the Russian Communist Party to bring up the question of "proletarianising" its ranks and making it a party, one of a **million membership, of which 900,000 would be working men direct from the shops.**

There was a time during the last five years when, as a result of the extreme hardships which fell to the lot of the first proletarian revolution, Soviet Russia became even a sort of deterrant example in the eyes of the backward sections of international labour. This was at the especially distressful time of the famine. We may mention the cannibalism on the Volga, etc. The Yellow Social-Democrats in the voluntary service of the international bourgeoisie, did everything possible to exploit the dire distress of the first proletarian revolution, caused by bourgeois persecution and Social-Democratic perfidy, for the purpose of scaring the west European proletariat away from revolution. To-day the greatest difficulties of the Russian revolution are left behind. The time is coming again when the idea of the Soviet power and the example of the Russian Communist Party will be as a magnet drawing the hearts of the labour

masses of Europe and America, including the Social-Democratic workers.

Summing up the five years' activities of the Comintern we reiterate: Things are still moving!

What is our task: are we to have "sect" parties or mass parties? This is very often the way the question is put by certain European comrades, who desire to pass for "realists" and who are too much in the habit of judging the successes of Communism merely by the results of the parliamentary elections, etc.

Certainly, the latter. We want and shall have (we partly have already) **mass** Communist parties. It must be understood however, that in order to create a mass, **really Communist** party, one must pass through the inevitable phase of so-called intolerance and "sectarianism," and of struggle against all that is not true Communism. If it had not been for the Bolshevik "sectarianism," "intolerance," and "diehard" policy which Lenin displayed in the centre of 30 years of his activities, there would have been no question of a **mass** Russian Communist Party.

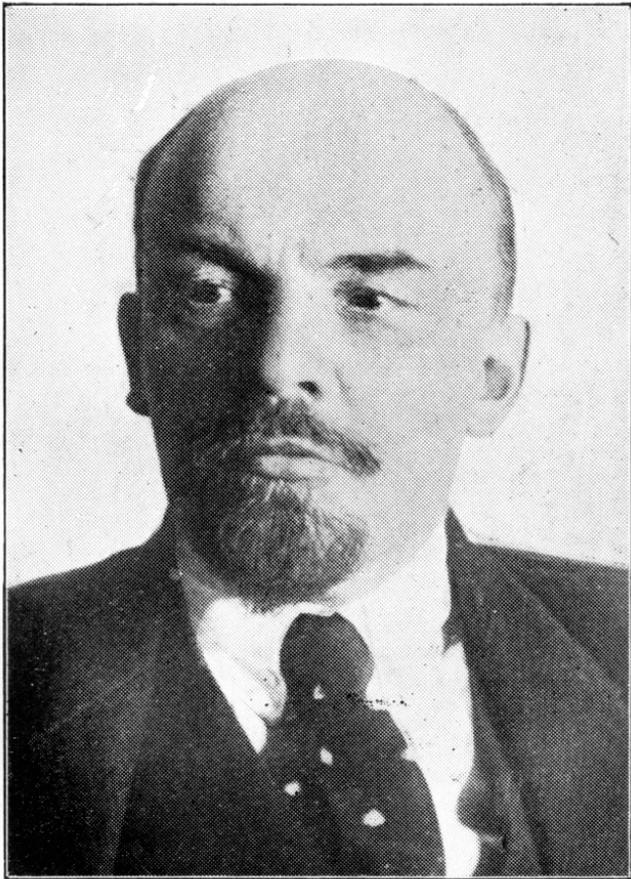
A number of countries will inevitably have to pass through the phase of "illegal" parties, not "mass" parties in the general "European" sense of the word. Why should the international bourgeoisie, which on all such occasions whispers its advice to the yellow social democracy, allow us to freely develop **legal** mass communist parties?

Naturally the international bourgeoisie and the yellow Social Democrats will not give us the chance to do that.

There are, however, numerically small illegal parties, which, in fact, are mass parties of the proletariat. We don't have to seek far for an example. The Russian Communist Party in 1904 say, was an illegal party. But at the same time it was undoubtedly a **mass** party, conducting thousands of strikes and demonstrations and having followers at each factory and mill. Or let us take the German Communist Party. At the present moment it is illegal, it has passed through illegal periods more than once. But it will undoubtedly become (and partly has already become) a **mass** Communist party.

We are confronted in a number of countries with the elementary problem of creating Communist parties, at least of propaganda value, whose tasks for the present would not be to fight for the direct seizure of power, but carry on work of educating the masses and exposing the Social-Democrats and centrists. In other countries we are confronted with the bigger and more difficult problem of forging and moulding

THE REPRESENTATIVES
OF THE
Russian Communist Party
TO THE
EXECUTIVE OF THE
Communist International
1919 — 1924



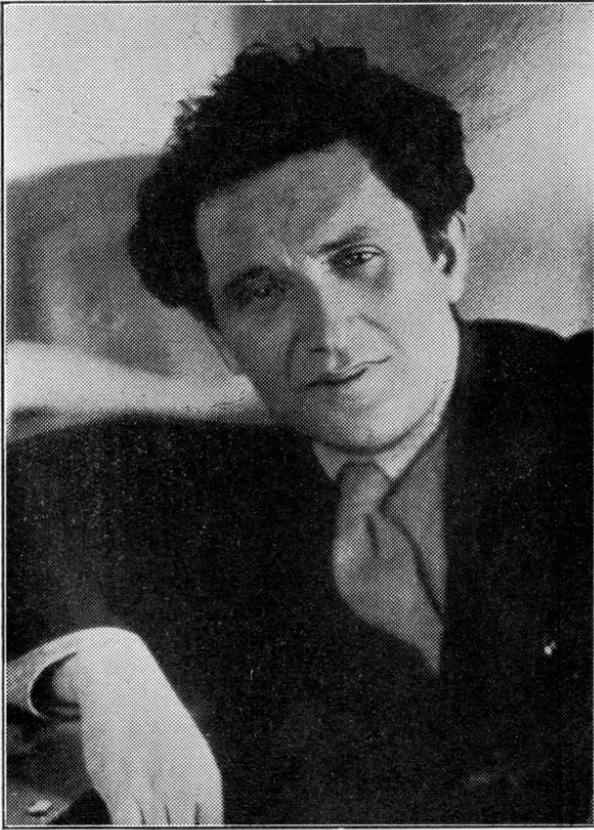
N. LENIN.



L. TROTSKY.



KARL, RADEK.



G. ZINOVIEV.



N. BUCARIN.

militant Communist parties, whose task it would be to **fight for power**. Here we have to learn to create a **mass** party, even when it is illegal.

Communist parties have been born in the majority of countries. This is the greatest event in recent political history. We created the Comintern in the hope that the decisive battles and their outcome would take place sooner. We should set to work with increased energy and ten times more organisation to consolidate the Communist parties all over the world now when history offers us the least semblance of a peaceful preparatory period.

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Ramsay MacDonald, the present Prime Minister of Great Britain, published an article on April 14th, 1919, entitled, "The Third International," as a commentary on the inauguration of the Comintern that had just taken place.

Among others, this article contains the following remarks :

"At the present moment our movement has unfortunately come up against a new obstacle. A new International has been founded in Moscow.

"I am personally deeply grieved at this. Is not the Socialist International at the present time sufficiently open to all shades of Socialist thought? In spite of all the theoretical and practical differences which Bolshevism has given rise to in it, I don't see why the Left wing should break away from the centre and form an independent group.

"It should above all be kept in mind that we are still in the period of birth of the revolution. . . .

"If it should prove that we substantially differ in principles, if we fail to come to an agreement on the question of freedom and democracy, if our views regarding the conditions under which the proletariat may possess itself of the power should absolutely disagree, and if finally, it should prove that the war has infected certain sections of the International with the venom of imperialism—then a split would be possible.

"I do not believe, however, that such a misfortune would occur.

"That is why I am grieved at the Moscow manifesto"

Lenin wrote a reply to this article, giving MacDonald to understand "in popular form" that we built the Third International and broke with the Second International because "We have convinced ourselves of its hopelessness, its incorrigibility, its role of servant to imperialism, transmitter

of bourgeois influence, bourgeois lies and bourgeois corruption in the labour movement."

How long ago, however, are those times when the MacDonalds were disconcerted by the fact of the "Left" breaking away from the centre.

Now Ramsay MacDonald with God's help and the help of a section of the English imperialists, is Prime Minister of bourgeois Britain. Nobody need prove now that the ways of the Second and Third International lie hopelessly wide apart.

The chief centres of the international labour movement at the present time, more than at any other time, are **Moscow** and **London**. The advent to power of the British "Labour" Government may be regarded from two angles: first, from the point of view of international State policy; second, that of the destinies of the international revolution and the Comintern's struggle with the Second International. We are dealing with the latter point.

Ramsay MacDonald, Henderson and Co., were and are the leaders of the Second International, since the British "Labour" party is the largest real force of this "International." At its recent notorious congress in Hamburg, the Second International passed a resolution ruling that in case any members of the Second International enter the government, they are to retire from the Executive. MacDonald, Henderson and Co., have now formally withdrawn from the Executive of the Second International. This is, of course, a mere formality. The Hamburg resolution was not actuated by any concern for preserving pure principles and revolutionary intransigence. It expresses merely the peculiar psychology of the leaders of the Second International, who regard participation in bourgeois governments as a kind of by-profession. MacDonald and Henderson have left the Executive for a time to ply their new profession, only to return when they shall have lost the posts of ministers of the bourgeoisie. Let there be no illusions: this is not the psychology of revolutionaries, but the psychology of bourgeois flunkeys.

Yet, what is taking place in England to-day is of deep historical significance. England is the rock of world capitalism. England is the richest bourgeois country. But England at the same time is the promised land of "Labour" reformism, in its most rigorous and callous trade union expression.

In October, 1916, the former Secretary of the International Bureau of the Second International, Huysmans, sent the following message of greetings to the Dutch:

Minister without portfolio, Strauning, the leader of the Dutch Social-Democrats :

“ Observe from newspapers you are appointed minister. My hearty congratulations. So we have already ten Socialist ministers throughout the world. Things are moving ahead. Best regards.”

At the time Lenin wrote the following in an article entitled, “ Half a Score of ‘ Socialist Ministers ’ ” (see “ Against the Current.”)

“ Things are moving ahead. Huysmans is right. Moving ahead towards the clear, politically honest, and Socialistically necessary demarcation between the revolutionary Marxists representing the mass of the revolutionary proletariat. . . and the agents of the imperialist bourgeoisie representing not the interests of the oppressed mass, but the interests of the privileged labour ministry, who have passed to the side of the bourgeoisie.”

Lately, “ Socialist ” ministers have become a commodity of mass production. They can now be counted by the dozen. The international bourgeoisie are playing with them at cat-and mouse, now tenderly and the next minute showing its claws. The squashed lemon is thrown on the rubbish heap.

The post of “ Socialist ” minister has been filled by the Brantings, the Scheidemanns, Pilsudskis, Alberts, Thomas’s and Hendersons.

Noske and Scheidemann were called to the government at a time when the revolution in Germany was in full swing. Noske and Scheidemann were called to do everything in their power to **try and stop the revolution**, by democratising the workers. The chariot of revolution was in full motion. The German Social-Democratic Party with the hands of Scheidemann and Noske seized the wheels and stopped its career for a time.

The situation in England is different. There the bourgeois rule is still comparatively strong. There the objective role of the “ Labour ” Government, unless it is destined to be a short-lived episode, will be to help **undermine the still powerful bourgeois slave-owning machinery**. The objective role of the “ Labour ” Government in this respect may to a certain degree become a revolutionary one.

In England, too—and perhaps there more than elsewhere—the bourgeoisie is playing with the Labour ministers like a cat with a mouse : if it wants it will be merciful, if it wants it will crush them, or perhaps simply drive them out. Whereas on the heights of the parliamentary Olympus, this game may not be of very great significance, being merely as

ripples on the sea of parliamentary politics, among the broad masses of the British Labour, the formation of a first Labour Government will not be without its effect. The advent to power of Labour will be understood by the British working class masses to mean that the time has come for restricting the rich, and the aristocracy and assisting the unemployed. In the subjective interpretation of the British working class masses the "the Labour" Government signifies some sort of **beginning of a new life**. At the very first steps of MacDonald's government we already hear the demands of the wide Labour circles for a workers' control. An echo has already stirred the British colonies, in respect of which MacDonald and other lackeys of British imperialism think to carry on the same policy of oppression as their masters pursued. India already demands the extension of its autonomy. To-morrow other colonies will speak, and in India itself the radical elements will become more importunate. All the antagonisms on which the domination of British Imperialism is based will become intensified, all the fissures in the "great" British Empire will be laid bare. Relations will steadily become revolutionised.

Very naive people from France frequently ask whether the "Labour" Government of MacDonald is the Labour government which is advocated in the watchwords of the Comintern.

Certainly not. The "Labour" Government of MacDonald is precisely that government of which a certain resolution of the Fourth Comintern Congress says: "Every bourgeois government is a capitalist government, but not every 'Labour' government is a Socialist, proletarian government."

"You teach them and we'll buy them" said a certain wise capitalist lady to the old English Social-Democrat (and subsequently Social-Imperialist) Hyndman, who related in his memoirs how this lady appreciated the "labours" of British Socialist intellectuals to train the workers to be Socialist leaders (see Lenin).

The "Labour" ministers in MacDonald's government belong precisely to this breed. They are doing the business of the bourgeoisie which has bought them.

Is this really so difficult to understand?

As to the destinies of MacDonald's Government, we foresee four possibilities:

1. MacDonald's Government will be a short-lived episode, will be turned out shortly be a mere division of votes, and be lost in oblivion without leaving any trace.

2. MacDonald and Co. will adapt themselves to such an extent that they will be regarded as suitable by the important group of British imperialists, and will be allowed to remain for a longer time so long as it is possible to make imperialist policy through them and radically compromise the present "Labour Party" in the eyes of the British working class, arousing their disappointment and causing them to lose their political bearings.

3. Differentiation may take place within the Labour Party itself; the Left wing will steadily grow, the working masses will bring pressure to bear on the "Labour" Government, and to secure the introduction of effectual measures for improving the conditions of the workers. The Labour Party in its present form will become stratified. MacDonald, Clynes, and Henderson will naturally resist the demands of the workers. All this will tend to create the premises for the formation of a **mass** Communist Party in England.

4. The "Labour" Government, in spite of the worthlessness and counter-revolutionism of its members, will to a certain degree, under pressure of the masses, be made to represent the spirit of the rank-and-file of Labour. A struggle will ensue between the "Labour" Government and the bourgeoisie, which may become the starting point of a comparatively swift intensification of the crisis, even to the extent of a revolutionary crisis.

As far as one can guess the progress of events, the first and fourth prospects are the least probable. It is most likely that things will take the middle course between the second and third possibilities.

"A lord's smile is a fool's food" (or a lord's smile satisfies a fool.—Trans.) runs the English saying. If the government of MacDonald intend to feed the British workers only on lords' smiles, English Labour will soon realise that this kind of food is not sufficiently satisfying. One may depend on this

There will be not a few elements of tragic-comedy in MacDonald's government. And yet, because all this is taking place in England, that country of full-blooded capitalism and strong "Labour" reformism, MacDonald's government is a great historical event. We have seen the Second International in power before, but we have never seen it in power in such an important country as England. The Second International, more than at any other time, is now **London**. And the Third International at the present time is first of all **Moscow**. We have a situation in many respects unprecedented in point of clearness and fraught with great political possibilities.

Mr. Massarik, the "great" statesman of Czecho-Slovakia, recently came out with his much-discussed "historical article":

"I wrote in my diary on the 21st inst. the communication concerning the voting in the British Parliament before midnight, the voting which determined the advent of MacDonald's Government. On the 22nd I wrote down the communication concerning the death of Lenin. Lenin went exactly on the day when the voting for the new government was taking place in London. In England, social-democracy won without a bloody revolution; in Russia it won by a bloody revolution. In England, it was likewise Marx's tactics which conquered. But this was a more mature Marx. A revolutionary of "old tactics" of blood has gone. A revolutionary of "new tactics" (bloodless) has come.

"The British example will convince the politically intelligent that bloody revolution tactics are old. Bloodless revolution (not only parliamentary) is new tactics."

Massarik and his like see in this a great symbol: "**Lenin has gone, MacDonald has come.**"

Massarik, like the heroes of the Second International, has failed to notice just this little thing: namely, that while MacDonald and Henderson are merely the **retainers** of the British bourgeoisie, which may dismiss them to-morrow and will very likely do so, the Labour Government which has been created by the working class of a great country under the leadership of Lenin, is the **genuine** collective leader of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, is a revolutionary government, which for seven years now has been repulsing the attacks of world capital and has now established the domination of Labour on an impregnable foundation.

If we are to speak of a symbol, the fact of MacDonald's advent to power and his government's recognition *de jure* of the Union of Soviet Republics, immediately on the morrow of Lenin's death, symbolises that Lenin's cause, the cause of revolutionary Marxism, the cause of proletarian dictatorship, has been legally "recognised" even by leaders of the Second International who temporarily control the ministries of the most powerful bourgeoisie in Europe.

In his prophetic article "The Third International, its Place in History," written immediately after the inauguration of the Comintern, Lenin said:

"England offers a striking instance of a country, where in the words of Engels, the middle classes, acting in combination with an aristocracy gradually merging into the upper middle class, have created an upper stratum of the proletariat most akin to the middle classes. That advanced

capitalist country was, as far as the revolutionary struggle was concerned, several decades behind more backward countries. The proletariat of France seemed to have exhausted its strength in the two heroic risings of the working classes against the bourgeoisie in 1848 and 1871, the importance of which in the world's history cannot be overrated. In the seventies, *i.e.*, at a time when Germany was economically behind France and England, the supremacy in the international labour movement passed into her hands. When, however, Germany had outdistanced those two countries in the economic race, *i.e.*, in the second decade of the twentieth century, the world-renowned party of German Marxists was headed by a gang of abominable rogues, by a band of scoundrels who had sold themselves to the capitalists, by Scheidemann and Noske, by David and Legien, the most villainous hangmen that were ever used against the working men by monarchy and counter-revolutionary middle-classes.

“The course of the world's history inevitably points to the dictatorship of the proletariat, but its course is far from being straight, smooth and simple. . . .

For a time—certainly for a very short time—the supremacy in the proletarian revolutionary International belongs to the Russians, as it did, in various periods of the nineteenth century, belong successively to the English, French and the Germans.”

Hegemony in the **counter-revolutionary** Second International is now in the hands of England. Hegemony in the **revolutionary** proletarian Third International “for a time—it is self-understood for a short time”—is in the hands of the Russian workers. The building up of a mass Communist party in England should become the chief concern of the **whole** Communist International. When the Communists will have squeezed the yellow Second International out of England, or when at least they will have seriously undermined its hegemony in this country, we shall know that the hour of European capitalism has struck.

The “route” of the proletarian revolution, as it was marked out in the course of the first five years of the Comintern's existence, runs from Russia through Germany.

Another possible historical contingency is this. The revolution may succeed, first in South-East Europe, in the agrarian countries, and then proceed westward. Indeed, it was not altogether by accident that there were two Soviet republics in the agrarian countries of Hungary and Bavaria.

In any case, the revolution, besides being only on a European scale, will become world-wide in proportion as the

millions of the East rise up. The latter is the main reserve of the world revolution.

The proletarian revolution, inasmuch as it is beginning to set its course towards the colonial and semi-colonial countries of the East simultaneously as it is penetrating into the heart of Europe, aims primarily at British imperialism, whose sovereignty rests completely on the oppression of the colonies and semi-colonial countries. When a considerable part of the British working class will have become revolutionised, when it will have rallied beneath the banner of the Communists and have become fused with the movement for national liberation of the oppressed peoples of the East, the proletarian revolution will then conquer in England and in all Europe.

It is the duty of the Communist International to work for the realisation of this aim, work assiduously and without resting. Let this not rouse the wrath of Mr. Baldwin, who, polemising with the writer of these lines, recently declared in Parliament, that nobody can guess how much blood will be shed in the event of the people of the East rising. Much blood will be shed? But who will shed it? Obviously, you my "noble" lords. **This** is the threat which your speech contained, Mr. Baldwin. But no threats will stop the righteous, lawful and only essential war for liberation of the oppressed peoples against their oppressors.

A difficult but great task now lies with the English Communists.

"The English Communists"—wrote Lenin in his booklet, "The Infantile Sickness of Leftism"—"often find it difficult now (1920) even to approach the masses, or make themselves listened to. . . Should I come out, as a Communist, and urge people to vote for Henderson against Lloyd George, I will certainly command attention. I shall be able to explain in a popular way not only why the Soviets are better than Parliament, and why the dictatorship of the proletariat is better than the dictatorship of Churchill (behind the signboard of bourgeois "democracy") but also that I would wish to support Henderson with my vote like the rope which supports the hanging man." (Russian edition, page 80.)

Attempts are being made to create of MacDonald's advent to power an entire era of flourishing pacifism. The leaders of the German social democracy have been encouraged by seeing their "own men" in power in England. Messrs. Dan and Co., the Russian Menshevik leaders, are trying to make capital out of it too. Let them comfort themselves. We have long known from the experience of the

Russian revolution and of the whole international struggle of the working class that the sooner the Mensheviks come to power the sooner do they go.

Not alone the Churchills, Curzons, Asquiths and Lloyd Georges, but the Hendersons, MacDonalds, Clynes and Webbs are now working for us, for the Comintern and the International proletarian revolution.

* * * * *

The First International died nobly after the fall of the Paris Commune. The Second International died ignominiously at the hands of opportunism and the treachery of its leaders. Between the years 1871 and 1889, there lies a period of 20 years, during which the labour movement was without its centre. During the period 1889 to 1914—that of the Second International—the international centre of the labour movement was an ephemeral one.

The Communist International made it its task to build up a single International Communist Party, with a strictly centralised single international headquarters. Even this, it must be admitted, was not such an easy thing as the leaders of Comintern imagined at the beginning. It requires much more time than many thought. And in this field, too, our progress is slower than we hoped.

Nevertheless, we are moving forwards. The idea of the necessity of creating a single centralised international machinery of guidance haunted our minds during the course of these five years with the successes as well as with the defeats of the international labour movement. It is becoming clear to every average working man that there can be no question of securing victory over the international bourgeoisie without an international proletarian guidance.

The fifth anniversary of the Comintern's activities leaves us with the knowledge of great work done, and of the need for untiring and ceaseless work on the consolidation of the international organisation of the proletariat.

We proclaimed the idea of the necessity of creating a single Central Committee of the international Communist Party, which the Executive of the Comintern was to have become. We should frankly admit that the results we have achieved in this respect are still small. The forces of the Comintern sections at home are too scanty for them to be able to give them up for the cause of international guidance. Our international connections have been tightened, but still to an inadequate degree. Our organisational machinery is defective and our centre insufficiently elastic. We have not yet been able to combine the actions of the separate detachments of international labour. We have not yet learned how

to concentrate the shock and look sufficiently ahead. We have not yet learned how to conduct shock-work at high tension of all forces at the point which may decide the issue at the time. We still suffer from survivals of the Second International in the field of organisation and sometimes in the field of tactics as well. We would be unworthy of the ideals of the Comintern if we were to conceal from ourselves our weak points.

And nevertheless, we look boldly in the face of the future, and not without satisfaction at the trail behind.

On what shall our attention be focussed within the next year? What will our tasks be from to-day?

* * * * *

The tasks are infinite. The work immeasurable. From the historical angle the work of the Comintern is only just beginning. Five years work of such a world organisation as the Comintern, on the sundial of history are merely five minutes. The Comintern has only just begun to stretch its limbs. It has merely made the groundwork of the real edifice. The tasks are multitudinous. The most important of them are as follows :

1. The line of the imminent proletarian revolution in Germany remains wholly in force. The orientation taken by the Comintern at the close of 1923 remains fundamentally correct. The German Communist Party itself, as well as the Communist Parties of France, Poland, Czecho-Slovakia, Austria and Russia should prepare for the advent of great events in Germany.

2. The work of creating a **mass** Communist Party in England should be the chief and most urgent task of the English Communists as well as of the whole Comintern.

3. General assistance to the American Communists and Communists of Japan is one of the chief tasks of the Comintern.

4. The working class in Poland is awakening. This was proved by the events at the end of 1923. The crisis in Poland is approaching more rapidly than could have been expected. Attention and support to the Polish Communist Party.

5. The revolutionary happenings in Bulgaria in 1923 were merely the precursor of great revolutionary upheavals both in Bulgaria itself and in the whole Balkan peninsular. Watch both. See clearly that through Bulgaria the Revolution opens the road to all the remaining Balkan countries.

6. More, much more attention to the East—the colonial and semi-colonial countries. The Comintern is not an inter-

national organisation of the European workers alone. The Comintern is not only an organisation of white people. The Communist parties of those countries whose bourgeoisie oppresses the colonies, should give at least fifty per cent. of their attention to colonial questions. The Communist parties who do not do this are not Communist parties. Only traitors or cowards can slight this task.

7. The chief task of the Communist parties of Europe and America remains as before—to secure the majority of the proletariat. We may consider this task nearly accomplished only in a few countries. In these countries (Germany first of all) we should prepare for a direct fight for power.

8. We should work with the utmost perseverance and patience, employing all the experience of international practice and the utmost attention, to help along the path of maturity and consolidation real Communist parties in such countries where the process of formation of Communist parties has not yet been completed.

9. The question of the relationships between the working class and the peasantry should be determined in the spirit of Lenin's teaching, practically as well as theoretically. We know of no party in the Comintern which is not confronted point blank with the question of work among the peasantry. And truth to say we know of no party in the Comintern which had handled this problem with sufficient serious intent, leave alone satisfactorily solved it. Even our Balkan Communist parties, working in countries where the peasantry are the chief determining factor, have till now given very little attention to the peasant questions.

10. The same applies to the colonial question. It should be borne in mind that the national and colonial questions in a large measure resolve themselves to the peasant question. To decide correctly the national and colonial questions in our programme and tactics, to organise properly mass Communist agitation on national and colonial questions, would mean to a considerable degree correctly solving the question of winning the peasantry to our cause.

11. More, much more attention and support to the Young Communist International, that excellent organisation which is the cradle of the future. Once and for all, to cease regarding the organisation of the young movement as a matter of secondary importance and almost as a pastime. To show the utmost concern and devotion to this organisation, which has succeeded in the first few years of its existence in fulfilling a very important role, while the great historical

role which it is destined to fulfil in the future cannot be exaggerated.

12. Utmost general support of the Profintern. Determined rebuff to those impatient elements who are too prone to take the line of least resistance and quit the social democratic trade unions. We are not in a position to set up new unions. We shall be defeated. We should be allowing ourselves to be divorced from the masses if the Communists deserted the trade unions. The general line remains as before—to fight for the unity of the trade unions and work for their revolutionisation. Exceptions to, and modifications of this line, depending on existing circumstances, will have to be specially decided on each occasion.

13. To carry on and further the tactics of the United Front bearing in mind that these tactics for us are nothing than a means of revolutionary agitation, organisation and rallying of the masses—during the course of an entire long effort in which we shall still be in the minority, and when the question of direct struggle for power will be raised only in a few countries. To repulse opportunist tendencies, which desire to give an “expansive” interpretation to the tactics of the United Front in the sense of a durable political bloc between the Communists and the Social-Democrats within the limits of “democracy.” To learn to modify the tactics of the United Front depending on place, time and conditions. To understand that the tactics of the United Front may be carried out successfully only if they are not rendered commonplace, but applied in accordance with the concrete circumstances in each country at each given period. To understand that we are not a Left wing of Social-Democracy, but an independent Communist Party, that must defeat the Social-Democracy.

14. To work still more consciously and methodically at the strengthening of international discipline within our ranks and at converting the Comintern into a really unified international Communist Party, guided by one centre—for the time being—“for a very short time,” from Moscow, such centre being transferred to a country with a more numerous proletariat upon the first decisive victory over the bourgeoisie.

15. To help in an organised way the first victorious proletarian revolution to retain the dictatorship of the proletariat and assert the tactics of the Russian Communist Party, adopted at its last All-Union Party Conference, against concessions to the international bourgeoisie and against petty-bourgeois proclivities. Help the Russian Communist Party to overcome the difficulties which have arisen in connection with the transition period—being the transition from the

conquest of political power to the complete and real consolidation of Socialist economy.

We are living in an epoch of international proletarian revolution. That epoch has already commenced. The revolution is developing now quickly and now slowly, and even at times appears temporarily to subside. The intervals between one wave of revolution and another may sometimes be that of years. It will be a light thing to be a Communist within a few years, when the movement will have surmounted all the principal obstacles and when the final victory will have been an accomplished fact. It is harder to be a Communist now. Those "revolutionaries" are of small worth who like to go by smooth paths. The Comintern should learn how energetically and in an organised way to make good of every possibility and work with equal perseverance in "quiet" years and months of revolutionary "respite" and in years and months of revolutionary storm and stress. We should be able to pass swiftly from careful, deliberate and systematic propaganda to stormy and fierce attacks when conditions change, and *vice versa*. We should give firm support to each big worker Communist, to each promising man in the international organisation of young people and prominent leaders of the Comintern, who, according to Lenin's expression, are likely to develop into new Varleius and Liebknechts.

The Comintern will now have to carry on without its teacher, Comrade Lenin.

"The movement of the proletariat will proceed on its way, but these will be no mere centres to which in critical moments the French, the Russians, Americans and Germans would hasten for the always clear and sound counsel which only a genius or a man who is master of the subject could give them." This is what Engels wrote on the day Marx died.

The whole Comintern should repeat these sad words in connection with Lenin's death. The greater our loss, the more heavy is the responsibility which lies on each section of the Comintern, on each of us individually and all of us together. On the basis of collective experience, on the basis of our study of the great masters of Communism—Marx and Lenin—and enriched by the experience of the great struggle of the international proletariat, each year of which sees it growing more imposing—we shall pave our own way towards the triumph of the ultimate aims of the Comintern. The Communist International has lost its best leader. Then close up the ranks. Lenin's banner floats as of old over all

the sections of the Comintern and over the whole Comintern. No Communist in the whole world will hesitate to sacrifice everything in order to do his share in fulfilling Lenin's precepts.

The preamble of the Comintern's history is nearing its end. We are about to witness the real history of the Communist proletarian struggle for the overthrow of capitalism and the setting up an International Union of Soviet Socialist Republics: The great work is waiting for its doers, for all of us.

To work, then, in the spirit of Lenin's precepts. Another five years will pass, and we shall see the international proletariat meeting the tenth anniversary of the Comintern's existence under the triumph of Communism in at least a number of important countries.

G. ZINOVIEV.

Leningrad, February 23rd, 1924.

Translated by B. MUSCATT.



From the International of Word to the International of Deed

Translated by M. L. KORTCHMAR.

“**I**N the beginning was the deed!” This was the motto chosen by history itself for the Communist International at the time when it was founded. No other motto would be more suitable than this exclamation of the inquiring spirit of Faust, who passionately strives to learn all the mysteries, “on which heaven and earth depend,” and who enjoys the moment of supreme bliss when contemplating the ultimate achievement of creative activity: “to stand upon free soil, amid free people.” The founding of the Communist International was preceded by a deed of the greatest historical import, to wit, the November revolution in Russia. Nay, one may even go further and say that without this immortal deed the founding of the Third International could hardly be thought of. This world-wide militant organisation of the proletariat is the child of the Russian Revolution, and its nature and activity are determined by this origin. It is based on the deed, on the revolutionary deed, and this must continue to be its basis, if it does not wish to forfeit its historic right to existence. In this respect it differs both from the First and Second Internationals (although not in the same manner as regards the two internationals), and this difference reflects the progress and the gigantic strides of human history during the last decades, although to our revolutionary longing and aspirations the pace of progress seems at times tortoise-like.

The first International was the fruit of theory and not of action. It was conceived in the great scientific principles of the materialist conception of history as propounded by Marx and Engels, which taught that the development of capitalist production was inevitably bound to lead to ever-increasing national and international solidarity of the workers of all countries, who have nothing to lose but their chains and a whole world to gain. Such was the goal that was set out with unsurpassed scientific lucidity and supreme pathos in the “Communist Manifesto.” It was a theory that could

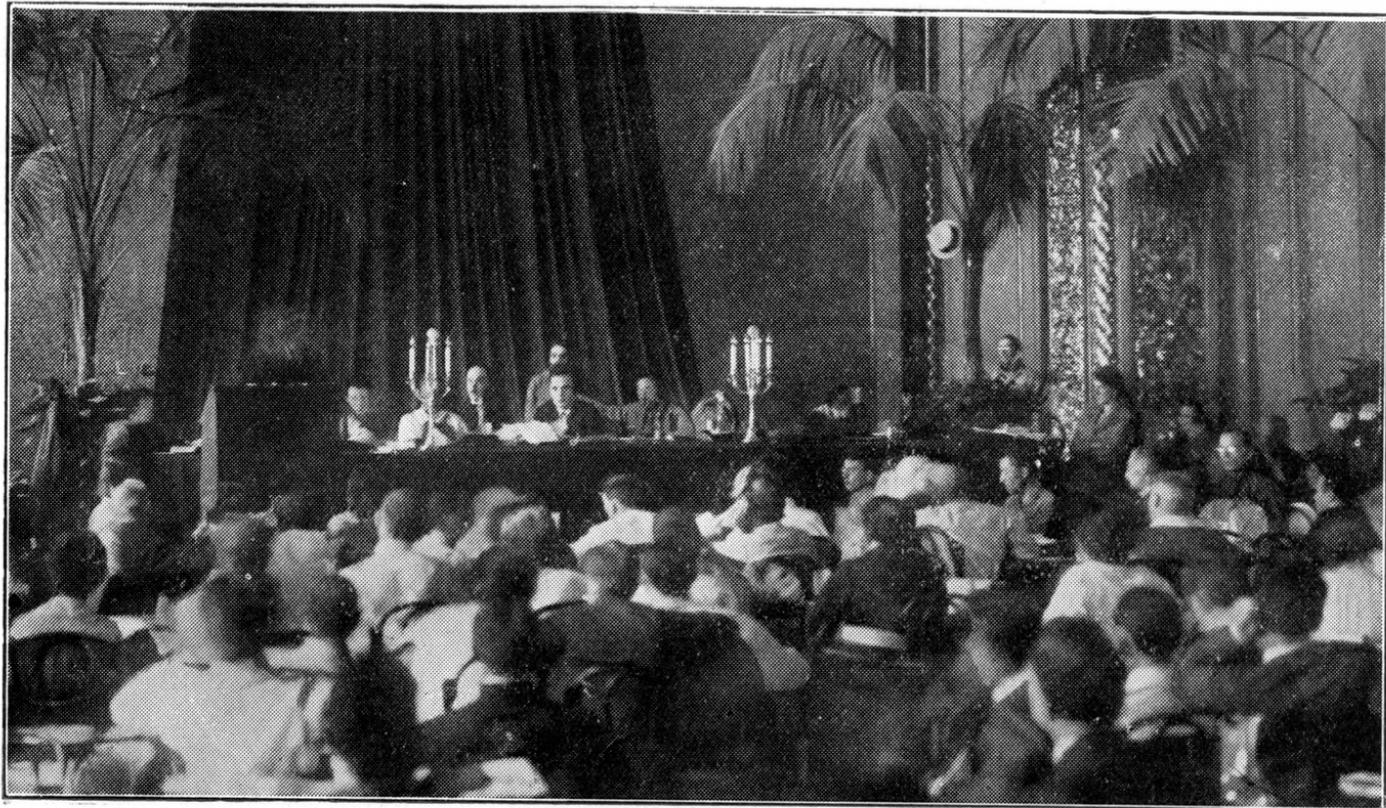
not be an active factor in the creation of a decisive revolutionary action of the proletariat in any particular country, but it could well serve as a guide and programme to the Communists, to the workers of all countries, under circumstances of revolution. The weak Communist groups (nearly all of them clandestine) were rather loosely associated internationally. Fruitful seed was sown everywhere for future development, but those groups did not possess the power to exercise decisive influence upon the events and to spur the march to victory. The movements and fights of a social and proletarian nature were crushed by the bourgeoisie without mercy. The bourgeoisie in Germany, Austria and Hungary was so much afraid of the "red spectre" that it dared not prosecute to a victorious conclusion its own revolution against autocracy and feudalism. The Chartist movement in England broke down after having made a hopeful start. The June massacre of Paris was the reward of the French bourgeoisie to the generous folly of the workers who had granted three months' credit to the bourgeois republic at the cost of their own starvation.

Some fifteen years later, the First International was founded at London, in 1864, at a time when the workers in the capitalist countries were invariably defeated in their struggles. The revolutionary wave of the 30s' and 40s' had abated, and there was not the least indication of any new wave impending. The workers' organisations in the international movement had small membership and influence, and constituted rather the nuclei of a solid organisation of the future than an active force in the present. Thus the founding of the International Working-men's Association was in itself a deed, a daring, ideological deed. The object of this deed was the revolution. A master-mind had anticipated things as they should be. This is demonstrated by the conferences and by the history of the First International. It could only foreshadow in general outline the way which the workers of all countries will have to march towards freedom through revolution; it could only outline the development of workers' parties and organisations which should break loose from the bourgeoisie and wage their own fight against capitalism and the capitalist state; it could only gather and train a body of pioneers and leaders. The Franco-German war exposed the political and organisational impotence of the First International. It showed how little it had struck root among the proletariat of the capitalist countries, and how little was its influence upon the minds of the people.

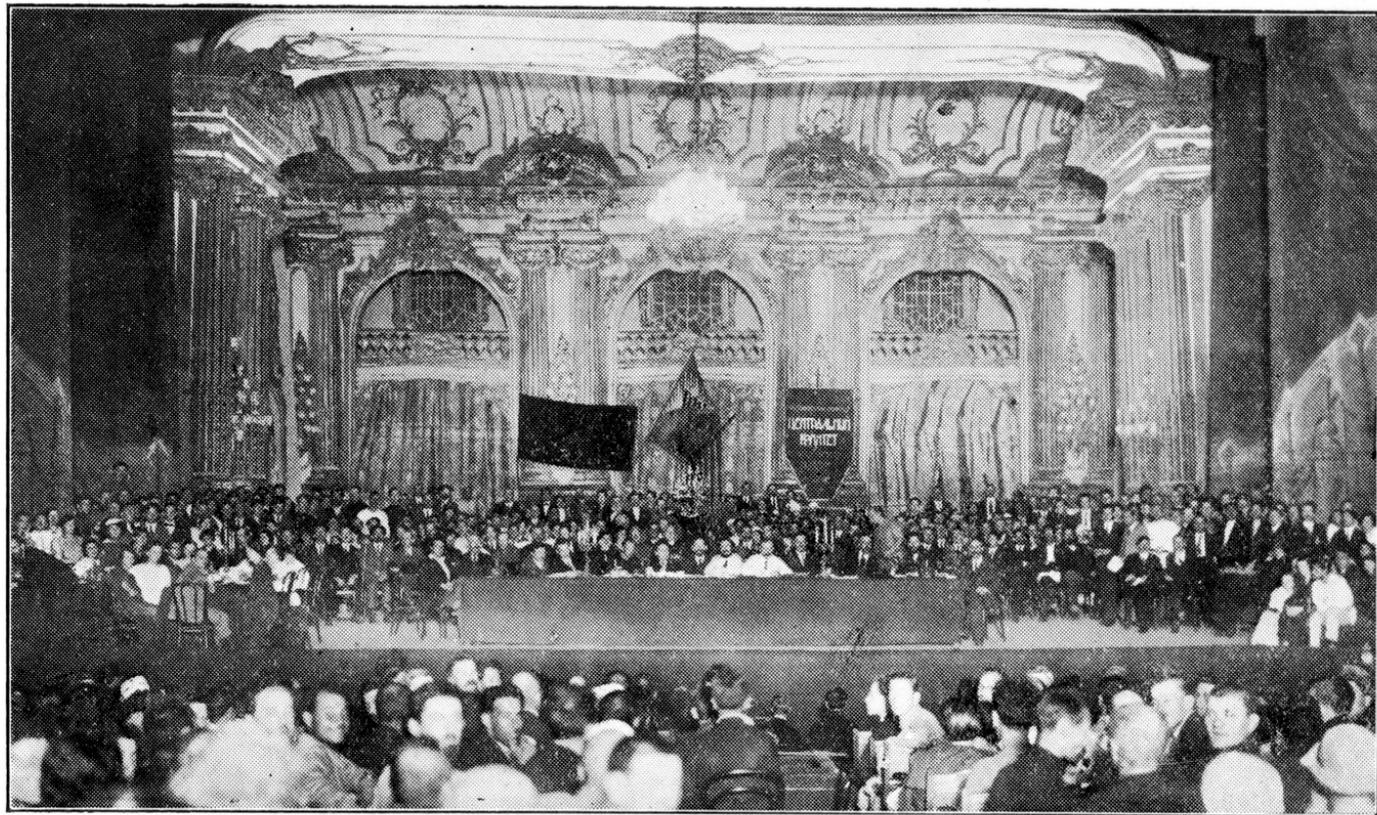
This was confirmed also by the Commune of Paris. It was not the work of the International, nevertheless, it was a



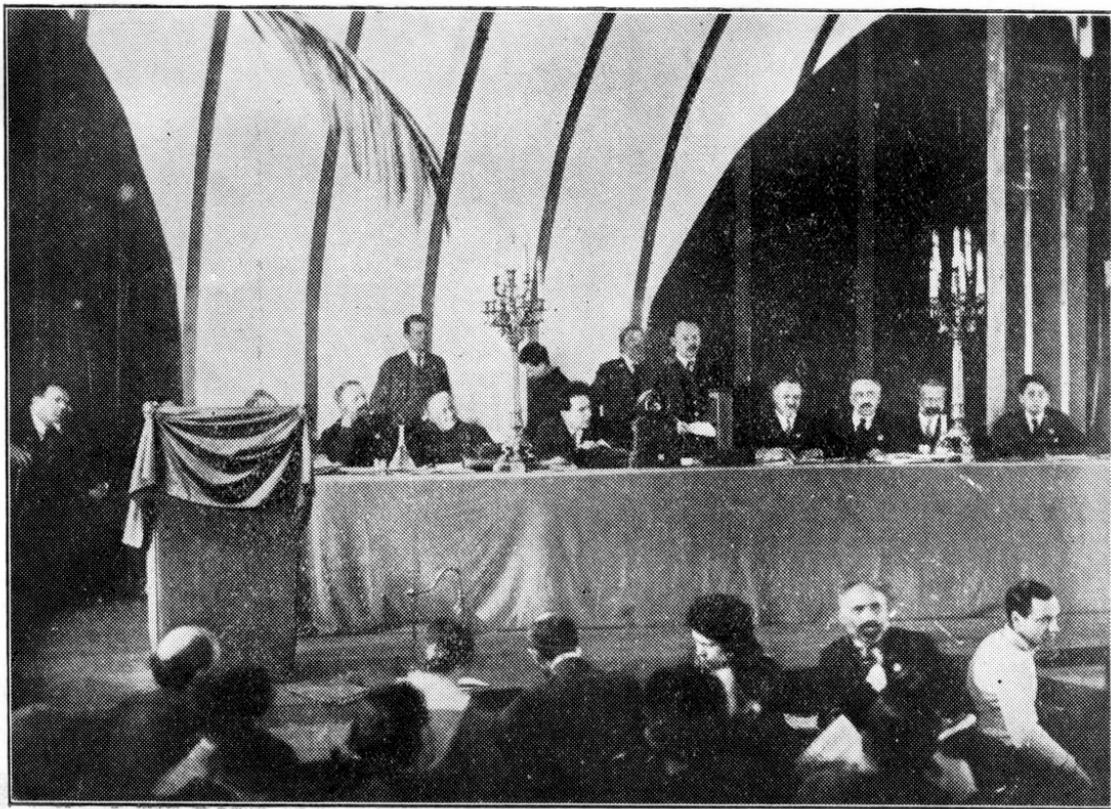
THE FIRST CONGRESS OF THE COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL.
(L. Trotsky speaking.)



LENIN ADDRESSING THE SECOND CONGRESS OF THE COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL.



THE THIRD CONGRESS OF THE COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL.



THE PRESIDUM OF THE FOURTH CONGRESS COMINTERN,



SCENE AT THE FOURTH CONGRESS.

great revolutionary upheaval of workers and petty-bourgeoisie, the first to take place since the terrible defeats of the middle of the century. It started in a great revolutionary deed, in the seizing of political power by the workers and petty-bourgeoisie. It was but natural for the International to declare itself in solidarity with the Commune of Paris. Some of the best members of its French section took part in the council of the Commune, worked for it and fought for it with arms in their hands, and either fell in battle or were subsequently banished into exile. The bloody suppression of the Commune, and the immediate consequences thereof to the proletariat of France and its effect upon the workers of other countries, was no doubt one of the contributing factors to the downfall of the First International. Nevertheless, its revolutionary solidarity with the Commune constitutes the crowning glory of its life and activity as something immensely greater than the general extent of its influence.

To that solidarity we owe not only the illuminating and inspiring work of Marx: "The Civil War in France," but it has also caused the followers of revolutionary Socialism in all countries to defend the Commune against the torrents of calumny and abuse that were showered upon it by the bourgeoisie. It acted as a strong stimulus which accentuated the class-antagonism between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie and brought the light of class-consciousness to the large masses. It helped to crystallise the convictions and to stimulate the spread of the revolutionary ideas and aims of the International among the widest circles. The International Working-men's Association lived and died, and triumphed over death, as the bearer of the unadulterated revolutionary spirit and of the inalterable revolutionary will, as the educator and the paver of the path for the revolutionary deed. By its nature it did not differ from the Third International: the difference was only one of longevity, of the number of years of existence, and also of the diverse historical situations in which the First and the Third Internationals came into being. They are both alike in so far as the undying factor of the creative revolutionary will is concerned.

In this respect there is an unbridgeable gulf between the Second and Third Internationals, and even between the former and the International Working-men's Association of Marx. If not at the very birth of the Second International, at any rate in the further course of its development this gulf was growing steadily. Its development, in spite of splendid external unfoldment meant the decline and extinction of the revolutionary spirit, which alone can give the breath of life to

the international proletarian organisation and equip it for actions of big scope. The Second International, like its predecessor, was founded for the purpose of arousing the working class internationally from the slough of despond into which they were thrown after the big defeat of the Commune and to rally them again to the active defence of their class interests. The revival and invigoration of the proletarian class-consciousness had already achieved a forceful and glorious deed of historic importance, to wit: the eleven-year struggle which the German social-democracy fought with increasing success against the gagging of the proletariat by means of exceptional laws. The struggle had its recognised as well as unknown heroes, it exacted thousands of victims who languished and died either in jail or in exile; nevertheless, it did not lead to an open revolutionary battle between the bourgeoisie and the proletariat. It consisted mostly of guerilla warfare on the part of the proletariat against the police, the state attorneys and the judges. The weapons in this fight consisted chiefly of adequate knowledge of the legal penalties and police regulations and of a close scrutiny of the ballots and of the lists of voters.

It is characteristic that the German Social-Democrats used to sing in their old official campaign-song, the "Workers' Marseillaise," the words, "The free ballot is the sign under which we conquer," and in a later "Socialist March," they vowed: "We wield not the weapons of the barbarians, neither sword nor sabre." This solemn self-praise, however, did not prevent them in 1914 from using the "cultured" weapons of torpedo-boats, aeroplane-bombs, and poisonous gas in the service of German imperialism for the murdering of the workers of the Entente countries. Again in November, 1918, they used similar weapons, machine guns and bombs, in order to help the bourgeoisie re-establish its domination in Germany, and to crush the revolutionary vanguard of the German working-class. The ballot triumphed over the exceptional laws in 1830, because the economic and political situation was propitious. That victory germinated the seed of the foolish belief in the omnipotence of the ballot which, in conjunction with other factors, steadily denuded the German Social-Democracy of all ability to think and to act as a live revolutionary force. It was like unto a canker eating out the life-juice of the green tree, and turning it into rotten dead wood. The German social-democracy, the erstwhile "revolutionary watchdog," became the guardian of the property of the exploiters and the defender of capitalism and of the bourgeois state. The development and history of the German social-democracy

afford a typical picture of the fortune and fate of the Second International.

At all events, when it was founded at Paris in 1889, it was guided by the luminant stars of genuine proletarian class-consciousness and revolutionary ardour. It was animated by the fiery spirit of the "Communist Manifesto." The French proletariat was still smarting under the wounds of the glorious Commune, which prevented them from losing their class-consciousness through democratic illusions. The clearest and most revolutionary elements, the Guesdists, parted company with the "possibilities" after sharp debates and formed the Marxian "workers' party." The German social-democracy was overwhelmingly revolutionary, it was still "agin' the law," and did not yet think of "opening its hand to the goodwill of the bourgeoisie," as was to be done by Vollmar later on. At the same time, the Austrian party was equally developing as a party of revolutionary action. In England a party was formed which undertook to carry the ideas of scientific Socialism to the proletariat, and the new trade unionist movement of the unskilled workers put itself determinedly upon the platform of the class-struggle, showing equal determination in its fight against the old craft unionism which was negotiating with the exploiters instead of fighting them. Hopes were encouraged by the Social-Democratic organisations which were formed for the revolutionisation of the masses in Russia and Poland in spite of the ruthlessness of the bloody Czarist regime. Everywhere in Europe, and across the Atlantic, a rising wave of revolutionary forces was surging.

The Second International was formed as a revolutionary militant organisation for the overcoming of capitalism, and for the overthrow of the domination of the bourgeoisie. It was to be a keen-edged weapon for the destruction of the enemy in the class-struggle, and not an "instrument of peace," as was to be announced later on, in the course of the imperialist war, by Kautsky the man of many wanderings, and of many changes, and in the declarations of the Second International, since the 4th of August, 1914, which were so at variance with their past utterances. It is interesting in this connection to recall an episode of the first congress of the Second International, which is of historic significance. It shows quite plainly how the participants and leaders of that congress were entirely alien to the idea of a "fatherland" that should be defended at the price of treason to international proletarian solidarity. The best leaders of the proletariat in the great countries, including Victor Adler and Plekhanov, were arguing the question as to which bour-

geoisie was the most brutal and rapacious. Everyone of them tried to represent his own "fatherland" as the seat of all the horrors for the workers and the exploited. Since the outbreak of the murderous war, we saw how Scheidemann, Renaudel, Henderson and Mussolini and the rest of them vied with each other in trying to demonstrate that their own particular country was a peaceful nest where the bourgeoisie and the proletariat were living happily together as "fellow countrymen" and brothers, and that it was therefore to be defended by the workers "to the bitter end," as the home of democracy, culture, and so on. This comparison portrays fully the unparalleled and ignominious downfall of the Second International. What was the historical background for the rapid development of the Second International? It should be looked for in the profound depths of society, in the economic sphere, where the elemental forces are at work. Since the Franco-German war, and during its aftermath, there was a rapid and colossal growth of industrial capitalism and a tremendous expansion of capitalist production, with unprecedented progress in technique and organisation, and with the greatest concentration of industry under the domination of trusts and monopolies on a national and international scale. The circumstances were favourable to the development of strong national Labour parties and workers' organisations, with large memberships and funds. At the same time it was made possible for the capitalists to hand out sops to the industrial workers who were getting restless, without in any way diminishing the profits of capitalism, but rather increasing them. It was far more advantageous for the capitalist to make small concessions than to have the splendid business interrupted by frequent movements and strikes, and what is more it lulled the militant spirit of the exploited to sleep and prevented the growth of revolutionary tendencies.

The Second International may boast of its proud historic achievement. It has gathered and united millions of organised workers of all countries, both politically and industrially into an international alliance. But this achievement is overshadowed by a great historical error. The Second International urged its millions of followers to give the whole of their attention to the final struggle, and to direct all their daily efforts towards the ultimate goal of the social revolution. The national Labour parties and trade unions, who were affiliated with the Second International, adapted themselves to the capitalist economy and to the bourgeois state and came to terms with them. They became the organs of Labour aristocracy and Labour bureaucracy which firmly established themselves within the bourgeois order. The

glorious time of the Second International was the period of Labour protection and social legislation, of the amelioration of working conditions by negotiations and agreements with the employers and by the extension of political rights, particularly of the suffrage.

To be sure, improved working conditions and political and social reforms cannot be attained without any pressure from the bottom, without economic and political fights. In Belgium the working class fought for the suffrage by means of the general strike, and with some success, but was defeated in the second attempt on account of the infamous betrayal of the leaders. The fire of the Russian revolution of 1905 kindled the general strike of the workers in Austria who forced the bourgeoisie to carry out electoral reforms. Nevertheless, the leading tendency of the parties and organisations of the Second International was to stultify and to prevent any sharp conflicts between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie, and above all, to avoid the use of revolutionary fights and weapons. All this was done for the alleged purpose of sparing the precious blood of the workers for the sacred "final struggle," which eventually found its profane translation in the imperialist scramble for world-power, from which the bourgeoisie netted immense gains and the workers got only increased misery. The congresses of the Second International adopted resolutions which surrounded the idea of the general strike with a veritable barbed wire of if's and but's. On the other hand they opened the gate wide to "ministerialism," misleading the wage-slaves to believe that the gaining of a seat upon the government for an ambitious Labour leader was tantamount to the conquest of power by the proletariat.

While the development of capitalist production drove the capitalists of the different countries into close international unity, the workers' parties and organisations became ever more attached to their respective countries, with the result that they gradually lost the sense of duty in regard to international solidarity which should unite the workers of all countries into one revolutionary organisation. Their leaders, far from counteracting such fatal development, acted on most occasions in close unity with the bourgeoisie of their respective countries on so-called "constructive work" in the parliaments, trade unions and co-operative societies. National interest took precedence to the international cause, and the movement was steadily sinking into reformism. Owing to this steady decline of international unity of the revolutionary proletariat, the Second International was bound to become a loose affiliation of political and industrial organisations of

the various countries, of which each one was carrying on its own life and its own politics. It did not grow into a united and solid world-organisation with one goal and with strong and binding discipline, and thus it was incapable of carrying out any forceful actions upon an international scale. Regardless of the numbers and strength of its affiliated organisations, it was at best a "moral authority," but never a compelling political force either to their own adherents or to their opponents.

The Second International resolved actually only upon one united international action at its first congress, and it is characteristic. We speak of the May-day demonstration for the eight-hour day, and for laws for the protection of Labour. In its original form the May-day celebration was to take place everywhere on the first of May, as a day of rest. Its purpose was to declare war upon bourgeois society, and to fight wherever necessary for the observance of this day of rest and for street demonstrations, even at the cost of sacrifices. It was only the Russian and Polish workers who courageously fulfilled their international duties and carried out loyally the decision of the international congress of Paris, unafraid of the whip of starvation wielded by the employers, nor of the whips of the cossacks. In the countries of the wealthy trade unions of the Social-Democratic parties, with many members and voters, the May-day demonstration became transformed sooner or later into a tame indoor "celebration." It was thus reduced to the rank of usual evening meetings, associated with theatrical plays and social suppers, etc., and not exactly on the first of May everywhere, but on the first Sunday in May. Thus, the revolutionary sense and the international solidarity of this action went to the devil. In the history of the May-day celebration we see in a nutshell the whole history of the Second International itself, which was the forerunner of the great betrayal that was to take place at the outbreak of the world-war.

From the moment that Scheidemann, Vandervelde, Renaudel and the rest of them refused to answer to the war-declaration of the bourgeoisie by the declaration of the proletarian fight for the revolution, from the moment that its parties urged the proletarians of one country to fight against those of another country under the trickery slogan of "national defence," the Second International lost actually every whit of its historic part as the organ of the world-proletariat. Inasmuch as it still drags on its existence of shame and pollution, it is a tool of the exploiters and rulers against the proletariat of the world. The workers in the various countries, who are still loosely affiliated with it, are

dominated by political parties and trade unions which are bent on reforming, not on revolutionising the social world, and who therefore take care of the business of the bourgeoisie whether consciously or unconsciously, whether they wish it or not. It is the deed that decides, not the word, nor the intention. The war period and the post-war period furnish uninterrupted historical proof of the fact that the Second International has nothing left of Marxism, out of whose revolutionary ideas it has grown, save empty words and formulæ which have been reduced to meaningless phraseology. At history's hour of destiny it was weighed in the scales and found wanting.

Cowardice and treason revealed that which was hidden under a cloak of external glory. Tied and manacled by bourgeois influences and association, the Second International was rendered incapable of progressing from agitation and propaganda of international solidarity to international revolutionary action. It could organise imposing demonstrations and frame well-chiselled resolutions, but it was absolutely powerless to act, particularly to act in a revolutionary manner. It started as an International of the desire for revolution, and it ends as an International of the negation of revolution, of betrayal of the revolution. Its first conference on the morrow after the day when the guns on the imperialist battlefields ceased to roar, the international Socialist conference at Berne, in February, 1919, laid heavy stress upon this fact. It fully concurred in the theory propounded by Kautsky that the most important task for the present was to resume production and to increase the wealth of mankind. Once again it failed to answer and even to touch upon the question of questions, whether production should be based on capitalism or on Socialism, and who was meant by the term "mankind" whose wealth was to be increased. It was opened with eulogies for Wilson and concluded with the sending of a delegation to see Clemenceau. That conference endeavoured to patch up the dissensions in the ranks of the Second International, which were strongly influenced by the antagonistic feelings that existed among the various imperialist groups. On one point alone there was touching unanimity in which social-patriots and social-pacifists embraced each other. It was in the condemnation of "Bolshevism" and of "soviet government," hence of the Russian Revolution. And this was nothing but right, this was the inner logic of things. For the Second International, whose tatters were to be patched up at Berne, was an International of word, and not of deed.

The Third, the Communist International, arises out of

the break with the Second, it must be an organisation that fights against the latter, because it is the fighting organisation of the world-proletariat for the world-revolution. By its nature and goal it is directly linked with the International Working-men's Association of Marx, with the "Communist Manifesto."

The Third International too, was founded after a defeat of the proletariat, after a colossal defeat without precedent in history. The bloodthirsty bourgeoisie had murdered 6,000 revolutionary heroes during the battle of June. The "victory of law and order" over the Commune was crowned with a hill of 35,000 slain workers. The imperialist world-war has murdered many millions. Yet another thing has to be taken into consideration in judging about the nature of the defeat. The June revolt and the Commune had brought defeat directly and formally to the proletariat of one particular country, and only in its further influence it came to be considered as the defeat of the workers of all countries, in view of the international class-solidarity of the proletariat. On the other hand, the wholesale imperialist butchery of the four years of war was the most terrible and crushing historical defeat for the world-proletariat as a whole. It consisted not only of the fact that the workers of the large capitalist states were directly thrown into this criminal game of murder, and that the exploited masses of the so-called "neutral" countries were promptly made to feel the effects of the war. No, the defeat went far deeper, because the international class-solidarity of the proletariat breathed its last upon the battlefield and the "sacred unity" between proletariat and bourgeoisie reared its head. Victorious or vanquished, the proletarians emerge from the world-war defeated and enslaved. Their deadly enemy has strengthened the grip of his domination over them. The glorious victims of the June battle and of the Commune had fallen for the cause of their class, as daring rebels against bourgeois society. The soldiers of the imperialist armies fought and died as abject slaves at the behest of their masters, defending the order which perpetuates their slavery.

The imperialist war brought the profoundest humiliation to the proletariat and the highest triumph to capitalism, to the bourgeois order. At the same time it marked the rapid pace of development in society. In spite of defeat, the world-proletariat carried revolution in its lap. This time it did not take fifteen or twenty years for the proletariat to rally internationally and to engage in the fight. The magnitude of the defeat has quickly aroused and mobilised the masses. Barely five years after the pitiful collapse of the Second International



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the representatives of revolutionary workers' parties founded the Third International. At "Red Moscow," in Soviet Russia. Already the place in founding suggests a chapter of history, in which the development of society has entered upon a new stage. From the "peaceful" period in which the Second International sank in the quagmire of revisionism and opportunism, into the era of revolution, when the proletariat must sever every connection with the bourgeoisie and establish its own rule upon the ruins of class-domination. When the Communist International was constituted in March, 1919, the voice of the revolution had already spoken.

Indeed, the founding of the Communist International was preceded not only by an unparalleled defeat, but also by an unparalleled revolutionary deed. The November Revolution in Russia. It was this fiery token which united the workers of all countries. When the Second International retreated before the imperialist guns, the large mass of the workers lost their faith in the efficacy of international proletarian solidarity. The victory of the bourgeoisie over the proletariat upon the blood-drenched battlefields of murder had caused them to lose confidence in the invincible power of their class, and in the power of Socialism to save them. To many millions of proletarians the deed of the Second International had crushed the theory of Marx. It was only by deed that their faith could be restored to them. The Third International would therefore not be started upon theory alone, but upon deed, in which theory became incarnate. This deed was the proletarian revolution in Russia. Under its protection, and inspired by its example, the broken ranks of the revolutionary vanguard rallied in the different countries and joined in the Communist International. Because the masses of the workers, while losing faith in the existence and efficacy of international solidarity, never lost the sense of the necessity and importance of such solidarity. While faith was destroyed, there still lingered the flame of passionate hope which was fanned by the sorrows and sufferings of proletarian existence. The firm faith in the saving power of Socialism may have gone, but the iron need remained for the exploited and oppressed to defend themselves against the insatiable lust of the exploiters for profit and power. The Russian November revolution gave to the workers of all capitalist countries the balm for their wounds, which they needed as badly as bread. The great immortal example of a proletariat who was victorious in the revolution by courageous fighting, and who wrested from the enemy the first decisive position, the power of the state; the clear consciousness about the road which leads to victory; the rock of faith in international proletarian solidarity for the revolutionary

fight against capitalism—these were the things that the victorious Russian revolution gave to the workers throughout the world.

Noblesse oblige! Rank has its obligations. The deed of the revolutionary Russian proletariat, which stands inscribed upon the annals of history for ever, must give birth to deed. Deed should be not merely the symbol, but the essence and goal of the Communist International. Only in sharpest antagonism to the International of Word will it signify the higher development in history, only then it will be able to lead from this capitalist bourgeois world of profit-hunting and exploitation to the Communist world of social production for use and of society without classes. Therefore the Communist International should apply itself entirely to the deed of the proletarian revolution. This means that it should be organically linked with the Russian November revolution, which represents the first decisive step forward in the proletarian world-revolution. It is the chief task of the Communist International "to make" the proletarian world-revolution in clear consciousness and with a steadfast will, to make it in the historic sense, *i.e.*, to prepare the historic ground and tendency for the deed, for the world-revolution, and to facilitate and accelerate its advent. This can only be the deed of the only social force capable of such gigantic work as the deed of the proletariat, of the largest and most important and most revolutionary producing class.

For five years the Communist International has been wrestling with its task. It may indeed be proud of what has been achieved, although it may appear small as compared with the whole of the task. With Marx it is leading the masses to the sources of revolution, to the economic system. The reformist gentlemen of the Second International lisp and lie about the force and worth of capitalist economy just at this stage in history, which they urge the proletariat to sacrifice its blood and treasure to bolster up again, as its alleged duty and interest. The Communist International points out to the proletarian masses, by means of profound and penetrating examination of capitalist economy, the relentless progressive decay and dissolution of capitalism. It points out to the proletariat that it alone will have to pay the price of the maintenance of capitalism, in the shape of increasing exploitation and enslavement. It imbues the workers with confidence in their own strength and in the inevitable proletarian victory, by associating closely with the revolution of the Russian proletariat and the work that it wrought. In this way it has turned large masses of despairing slaves of capitalism into convinced and determined fighters, and it

gathers them in a united and solid organisation, with strict discipline, around the red banner of the revolution.

Based on the deed of the proletarian revolution, the Communist International prizes every form and manifestation of the historical experiences of the workers as a class, to wit, the trade unions, the co-operative societies, the women's movement, the youth movement, the educational movement and so on. It does not treat these movements with lukewarm sympathy, like the Second International. It brings them into closest union with the Communist parties of the various countries, and either incorporates or affiliates them, according to circumstances. In this way it leads new and strong currents into the channel of revolution. This channel it widens and deepens by supporting the colonial slaves of capitalism in Africa and in Asia in their national struggles against the yoke of foreign imperialism, and by calling them into the social fight against every form of exploitation and oppression. It thus strikes at capitalism in its last and firmest strongholds, and by undermining these it eliminates at the same time the strongest economic roots of reformism. Revolutionary fights by the colonial and semi-colonial peoples deprive the capitalists of the possibility of pacifying and corrupting their own domestic wage-slaves by paltry compromises.

As the trainer and educator of the proletarian masses for the revolution, the Communist International imparts to the dispossessed the sum total of the experiences of all the revolutionary struggles that took place particularly the experiences and lessons of the Russian revolution, which are the richest and most inexhaustible source of theoretical and practical knowledge in these matters. It thereby sheds a bright light upon the way and means to be used by the proletariat for the conquest of power and for the establishment of its dictatorship. The proletariat should not be content with the mere capture of power, but should go on to destroy the old bourgeois machinery of state and to organise its own power of the state, in order to overthrow the forces of capitalism. The workers' councils are therefore something more than mere standard-bearers of the revolutionary fight for power. As self-governing organisations of the masses, at once legislative as well as administrative, they become the very organs of the authority of the state after the conquest of power. They represent the form in which the proletariat exercises its dictatorship. Therefore, all power to the soviets! The bourgeois democracy is and remains the bourgeois class domination, and only the proletarian dictatorship leads from capitalist bondage into the free-

dom of Communism. These fundamental lessons of the Russian November revolution were made by the Communist International the common property of millions of toilers.

This is a revolutionary deed. These millions are no longer held captive by the pale-faced reformist illusions about democracy and reform. They have been aroused to new strength and determination for the revolution. The Communist International would fail in its mission of organising the proletariat for the world-revolution if it did not destroy these illusions in the sharpest and most determined fashion. They are the bulwark of the reformists of all countries for the defence and perpetuation of the bourgeois system of exploitation. This state of affairs has been exposed by the Communist International with relentless clarity. In its ranks there cannot be and should not be any place for those elements who are still possessed of the survivals of reformist or centrist superstitions, which are a handicap and a crippling factor to revolutionary aspiration and determination. With no less emphasis and clearness the Communist International has rejected the *putsch* (foolhardy attempt) illusions of revolutionary romanticists who imagine that brave and self-sacrificing party action could take the place of revolutionary action by the masses. The conquest of power as the deed of the masses, this slogan which was announced by Lenin at the very first congress of the Third International, is the key-note of Communist activity.

In its five years of existence, the Communist International has drawn appreciably nearer to this goal, and thereby also to the revolution. It has kindled the flame of revolutionary consciousness and aspiration among the masses on every spot of the globe where human labour and life are held in bondage and exploited. It is a flame which will inevitably burst out in world-revolution which will wipe out the bourgeois order. In the leading capitalist countries the masses are becoming imbued with the will for revolutionary deed, and thus the Communist ranks are being swelled by hosts of determined fighters ready to follow their lead. Party-will and mass-will for revolution, these two objective historic factors of revolution are turned into one. This augurs for victory, for sure victory; if not to-day, then to-morrow.

What matters it if the reformists and their friends deride us in chorus with the bourgeoisie: "What became of your world-revolution? It is a prophecy for St. Never's Day. It cannot and will not come true." These gentlemen should mock at themselves, for it is people like Wels and Henderson, Treves and Kautsky, and Gompers and the others who should bear the shame and ignominy of the con-

tinued weakness of the proletarian will for revolution. There are facts galore which point to the hopeless decay of capitalist economy and to the ripeness, nay even over-ripeness, of the bourgeois order for its doom. All the force and violence of the bourgeoisie could not defend and protect this order if the workers were determined on its overthrow. That the will for freedom by deed is still weak and repressed among the majority of the workers, is the historic crime of the reformists who constitute the International of Word.

The International of Deed will put an end to this crime. It will triumph over the International of Word in its fight for the will and action and spirit of the masses. The "Labour Government" in England (from which the high priests and worshippers of "anti-Bolshevism" expect a new lease of life to the Second International) will not give victory to the reformists over the revolution, but will rather precipitate the end of reformism. This is the real historic significance of the advent of the Labour Government. It shows that large masses of the English working class have become sufficiently class-conscious to turn their backs on the bourgeois parties. And it will be the business of the rebellious of the colonial slaves of England to see to it that this growing class-consciousness should not be put to sleep by shilly-shally reforms, but should mature into sound and robust revolutionary will.

The vainglorious "victory" of reformism in England would be the last thing to mar the felicity of Communists upon the fifth anniversary of the founding of their International. Because, paradoxical as it may sound to some, this will but accelerate the advent of the proletarian world-revolution. This only enhances the painful feeling in all of us that at this moment which is so fraught with tremendous revolutionary possibilities for the Communist International, we are deprived of the personal leadership of Lenin. Lenin, the great architect and teacher of the Communist International its incomparable and unreplaceable leader, as well as the immortal leader of the Russian November revolution and of Soviet Russia. Much as the Communist International appreciates the services rendered by the talented and seasoned thinkers and workers who collaborated with Lenin in the Russian revolution and in the founding and development of the Communist International, it was he who has done more than anyone else to sever the International of Deed from the International of Word, and to render it into a revolutionary organisation of the masses. Let us learn from Lenin to believe implicitly that within the bosom of every proletarian

and of every oppressed human being, there dwells the titanic promethean defiance which says to the strongest oppressors : " And yet you cannot slay me ! " Let his spirit teach us to snap the chains of Prometheus and forge them into weapons for freedom and into tools for construction. Let us be like him in cool and keen deliberation, and the masses of the proletariat, the masses of the suffering and heavy-laden throughout the world, will rally to the International of Deed. These masses and this International will merge into one will and into one fight and will secure the victory for the world-revolution.

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The Communist International & the Far East

Translated by E. BOUVIER.

1. The Communist International and China.

IT is due to the direct and indirect influence of the Communist International that there is an active Communist Party in China. Although the Chinese Communist Party is as yet weak as a political factor it plays nevertheless a definite role in the political life of China. Everywhere there are signs of the indirect influence of the Communist International on Chinese students, who are gradually becoming a revolutionary force. The Communist Youth movement was rapidly growing last year and the youth was already able to organise mass demonstrations for demands of a national, as well as international nature. The most striking example of such activities is the movement against the secret treaty between China and Japan, which compelled the government to give in to the students' demands after an impressive demonstration organised by the latter on May 4th. Another very successful function was the recent anti-religious demonstration of the Young Communist League at the time of the eleventh annual congress of the Young Men's Christian Association held in Peking. This anti-religious movement was carried on very successfully on a national scale and made a deep impression on the youth of the country, as well as on the entire population.

The national movement has taken deep root among the Chinese students. The entire students' movement is more or less under the leadership of students who are under Communist influence. The latter have already initiated propaganda work within working class organisations. The recent demonstrations of working class organisations, especially of the railwaymen's, textile and metal workers' organisations, as well as the strikes on the Peking-Hankow railway were to a great extent due to the agitation and leadership of the students.

The Chinese Communist Party collaborated with the Kuomintang Party with the object of revolutionising it and converting it (as far as this is possible) into a workers' and peasants' party. In spite of its weakness and its com-

paratively small membership, the Chinese Communist Party can do a great deal in the matter of influencing the Kuomintang and of revolutionising its principles and tactics. For the Chinese Communist Party is a section of the Communist International and has therefore the backing of the entire international proletarian movement.

As to the future relations between the Communist International and the Chinese Communist Party, they are bound to become closer and more stable with the growth and stabilisation of the Chinese proletarian movement.

2. The Communist International and Japan.

It was only after the congress of the People's of the Far East, which was attended by delegates of the Japanese Party, that a direct connection was established between the Communist International and the Japanese Communist movement. The Japanese Communist Party had to work under great difficulties because of government persecution. It is due to the influence of the Communist International that in Japan not a single union and not even a single trade union leader agitated for the adherence of the Japanese trade union movement to the Amsterdam International, although the Amsterdammers carried on an energetic propaganda in Japan. It is a well-known fact that the Japanese workers' movement could have (if it so wished) joined the Amsterdam organisation without any opposition or interference on the part of the government, but that, on the other hand, the latter would have put every obstacle in the way of the adherence of the Japanese trade unions to the Red International of Labour Unions. The general tendency of the workers' movement is certainly in favour of the Red Proletariat. The Japanese General Federation of Labour, formerly a yellow organisation, is becoming decidedly revolutionary. It demands the centralisation of the Federation and opposes the federative tendency of the syndicalist federations. Only recently the Federation joined the political movement for universal suffrage, and its leaders are at present working towards the establishment of a political party on the principles of the Communist International. The Federation pointed out more than once in its resolutions that the ultimate aim of the workers' movement is—the establishment of a workers' government and of a new social order under the dictatorship of the proletariat. But under the present imperialist government it is impossible to formulate the aims of the organisation in such a form.

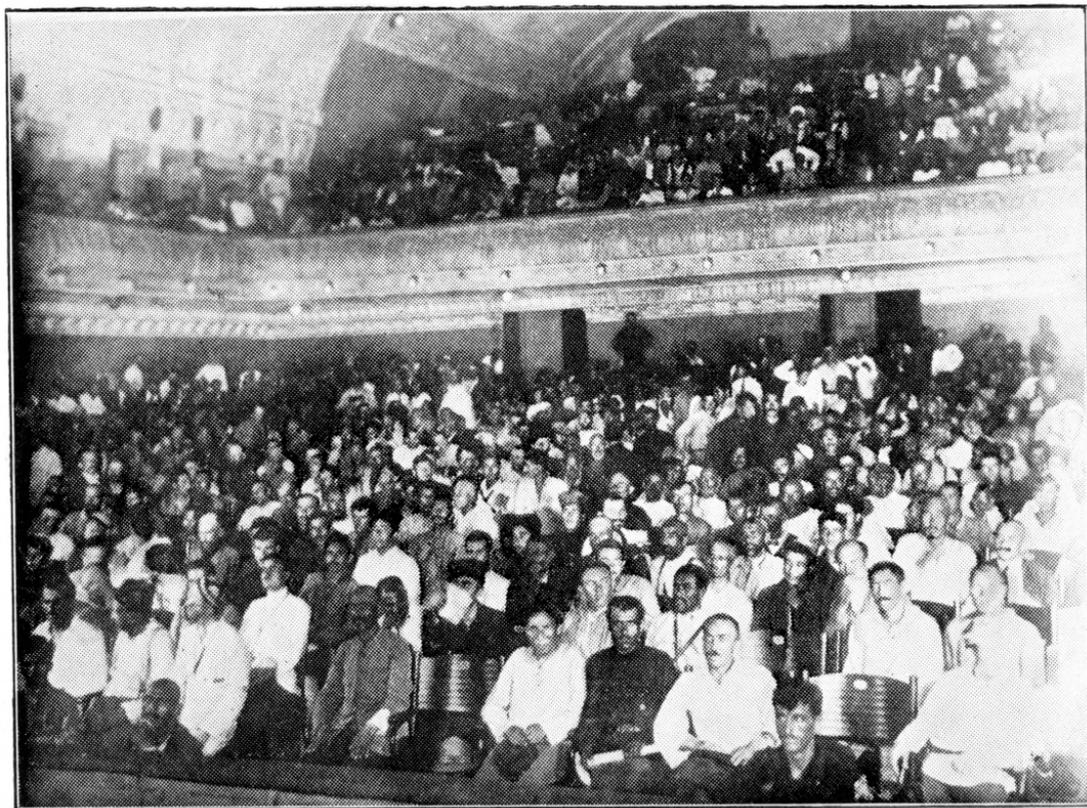
The peasant unions, which are amalgamated into a national federation, are also growing and becoming more



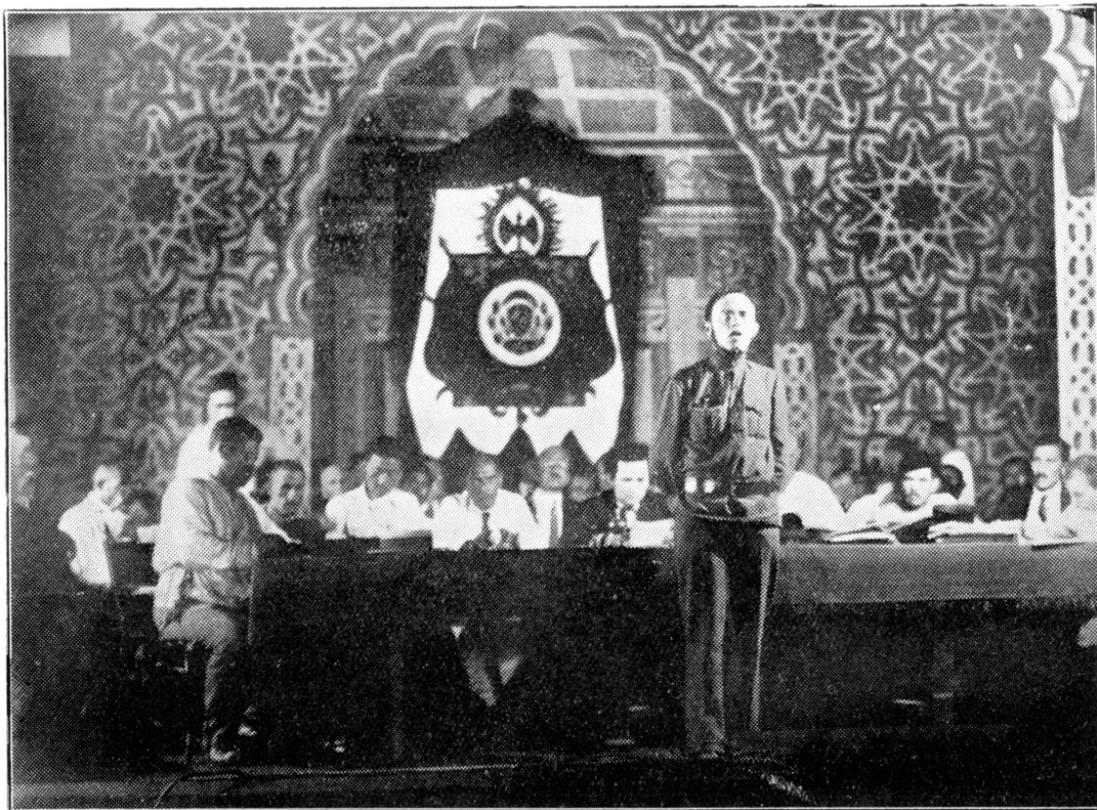
THE CONGRESS OF THE FAR EAST.
(Katayama speaking.)



THE CONGRESS OF THE FAR EAST.



THE BAKU CONGRESS OF EASTERN PEOPLES.



RADEK ADDRESSING THE CONGRESS OF THE EASTERN PEOPLES AT BAKU, 1921.

influential. Not so long ago they resolved to establish a workers' and peasants' political party, which is now being organised. All these facts point to the direct and indirect influence of the Communist International.

The Eta* movement is at present the strongest militant movement in Japan. It has over a million members and agitates for full economic social and political equality. Several of the Eta leaders are members of the Communist Party, while the general political line and tactics of the movement are based on the theses of the Communist International which deal with the national and colonial questions. Consciously or unconsciously the movement is tending towards Communism.

The Japanese trade unions and federations rejected the proposal to appoint a delegate to the Labour Bureau of the League of Nations and sabotaged the elections in which only a few trade unions took part.

The influence of the Communist International is also apparent in the attitude of the Japanese working class movement to the working class movement of the Japanese colonies. There are at present in Japan, 2,000 Corean workers and coolies, and their number is growing every month because Corean labour is cheaper. But, nevertheless, there is no antagonism between Corean and Japanese workers.

The influence of the Communist International is bound to spread as the peasant movement develops and assumes more definite forms by becoming a close union between the town proletariat and the peasantry, who are joining forces for the struggle against their oppressors. On the political field, these joint forces struggle against the bourgeois government and capitalism through the establishment of a workers' and peasants' party.

3. The Communist International and Corea.

The relations between the Communist International and the Corean movement are hitherto in an unsatisfactory state. The negotiations of the Communist International with the emigra Corean nationalists and so-called revolutionary leaders turned out subsequently to have been a mistake. But the situation in Corea is not at all discouraging. On the contrary, it is gradually assuming a definite revolutionary character owing to the fact that new young elements are growing up and are drawn into the nationalist movement (which compels the nationalist organisations to adopt more active methods of struggle instead of limiting themselves, as

* Pariah.

hitherto, to purely nationalist tasks, and to pay more attention to social and class questions), and that there is a tendency to look upon the Japanese revolutionary movement as the only movement capable of contributing to the success of the Korean nationalist movement. It may, perhaps, seem rather presumptuous to say so, but every time I had an opportunity to speak with Korean nationalists, I became convinced that they are doing their utmost to come into contact with the Japanese workers' movement and with the revolutionary organisations of Japan. This, of course, augurs well for the revolutionary united front of the industrial proletariat and peasantry of both countries. It is an established fact that several important revolutionary organisations are aiming at the establishment of a close contact with the Communist International. This shows that the influence of the Communist International is gradually permeating the ranks of the Korean revolutionary leaders.

If, under these circumstances, the Communist International will adopt a well-considered policy towards Korea, it will be able to exercise considerable influence on the growing Korean nationalist movement. Then we shall be able to join the revolutionary organisations of Korean emigrants scattered throughout China and Manchuria into a united front with the revolutionary movement in Korea itself.

The orientation of the Mongolian Communist Party is towards the Russian Communist Party. But as the Congress of the Peoples of the East has shown us that in the coming revolutionary struggle in the Far East Mongolia will have to take its place among the other Far Eastern countries, the Communist International must guide the Mongolian Communist movement in the direction of fusion with the liberation movement of the Far Eastern countries.

* * * * *

The Communist International is destined to play a very important role in the coming revolutionary movement and revolutionary struggle throughout the world. The awakening of the East is rapid, much more rapid than the awakening of the West, and the masses are progressing to the Left much more rapidly than the revolutionary leaders. The workers and peasants of Japan are becoming class conscious and are everywhere to the fore, as evidenced by the sailors' strike in Kobe in October, 1923. This victorious strike was in fact conducted by rank and file members of the sailors' union. The trade union bureaucracy simply obeyed the strikers. Every vessel which came into port joined the strike, and several Osaka unions voted for material support

of the strike until victory be achieved. The sailors' union was considered to be a conservative organisation. Its leaders are intellectuals, but nevertheless it proved to be an excellent fighting organisation.

These facts show how important it is that the Communist International should play a leading role in the Far East. It can exercise a great influence on the workers' movement in Japan and other Asiatic countries. The Philippines are emphatic in their demand for independence, and in pursuance of this aim, they are sending delegation after delegation to Washington. They deserve support, for they have realised that the independence of small nationalities and countries can only be attained by joining the Communist movement, which is international and is at the same time the only true champion of national independence.

The Communist International must take a prominent part in the coming revolutionary struggle of the East. Therefore, it must pay special attention to the movement in these countries. The Communist movement, as well as the workers' movement in the Far Eastern countries is young and inexperienced, and the Communist International as the leader of the proletariat, must come to their assistance.

Long live the Communist International!

Long live the Communist Parties of the Far East!

SEN KATAYAMA.

Moscow, February 19th, 1924.



Under the Leadership of Russia

(Translated by M. L. KORTCHMAR.)

The World Army of the Proletarian Revolution.

TEN years ago Capital was the autocratic ruler of the world. Russia was the gendarme of Europe, the dreaded foe of every revolutionary national movement, the support of the domination of the possessing classes throughout the world.

Now the world is divided between the powers of capital and those of labour. One-sixth of the earth's surface is in the hands of the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics, which constitutes an effective counter-force to the capitalist world and a strong foundation for the proletarian world-revolution.

Besides, the proletarian world revolution has its active army within every capitalist country, the sections of the Communist International and the trade unions, and other mass-organisations which are already under the direct influence of the Communist parties. The effective forces at the disposal of the capitalist world are still larger than those of the Communist International; but the reserve forces of the proletarian world-revolution are incomparably greater. Not only the great majority of the working class in all the capitalist countries, but also many proletarianised elements of the petty-bourgeoisie of the towns, many semi-proletarian and small-peasant elements in the country, may be considered as a potential, if to some extent latent, power for the world-revolution. Furthermore, the national liberation movements among the oppressed peoples of Asia and Africa furnish a direct auxiliary force for the revolutionary movement of the European proletariat.

This division of the forces, and the direction of their further development, is the fundamental feature of the present period in world-history which was inaugurated ten years ago by the imperialist world-war and found its continuation in the Russian revolution and in the revolutionary upheavals in Finland, Germany, Czecho-Slovakia, Hungary, Italy and a number of other countries, in the war and intervention

against Soviet Russia, in the Turko-Greek war, in the Irish war for liberty, in the fights of the Ruhr, in numerous revolutionary liberation movements among the Asiatic peoples and so on. It is a period of wars and revolutions which take place on the grounds of the increasing economic, social and political **dissolution of the capitalist system**. It is the fourth and the last period of the capitalist epoch, which follows after the preceding periods of mercantilism, liberalism and imperialism, and whose concrete forms are not yet plainly discernible; but there can be no doubt whatever as to the possible result of the struggles of this period; **the establishment of proletarian dictatorship on a world-wide scale**.

And this is the most important slogan of the Communist International.

Foreseen by the genius of Marx, the proletarian dictatorship was made by Lenin the victorious **battle-cry** of the Russian Bolsheviks, and under his leadership it was adopted by the masses of the fighting proletariat in Russia and carried to **realisation**. At the time of the birth of the Communist International the proletarian dictatorship in Russia was already realised in the shape of the Soviet Government. Thus, the Communist International got its principal slogan not from theoretical prophecy, but from the accomplished fact of the Russian proletariat. By this fact, as by the whole nature of the new period, the revolutionary idea of the conquest of power and of the realisation of Socialism obtained quite a different meaning in the Communist International from what it had been in the international movement of the past. In the First and in the Second International it merely served as a means of propaganda, and in the Second International it was used exclusively for purposes of parliamentary campaigns and electioneering. To the Communist International the idea of the proletarian dictatorship was no longer mere propaganda, but the most important practical task which has already been solved by one section in whose country this dictatorship is steadily progressing towards the realisation of Socialism, while in other countries the achievement of this task is being prepared by the daily struggles of the Communist parties.

The Communist International was thus from the very beginning a revolutionary militant organisation, a party of the class-war, of the destruction of the bourgeois machinery of the state, of the establishment of the proletarian dictatorship and of the realisation of Socialism and Communism.

The Russian Founders of the International.

Just as the Russian proletariat was ahead of all the other

countries in the historic battles of the present period, being the first to establish the victorious rule of Socialist workers, so the Russian Communist Party took a leading part in the Communist International from the moment of its inception.

This leading part of the R.C.P., which no one in our ranks would ever think of disputing, is based not only upon the authority of the Russian revolution, but also upon the authority of the R.C.P. itself, and upon the capacities of the leaders of the R.C.P. for leadership of the international movement. With regard to the revolutionary past, to extensive experience and large heroic sacrifices by the members, to Marxian insight and correct judgment on the part of the leaders, no party will stand comparison with the Russian section of the Communist International.

Of course, much of this was achieved by the able leadership of Lenin. Not only by his direct contributions to the Russian and international movement, and part of which is our inheritance in his published works, but also by the leaders which he trained for the Russian as well as for the international movement. The leading Russian comrades who had the good fortune to work side by side with Lenin in the years of victory as well as in the preceding years of underground work, and in emigration, having passed through the only school of experience imaginable, are to-day almost unequalled in art of political leadership.

Thus the Communist International possesses in the Russian leadership, in the person of its chairman and of the members of the Russian delegation as well as of the Central Committee of the R.C.P., an accumulated stock of far-reaching revolutionary experience, of Marxian leadership and of proven ability, which are requisite to the historic tasks of the Communist International. We can only repeat here the words contained in the manifesto of the foreign comrades of our Executive on the 25th anniversary of the R.C.P., in which it was said: "The leadership of the Russian comrades in the Communist International is our pride."

Renegades and enemies repeatedly accused the Communist International of aiding the foreign policy of Soviet Russia. If this were true, we could only claim credit for it. To us as Communists it would be a matter of joy to be able to render efficient aid to the Socialist power of the Soviets. Unfortunately, we cannot claim anything of the kind.

How many times indeed did Soviet Russia experience the need for aid by the workers of other countries, but the latter were not in a position to render any effective aid. Our foreign sections were altogether too weak for that. What

could the English, French or American comrades do to defeat the criminal interventions by the governments of their respective countries? Almost nothing. What could the Polish comrades do against the murderous attack of the Polish troops upon Soviet Russia in 1920 and during the war which followed? Almost nothing. The Polish proletariat was at that time so powerless that it could neither help itself nor Soviet Russia. With her own fists Soviet Russia has overcome the numerous enemies. Only in one respect were the foreign sections of the C.I. so far able to render a little aid, namely in the work of famine-relief in 1922.

Of course, far be it from us to forget the self-sacrificing fights on behalf of Soviet Russia on the part of Communists in Germany, Poland, France, Italy and the Balkans. Neither do we forget the heroic revolt of the French sailors at Odessa. We do not forget that the work of the Communists has aroused the sympathies for Soviet Russia among the working masses in Czecho-Slovakia, in France, in England and in America, and this contributed materially to the failure of the criminal intervention undertaken by the Entente. To me, personally, it is a matter of particular pride to recall the fact that during the debauches of the Finnish white bands in the districts of Olonetz and Karelia, our Finnish cadets were able to render material services in beating back the attack, and that in Finland the workers, in spite of the white terror, expressed openly in defence of Soviet Russia (many of our comrades are still in prison in that country for their attitude in those days). I must certainly admit that the task of the Finnish comrades on that occasion was naturally much easier than that of the Polish comrades in 1920. Many other instances could be quoted of effective aid rendered by foreign Communists, *e.g.*, by Latvian and Esthonian comrades.

All this has to be admitted, while at the same time we must declare that during the first two years the Communist parties in the capitalist countries were altogether too weak to render any truly effective aid for the rescue of the Russian revolution.

At the time that the Communist International was founded, the leading Russian comrades were fully aware of the fact that instead of any aid from the young international organisations, the R.C.P. would have to lend its aid to the foreign sections for many years to come. These things notwithstanding, they insisted on founding the International. Above all, Comrade Lenin. He cherished that idea for a long time already. Two years previously, immediately after

the February revolution, he asked for a union of the revolutionary workers' organisations of the different countries in a new International. But what could at that time be started? The conscious revolutionary forces in the other countries were altogether small and scattered. One had to wait and to cultivate the seed for the new International. The first year of Soviet rule was actually the cause which led to the formation of many small Communist parties and to the remodelling of some parties after the example of the Russian Bolsheviks. But the tremendous pressure of daily work did not allow the leaders of the R.C.P. during that year to think even of calling an international congress. It was only at the end of that year, after the victory of the red army over the Czecho-Slovak legions and after the collapse of German imperialism, which allowed the Soviet Republic its first brief respite, that Lenin was able to start again upon the realisation of his cherished dream: the founding of an organisation which would carry out the proletarian world-revolution!

The existence of the Soviet authority, in Russia was in those days by no means assured. One could be sure only of the imminence of big battles, but not of their results. Yet this did not prevent the Russian comrades from going on with the work of forming the International. On the contrary, it spurred them to work speedily in this direction. **The new International was to be founded at all events!** Come what may, it was intended as the rock which was to resist all storms and calamities. It was to be the rock on which the human race was to build its everlasting kingdom of labour unchained, with no classes and no exploitation.

I know not whether the comrades pictured to themselves the matter in such poetical fashion. Probably they did not. For all of them are advocates of materialism **par excellence**. One thing is certain, that no greater example was ever known of such rock-like faith in a revolutionary **idea**. An excellent idea, a well-founded and even scientific idea, but a mere idea at that. The Russian revolution was reality, the great, painful and joyful, hopeful and uncertain reality. But the proletarian world-revolution was as yet a star on the horizon. Nevertheless the leaders of the Russian revolution, who always build their politics upon firm realities, relied more upon the great idea of the future than upon most concrete reality. I leave it to the diligent minds of young theoreticians to find a logical harmony between this fact of highest revolutionary idealism and the doctrine of historic materialism, which is certainly an absolutely correct theory.

By the bye, this was not the only occasion nor the last

occasion on which the international interest has won the day in Russia. I shall merely mention the great test in the autumn of 1923, in connection with the development of the revolutionary crisis in Germany. I believe that the Russian comrades understand international solidarity in quite their own way. It is in their blood. And when wise owls come along and talk about the alleged subordination of the international interests to the momentary interests of the Foreign Commissariat, these creatures should simply be laughed out of court.

Through the First Stages.

That the Russian comrades were not building castles in the air in March, 1919, was soon demonstrated by the splendid growth of the Communist International. Resembling rather an idea than an international organisation at the time of its founding it grew in the course of two years into a world-organisation with live and active sections in all the capitalist countries and in all parts of the world.

The first two years of the organising work of the Comintern constituted an international stage of great revolutionary mass struggles. In the year 1921 this first revolutionary wave began to recede in the various countries, capitalism got a respite and started upon a counter-offensive. The two stages together served to the Communist International as a systematic and thorough course of political education, not in studies or laboratories, but on the field of political fights in all countries.

The most important lesson learned by the Communist International during these educational years, under the leadership of the Russian Party (with more or less success) was **the role and nature of the Communist Party** in guiding the destinies of the proletarian revolution. This difficult course of study is by no means at an end, even the most developed of our sections have still a great many things to learn in this respect, but the solid groundwork has already been achieved. The principles of "Bolshevism" on this point have been endorsed by all the sections. Much discussion still goes on about the **correct application** of these principles; but this kind of discussion can hardly be fully disposed of in a capitalist environment. At all events, the principles themselves are no longer questioned. It means: firstly, the achievement of actual leadership by the Communist Party in the trade union movement, in the factory council movement, and in all the special ramifications of the revolutionary labour movement, as well as of the unorganised masses of the toilers, in the entire process of the proletarian revolution; secondly, the

establishment of a centralised and strong leadership within the Party, which must be organically united with the membership at large, on the basis of constant and united activity with the organisations and the individual members.

The course of the second stage is distinguished by a rather significant departure from the first stage, and quite for obvious reasons. In both cases the course was indicated by the historical nature of the stage in question, and by the actual strategical chief aim of the Comintern.

During the first stage the chief aim was the attainment of political and organisational independence for the Communist movement. To this end it was necessary, in the first place, to draw a clear line of demarcation **from the Right**, from the reformist and opportunist wings of Socialism. The principles of the latter, the formula of "pure" democracy, were sharply analysed and exposed as the basis of the capitalist state, and consequently as the basis of co-operation with the capitalist counter-revolution. The Second International and the leaders of the Amsterdam International were branded as a bunch of traitors in the service of the counter-revolution, and the opportunist leaders of the 2½ International were unmercifully divested of all the fig-leaves of sham revolutionism. In our own ranks particular stress was laid on the lucidity of principles, on strong centralism and on iron discipline in the Party.

During the second stage the chief aim was to win the majority of the working class and to put it under the leadership of the Communist Parties. This necessitated, firstly, a more precise demarcation against sectarian and anarchist tendencies, and pronounced emphasis upon the danger of isolation from the masses. Secondly, it called for the development of the tactics of the united front as the most important method to gain the confidence of the working masses, and to combat the influence of the reformist and opportunist (including syndicalist and anarchist) labour leaders. Stress was laid on the necessity to venture to negotiate with the leading organs of the labour organisations of the opposite camp, while reserving the right to criticise freely and to expose the opposite party before the working masses. In our own ranks attention was called to the futility of revolutionary dogmatism, to the necessity of applying proper methods and of increasing the general activity of the Party on the basis of slogans and partial demands which arise directly from the actual needs of the working masses.

These **were** two distinct but **interdependent** courses. They are to be taken together, and not separately, in order to understand them properly. They differed by reason of the

particular momentary circumstances, and they were united by the unity of the underlying principles.

What are the net results so far obtained? Firstly, our sections have acquired the necessary training, and the Communist movement has been strengthened in the various countries. Secondly, the revolutionary seed has been sown, which is now sprouting among the widest masses and will eventually bear fruit. The inward growth of our sections is recorded everywhere without exception. The external growth during the second stage (since 1921) was not equally pronounced in all the sections, and in some there has been even a temporary set-back, notably in Germany, Italy, Bulgaria, and Norway. In Norway, properly speaking, there has been no retrogression, but rather a strengthening of the Communist ranks; the apparent set-back consists chiefly of the fact that the Communist International used to have a larger section there, the majority of which could not be considered at all as a Communist Party, and that the birth of the Norwegian Communist Party has but recently taken place, out of the womb of the old party. In the other three countries, the temporary decrease of membership is due to official suppression which has driven these parties into illegality. Temporary illegality and temporary defeats are rather the rule than the exception for revolutionary labour parties before the conquest of power. These we have discounted beforehand, and they determine in no way the outcome of the class struggle. The deciding factor is the steady revolutionisation of the majority of the proletariat.

The results so far obtained by way of revolutionising the proletariat are, of course, different in the various countries, and it could not be otherwise. For instance, in Scandinavia the present stage of this process cannot be the same as in Germany or in Poland. The minds of the great mass of the workers are not independent from the economic and political circumstances of the capitalist environment. The working masses are tied up with this environment by a thousand invisible threads, which in the course of generations have spun veritable cobwebs of bourgeois illusions and prejudices in their heads, which hinder the dawn of proletarian class-consciousness and which will not be removed until the whole edifice of the capitalist system will collapse and shatter the old cobwebs in its fall. These illusions on private property, on money, free trade, the state and the law, on democracy, on religion and the nation, are still prevalent among the workers of America and Scandinavia, as well as of England and France, to a considerable extent. On the other hand, in such countries as Germany and Poland these threads have largely been torn, so that it is only a question of time when

these loosened cobwebs will be removed from the minds of the workers by the dawn of class consciousness.

It should be borne in mind that in no capitalist country the present-day ideology of the working class is the same as it was ten years ago. A tremendous process of revolutionary education has been going on everywhere, and in this respect the seed sown by the Communist International is bearing fruit. With perfect confidence we anticipate the coming harvest, but not everywhere in the course of next summer. In the tremendous cultivating process of the proletarian world-revolution, the harvest is not reaped in the same year as the seed was sown.

It is another question whether we have been skilful in scattering the seed everywhere in quite the proper way. I do not believe that our methods of agitation and propaganda, not to speak of the leadership of the mass fights were carried out everywhere with uniform expediency. For instance, the Russian exponents of practical Marxism have busied themselves in recent years with the problem of the "podkhod," *i.e.*, of the proper method of "approaching" in the conduct of agitation and propaganda. I wonder if our comrades in the other countries have studied this important problem with sufficient thoroughness; whether, for instance, in their work among the trade unions, they have not relied solely upon intuition, in which case we have no guarantee that our agitation has been uniformly effective among the masses.

Of quite particular importance is the question of "approaching" the **peasants**. In this case the Communist who does not understand the psychology of the peasant, and his circumstances, and who fails to "approach" him in the proper manner, may achieve the opposite result to what was anticipated. On the whole the question of the revolutionary attitude of the poorer peasants towards the alliance with the working class, while retaining the hegemony of the proletariat, one of the most important problems for the Russian Party and for the Communist International, has not yet been thoroughly thrashed out by all our sections. The task is by no means an easy one, because the peasants are peasants and the workers in many cases have not yet been entirely emancipated from the craft traditions of the old labour movement.

The case is partly similar in regard to the **question of nationality**. Many of our sections have not yet worked out the courageous revolutionary attitude, which is practised by the Russian Communist Party, in favour of the unconditional right of self-determination for the subject races of the imperialist powers, in the hope that the national prejudices

of these races will quickly be done away with in the course of their progress to complete liberty from any foreign yoke. Many of our sections (England, Poland, Czecho-Slovakia, Yugoslavia, Roumania, etc.), have much to gain, as regards influence and power, by tactful and courageous activity in the question of nationality. At the same time proper attention should be given to the question of exercising tactful and courageous influence upon the nationalist prejudices of the petty-bourgeois (and partly also proletarian) masses of the dominant nations, which the fascisti are trying to exploit for the furtherance of the counter-revolution. In this respect the German Communist Party has set an example of the manner in which the influence of the fascist demagogues can be successfully paralysed.

A new period in the international movement of the class-struggle was inaugurated last summer and autumn by the events in Germany, Poland and Bulgaria. A similar turn of events was doubtlessly ushered in by the advent of the Labour Government in Great Britain. In most of the other countries this turn has not yet fully set in, or at least the outlines of the new period are not yet plainly visible.

The first rumblings of this period in Germany and in Bulgaria have given us no victories, but costly experiences. Nevertheless they were but the prelude, and the last word has not yet been spoken.

The chief tasks of the Communist parties during this period, of course, will continue to differ for the various countries. In some countries, notably in Germany, it is already a question of the **fight for power**; in other countries **the majority of the working class has yet to be won over**, (e.g., in France, Italy, Czecho-Slovakia, Norway), and in other countries the Communist parties have first to be brought up to the level of real Communist **mass-parties** (England, America, Sweden, Austria, etc.). Furthermore, there are countries in which the elementary Communist **propaganda and agitation**, the spade work of the movement has yet to be done. With all this, it seems certain that the new period will be marked by greater uniformity and decisiveness than the preceding period, in regard to the aspect of militancy. In this connection the general policy of the Comintern may experience some modification. In regard to Germany this was already the case in the resolutions adopted by the E.C.C.I. in September, 1923, and in January, 1924 ("Fight for power," "Unity from the Bottom.")

At all events, we find that the army of the Communist International enters into the third period with quite different strength and preparedness than it did into the second. It has indeed become an army of the proletarian world-revolution.

Some Systematic Work.

I have said that all the sections of the International have experienced internal growth. That is quite so. But it is more important to us to joint out the things which are yet to be attained, than the things that have already been achieved.

In connection with the influence of the Russian Communist Party upon our International, I would like to say a word of two about the importance of introducing more "system" in the leading work of our sections.

As far as I know, Comrade Lenin worked very systematically. The leaders of the Russian Party work systematically, too. All the other Communist parties have surely a great deal to learn from this system of Leninism. Without dwelling on its formal aspects, I would like to point out the following leading features of this system :

1. Proper information and analysis of the situation.
2. Clear strategical aims.
3. Adoption of method and of measures for the attainment of the goal.
4. Proper organisation and control.

I would ask the esteemed comrades not to be scared by glancing at the scheme that I have just outlined. I advocate no schemes, but systematic work. All the points that I have outlined, of course, occur in the daily work of our Party, but in a more or less conscious and systematic form.

Solid information is the first essential for proper decision and for competent leadership. Everyone recollects with what care, patience and perseverance Comrade Lenin would gather all the possible and reliable information about the question on which he had to decide. He could question and cross-question as no one else. In his writings he repeatedly urges the necessity of systematic information.

In the Secretariat of the Executive we feel constantly that so far we have failed in organising a solid system of information to the Executive by the various sections. We feel quite poignantly this defect, which must be obviated by strenuous efforts on either side. At all events, the individual parties should improve their system of information, to start with.

Here is not the place to dwell on the subject of the Marxian analysis of the situation, which is a science in itself. At all events, this work should certainly be carried out in a systematic way.

The line of conduct, as mentioned in paragraphs 2 and

3, must be worked out on the basis of an analysis of the situation. The standard of Marxian insight has certainly grown in our ranks, since everywhere in our movement this "line" is spoken of and sought after. The Social-Democratic parties used to boast of their Marxism before the war, and still they lack a great deal in this respect even to-day.

Nevertheless, the political "line" is not a simple function but a combination of functions, and there ought to be systematic distribution of these functions. Quite frequently the "line" is merely drawn by determining the next task (or tasks), without in any way drawing a distinction between the measures and the aims to which the measures are directed (besides, the method for the achievement of the aim is either casually mentioned or is not mentioned at all). At the same time the substance of the programmatic demands is very frequently confused with the strategic aim. For instance, demands and proposals are made which are in the nature of a programme of action (*e.g.*, the eight-hour day, tax exemption for workers and toiling peasants, State subsidies for the unemployed, workers' control over production, election of army and navy officers by the rank and file, and so on). What is the real purpose of the Party in raising these demands? To carry out the programme? Of course, no. Its purpose is to fight for this programme in order to attain other aims (than the demands that are raised), *e.g.*, in order to bring under our influence a part of the Social-Democratic members of the trade unions, to win the peasants over to the proletarian front, to get the leadership of the unemployed movement into the hands of our party, to accelerate the revolutionisation of the most active part of the industrial workers, to cause a state of unrest in the army and navy, and so on. These and similar aims can only serve us as strategical aims. Perhaps, as a result of the action, some of these demands may really be attained; but it is not of decisive importance whether they are attained or not. Of decisive importance is the question whether the definite strategical aim is achieved or not. A programmatic demand can be all right even if none of it is attained (and this is frequently foreseen), providing that the raising of this demand and the fight for it will ensure success in the prosecution of this strategical aim agreed upon. On the other hand, even if achieved, the demand is not of the slightest use if it cannot further the strategical aim.

Choosing a "line" without a **deliberate strategical aim** is, of course, tantamount to groping in the dark, as it gives no guarantee that the proper line was found from the Marxian standpoint. The most essential considerations for revolutionary Marxists might then be overlooked. Yet we

must always be clearly aware of the aim to which our forthcoming actions are to be directed. For this distinguishes us from all the blind politicians in the world, that we do not act on the spur of the moment, but on the ground of Marxian, *i.e.*, scientific analysis of the situation, and in the deliberate interests of the revolution in so far as we expect them to be served by the action that we undertake. The measures to be adopted for the achievement of this aim are quite a different matter, of course. Another matter again are the slogans which we are to launch into the masses in order to influence them or to create a movement which should facilitate the achievement of the aim.

To my mind it would be useful to deal with this question at somewhat greater length (also to distinguish between the leading aim and the side issues), and to illustrate the foregoing theoretical hints by examples from the activity of the E.C.C.I.; but I must content myself with the abstract argument for the development of a systematic "line." It is to be hoped that before long the deliberate strategical aiming in the Marxian sense will become the common property and habit in the ranks of the Communist International, and that it will be accompanied by regular and precise demarcation against "Right" and "Left."

The task of organising for the attainment of the decisions in a proper way is nothing new to our parties. This is the direction in which all the parties have been working for a long time. No one will dispute the complete vindication of the last advice by Lenin which he gave at the Fourth World Congress to the Communist parties of the capitalist countries: "You must assimilate a good bit of the Russian experiences."

What Lenin considered of particular importance is to make all the party members active and to set to every individual member his daily task in the work of the party. The lack of this activity he described as the "greatest shortcoming in the Communist parties of the capitalist countries." The forming of Communist nuclei at all the factories, the widest possible participation by all the members in the distribution of party literature and in the development of the Communist press, the attraction of the proletarian women and youth to regular revolutionary activity, all these organisational demands of Lenin have only partly been fulfilled. And in all these tasks it is imperative and necessary to assimilate a bit of the Russian experiences, not to copy, but to adapt it to the peculiar circumstances of every individual country.

Besides the daily regular activity of the Party, it is

necessary to learn from the Russian Party how to concentrate the forces on the carrying out of urgent tasks and on taking the lead in mass-action. Even the ripest of our sections, the German Communist Party, has recently shown itself badly deficient in this respect. It will certainly be wiser next time.

One word, in conclusion, on systematic **control** in the carrying out of the Party tasks, which was also a very substantial feature in the "system" of Lenin.

All this applies, of course, not only to the central committees of the parties, but also to the leading organs and even to the committees of the smallest nuclei, and to some extent even to all the individual members of the Party.

Towards Victory!

"The most important thing for this period is to study," said Comrade Lenin in the autumn of 1922, addressing himself to the foreign as well as to the Russian comrades. The whole International has still a lot to learn. Is it a sign of weakness that we frequently have to admit this openly? I believe it is a sign of strength. Just ask our deadly enemies whether they find this reassuring. Ten years ago, they felt themselves so secure that in no country they thought necessary to organise fascist groups against us. Now the most aristocratic rascals and the wealthiest robbers are compelled to arm themselves to their teeth. **The gentlemen are afraid of us**, and the more we learn how to lead the revolution the more reason they will have to fear us.

The capitalist world is incapable of solving its critical problems. It tried to solve them by the greatest crime on record, by the imperialist world-war, with the result that the foundations of the capitalist system are now on the edge of the precipice. France, who ten years ago was the wealthiest banker of Europe, is now no longer able to pay her debts and has to shudder at the sight, on beholding the golden francs being transformed into worthless scraps of paper. England, the proudest ruler of the world, must now allow herself to be governed by a comical company known as the Labour Government, which has proved its bankruptcy in the international labour movement and is now to undergo a second bankruptcy at the head of the British Empire. The former German Empire is now a desperate beggar, Austria a pauper, and Hungary an apache. Capitalist Europe bears the brand of doom on its brow.

The Second International of social-traitors has been compelled in nearly all the countries to change the deception of

capitalist democracy for open servitude to the capitalist dictatorship. Also the 2½ International has gone to the devil for it is no longer to be seen on earth. The privileged aristocracy of labour is vanishing rapidly. The time is nigh when bankrupt capitalism will no longer be able to feed its slaves, let alone to bribe them.

The greatest hindrance to the proletarian revolution in the minds of the workers was the cowardly prejudice: "We cannot win, it is impossible!" The Russian proletariat has shown it to be possible, and **how** it is possible.

By this deed the Russian proletariat has won the hegemony of the international labour movement. And this it will retain until the full accomplishment of its great historical tasks in the process of the proletarian world-revolution. Its greatest task is due to the position of Russia as a bridge between West and East: it has linked up the proletarian revolution of the West with the national liberation movement of the peoples of the East.

Under the leadership of the Russian Communist Party, the Communist International will learn the art of victory. It is not yet the world-party that has won the victory. **But this is what it will be!**

O. W. KUUSINEN.



The Capitalist Terror

(Translated by E. BOUVIER.)

THE great October Revolution which showed in practice that the proletariat has entered on a new and decisive phase of its struggle with capitalism, that it has gone over from the accumulation and organisation of forces to mass action, from criticism of the bourgeois world order to its destruction followed by revolutionary construction, has aroused the world bourgeoisie. The latter is fully aware that the blow dealt to capitalism in Russia has shaken the foundations of capitalism throughout the world, and began forthwith to apply the most brutal and sanguinary repressive measures against the proletariat which is struggling for its emancipation. Scared by the rapid, and to all appearances, inevitable approach of the end of its reign, the bourgeoisie relinquished all its former methods of struggle against the proletariat, methods which consisted in deluding the masses with hypocritical slogans about national unity, democracy, equality, Christian forbearance and future salvation, and adopted new methods . . . It raised an outcry against civil war and red terror and concealed from the masses the fact that this red terror was merely retaliation for the ocean of workers' blood spilt by the bourgeoisie. The same bourgeoisie, which only a few years ago hypocritically raised its hands in horror at the barbarous and sanguinary methods employed by Tsarism against Russian workers and peasants, has in its brutality outstripped not only Tsarism, but even mediæval inquisition.

In Germany, when the government, led by the Social-Democrats, Ebert and Scheidemann, began a relentless struggle against the Communists, it did not scruple to adopt the repressive methods in vogue under the old regime, and when the proletariat protested against these methods by a series of strikes, it added only fuel to the fire of their wrath . . . The fact that the proletariat gave evidence of its class consciousness, strength and good organisation incensed the bourgeoisie and made it thirst for vengeance. Armed forces were brought into play against unarmed demonstrators, and the capital of Germany became a battlefield covered in a thrice with the dead bodies of working men and women . . . Since that historic day—the 9th of Novem-

ber, 1918, sanguinary repressions against the workers became the order of the day. . . . The bourgeoisie did not stop at anything in its mad career. Women, old men and children fell under its blows, numbers of the working class were killed in the streets, in prison cells, secretly and publicly, with and without discrimination Among the victims of that time were also the leaders, not only of the German but of the world proletariat—Rosa Luxemburg and Karl Liebknecht, whose lives had been devoted to the struggle for the liberation of the working class.

In Finland, according to Comrade Sirola's statement, the Finnish bourgeoisie, which beat down the Finnish workers only owing to the support it received from the armed forces of William II. and from the Finnish, Swedish, German and Russian white guard elements, threw itself like a bloodhound on the unfortunate Finnish proletariat. According to official information (which is far from complete), the number of killed exceeded 13,000 and the number of those who perished in the concentration camps—15,500. Death after trial or without trial was only a welcome deliverance from torment and suffering. Thus, according to S. A. Katai's statement ("Bourgeois Terror in Finland," p. 15-16), "Mass arrests of workers began to take place during the period of severe frost: the arrested were sent from place to place." "Never before was even cattle transported with the brutality shown by the whites in the transport of their prisoners. White-haired old men, sick people and even children were pitilessly thrust, during this frosty period, into unheated carriages in which they had to spend several days without food or warm clothes. Many fell ill on these journeys and many died of exhaustion. Others died as a result of cruel beatings and tortures. . . ."

"Many lips," say the author mournfully, "which might have told of more brutalities and horrors, are silent for ever."

Germany and Finland were by no means exceptions. At that period the bourgeoisie showed itself everywhere in its true colours, but was especially cruel in the border countries which were formerly under the heel of the Russian autocrat—Finland, Poland, Esthonia and others The bourgeoisie of these countries succeeded at last, after several decades of struggle, in assuming power and in having a finger in the government pie. But the deadly class enemy of the bourgeoisie—the proletariat stretched out its hands at the same time towards the same pie For this crime the bourgeoisie (if it could) would gladly wipe the proletariat off the face of the earth.

In Esthonia, at the election to the Constituent Assembly which took place about the same time when the Third Communist International was coming into being in Russia, the Central Committee of the Esthonian Communist Party, issued a list of the "crucified proletariat" containing 120 names of peaceful Esthonian proletarians executed, tortured to death and killed by the bourgeoisie since the end of 1918.

In Lithuania, in the beginning of 1918 there was an orgy of white reaction in the former government (province) of Suvalki, following the unsuccessful rising of the workers. Many Communist workers and land-poor peasants were shot or put to death even more brutally. Some were hacked to pieces and thrust under the ice. The white guards showed quite particular cruelty and brutality towards Communist workers on the estates. Members of the committees of these workers were arrested, tortured and shot.

In Poland the bourgeoisie used the Social-Democrats in its struggle against the working class. Martial law, the re-introduction of the Tsarist criminal code of 1903 with its famous or rather infamous clauses 102, 108, 126, 129 and 123, etc., mass domiciliary visits and arrests, destruction of working class organisations, shooting of unarmed participants in working class demonstrations, assassination of working class leaders (Comrade Faberkovitch (Gnevitch), the assassination of Vesolovsky, a member of the Soviet Red Cross Mission—such are only a few items of the long list of misdeeds with which the Polish bourgeoisie ushered in its independent political existence.

In Roumania, at the end of 1917, at the first signs of a revival of the working class movement, which was suppressed during the war period, the bourgeoisie made the first large working class demonstration the pretext for bringing machine guns into play. Over 100 people were killed, more were arrested, and the arrested were mercilessly beaten. (Peter Mirchesku, "Boyar Roumania.")

It is impossible to deal adequately with the enormous material concerning brutalities. Therefore, in dealing with the period preceding the establishment of the Third Communist International, we shall limit ourselves to those countries where, by rights, "quiet and the peace of God" should reign, namely, Switzerland, Holland and Spain, which preserved neutrality during the war, and France, one of the victorious countries.

In Switzerland, according to Comrade Cacher's statement, there were scenes which reminded one of the 1905 events in Russia. Machine guns were brought into play

against workers. A state of siege was proclaimed. Domiciliary visits and arrests were an everyday occurrence.

In Holland, troops were used against peaceful demonstrations. A women's demonstration was dispersed by the police, and Comrade Roland-Holst was wounded.

The bourgeoisie expected to cow the working masses by assassinations and tortures. "Nor did it spare cartridges."

In Spain, hundreds of workers were wounded in connection with the protest demonstrations against high cost of living. In Madrid alone over 300 people were arrested, the constitution was suspended and a state of siege was proclaimed, giving all power to the military.

In France, according to a statement by Comrade Victor Soulis in No. 1 of the "International," "The bourgeoisie knows only one means of struggle—persecutions, arrests, ill-treatment of workers on their way home from meetings, etc. Almost simultaneously there took place the acquittal of Villain, the murderer of Jaurès, and the death sentence on Cottin, the soldier (who had been wounded at the war) and who did not kill, but only inflicted a slight wound on Clemenceau.

At the same time the Communist Henri Guilbeau was condemned to death in Paris, and Jeanne Labourbe was shot in Odessa by order of the French commanding officer.

"The first blows have been struck," summed up the correspondent, "soon there will be a settlement of accounts."

Similar information about repressions during the period intervening between the October revolution and the First Congress was received from all parts of the world. The bourgeoisie of all countries followed the path, shown to it in 1871 by the Versailles bourgeoisie at the time of the suppression of the Commune and pursued for many decades by Russian Tsarism. Russia, too, felt the repercussion of this policy of revenge in her collisions with the international bourgeois world: Red Army prisoners of war were mercilessly shot, commissars taken prisoners, were branded with a red star on their body, Communists were tortured and in the interior of Russia attempts were made to get rid of the leaders of the working class by means of poisoned expansive bullets.

The fate of Tsarism, which rose by the sword and perished by the sword, foreshadowed a similar fate for the bourgeoisie of all countries. But this did not stop it. Its only guides were fear and revenge. Lloyd George, as pointed

out by Comrade Radek in his report at the Fourth Congress of the Comintern, wrote at the time of the First Congress: "The greatest danger which I can see in the present situation, is—that Germany might decide to make the Bolsheviks the arbiters of her fate, placing her wealth, her knowledge and her brilliant organisational talent at the service of these fanatical revolutionaries whose dream is the armed conquest of the whole world. **This danger is by no means the ebullition of a diseased brain**"

As one of the most prominent leaders of the bourgeoisie, Lloyd George clearly expressed what was only vaguely felt by the entire bourgeoisie and what aroused its ire and vengeance. The brilliant leader of the international proletariat—V. I. LENIN, in spite of the fact that everywhere, with the exception of Soviet Russia, the proletariat seemed to be suffering defeat, said calmly and confidently in his concluding address at the First Congress:

"Let the bourgeoisie of the whole world continue to do its worst, let it drive out, imprison and even kill members of the Spartacus Bund and Bolsheviks. **This will be of no avail** for the bourgeoisie. It will only help to enlighten the masses to free them of their own bourgeois-democratic prejudices and to make them fit for the struggle. The victory of the proletarian revolution throughout the world is guaranteed. The establishment of a world people's Soviet Republic is imminent.

The establishment of the Third Communist International which rallies the revolutionary workers of the whole world, and foreshadows the impending destruction of the bourgeoisie, has caused a renewal of such sanguinary repressions on the part of the bourgeoisie that the chairman of the Communist International, Comrade Zinoviev, was compelled, in opening the Second Congress, to dwell on the heavy losses suffered by the international proletariat: "In the course of this year (1919-1920)," said the leader of the International in enumerating the many sad losses, there was not a single country where the blood of Communist workers and of the best leaders of the working class has not flown. Suffice it to recall the names of our Hungarian comrades and to bring back to our minds Levinet, Tibos Samuelli, Ioghikhes and many others whose names have been added to the long list of revolutionaries who fell in the very beginning of the German and Russian revolutions." But these are not the only victims. "We must not forget," continued Comrade Zinoviev, "those comrades who are at present incarcerated in the prisons of various bourgeois republics. There are our French comrades—Loriot, Monatte and a number of others,

thrown into prison a short time before our Congress. We send out greetings to the many fighters of the workers' revolution who linger in German, Hungarian, French, English and American prisons. We shake hands fraternally with the American Communist workers who suffered relentless persecution during the last 12 months. The American bourgeoisie starves Communists and all revolutionaries into submission, in the literal sense of the word. There is not any form of brutality which it does not bring into play against Communist and I.W.W. (Industrial Workers of the World) workers or against other revolutionary organisations which follow in the footsteps of the Communist International.

Leo Kagan-Bernstein, who was executed in 1889 by the Tsarist government in far away Yakutsk, wrote confidently on the eve of the execution in a farewell letter addressed to his comrades :

“ Not a single drop of blood and not a single drop of suffering will be in vain.”

The poet, N. A. Nekrassov, who died 12 years before the execution of L. Kogan-Bernstein, expressed the same thought, only in a more powerful way :

“ All is well with the cause for which blood has flown.”

But what was self-evident for the citizens of Russia who became more and more convinced that (to quote again Nekrassov), “ Nothing can be won without sacrifice,” but also that sacrifices produce results, was beyond the ken of the post-war bourgeoisie. In its infuriation, it could not perceive that in spite of defeats, the revolutionary proletariat is getting stronger and that the movement is not only becoming wider, but also deeper.

Seeking, but not finding an issue, the bourgeoisie continued in its efforts to extinguish the revolutionary conflagration with the blood of tortured and murdered workers.

“ To the names inscribed during the last few years in the obituary of our struggle,” said Comrade Zinoviev, at the opening of the Third Congress, “ many more, not less glorious, have been added. Only recently, the Berlin workers followed to the grave one of their best leaders, Comrad Silta, a victim of the executioners of the German bourgeoisie. Also recently, a group of Turkish Communists, headed by Subkhi and Spitz, died at the hands of assassins. A few days ago, the Lettish bourgeoisie shot a group of heroic comrades among whom the most active in our struggle were—Shilf and Berenz. Many comrades were also shot recently in Lithuania. In Italy not a week passes without our comrades losing someone out of the ranks in the

struggle with the hired agents of Italian capitalists. During the March days in Germany many of our best German comrades lost their lives. In addition to the many victims throughout Germany, our comrades had many losses in connection with the March action: 400 persons were sentenced collectively to 2,000 years imprisonment or to forced labour. About 7,000 workers are lingering in German prisons. The prisons of Hungary and Finland have also many of our comrades for inmates. In the most democratic bourgeois countries, as for instance in America, thousands of Communists have been deprived of their freedom. In Great Britain, many leaders of our young party undergo the same fate, together with a number of other British comrades who dared to bring to British workers the message of Communism. In Czecho-Slovakia, the prisons are filled to overflowing with workers many of whom are known to us as leading comrades in the struggle for Communism in that country, as for instance, Muna, Zapotozsky, Zathokhy, Gula and others."

While these repressions were going on, the Communist International was growing and has reached unheard of dimensions: it had amongst its adherents fifty-two Communist organisations from various countries, and the proletariat came out after every defeat stronger than before and threw itself into the fray time after time. But these unsuccessful sanguinary attempts did not stop the bourgeoisie. It continued its ghastly work with evergrowing fierceness. At the Fourth Congress it was no longer possible to limit oneself to a brief enumeration of the victims of white terror: the cup of proletarian blood shed by the bourgeoisie was already "full to overflowing." In the history of mankind there have never been torments and sufferings comparable to those which are now the lot of the struggling proletariat. Comrade Clara Zetkin's report, dedicated entirely to this question, and the manifesto "To the captives of capitalism," published by the Fourth Congress, give only a faint idea of the sanguinary reality of bourgeois jurisdiction. How intensive were the activities of all kinds of secret service organisations in the various countries, which entirely outstripped the primitive Tsarist "Okhranka" (secret service), is shown by the fact that the writer of these lines had to state towards the end of the congress sessions, four weeks after the adoption of the manifesto, addressed to those lingering in captivity, that during that month "news had been received from all countries about more arrests." In America, Poland, Yugoslavia, Japan and Corea—in fact, wherever our comrades and other leaders of the working class want to fight and are fighting against capitalism, they are thrown into prison.

The society of old Bolsheviks, who went through all the

horrors of the Tsarist prison and penal servitude regime brought forward at that time a proposal, adopted by the Congress, about the establishment in all countries of a Political Red Cross, an International organisation for aid to the fighters of the revolution (MOPR), with the object of coming to the assistance of the victims of white terror and of their families.

The magnitude of this white terror, whose victims number many tens of thousands, and in India even millions, necessitated the establishment of MOPR. According to the statistics collected by the MOPR, the number of political prisoners up to May 1st, 1923 was :

In Germany	about	5,000	
„ Italy	„	8,000	
„ Spain	„	23,000	
„ Belgium	„	2,300	
„ Lithuania	„	200	
„ Latvia	„	500	
„ Finland	„	1,200	
„ Poland	„	12,000	
„ Hungary	„	70,000	(During the first years of
„ India	„	253,000	[Horthy's reign)

These figures by themselves do not, of course, convey any idea of the sufferings of the imprisoned fighters of the revolution. In Germany (and we are as yet dealing with "peace" times) previous to the events of the end of last year, previous to the "military-democratic" dictatorship of Seeckt-Ebert, we received hundreds of letters from political prisoners telling us that they are compelled to feed on kitchen offal. One of the prisoners, driven to despair, swallowed some nails, but the authorities do not allow him to be operated on and refuse to set him free.* As to prison conditions, when the prisoners incarcerated in the Sonnenburg jail asked for water during the night, the quartermaster said: "Water! What for? You can spit into each other's mouth and thus quench your thirst!"

When a sick person is restless and, driven mad by his sufferings, groans: "I will put an end to my miserable existence, I will hang myself,"—the humane doctor finds nothing better to say than: "You should have done it long ago!"

After the September events, repressions, or rather bestialities became worse than ever. To give an idea of these bestialities, we shall only mention one instance which throws a lurid light on the entire system.

"In Rochlitz (Saxony) a conference of workers' parties in connection with the forthcoming municipal election took place. Without any warning, soldiers invaded the hall and arrested all those present. In the police station the arrested

* MOPR, May 1st, 1923, pp. 3 and 4.

were brutally ill-treated. Thirteen of the arrested were forced to stand for eight hours with their faces to the wall. The soldiers said to them derisively, "Now you have a taste of your eight-hour day."

Many comrades fainted. Thereupon they were allowed to sit down for half an hour, after which they had to stand for another four hours.† "Marxist democrats" are repeating in Germany the horrors of the Tsarist regime. There is no need to dilate any longer on the achievements of the Ebert government. The groans of the tortured and beaten, the agony of the families of the arrested who are dying of starvation, resound throughout the world. The German bourgeoisie which, in 1871, "with great chivalry," allowed the French bourgeoisie to stamp out the Paris Commune, is setting to-day an example to the whole world (with the active assistance of the German section of the Second International) of how to deal with the working class. It would almost seem that the German bourgeoisie is afraid of being outdone in this respect by the bourgeoisie of some other country.

The whole bourgeois world is becoming a bloody arena of bourgeois sword-law against the working class.

In Italy, according to comrade Umberto Terracini's statement (MOPR, May 1st, 1923, "Fascist Brutalities in Italy,") the class struggle has become relentless civil war. There is not a single town where the pavement is not stained with workers' blood. Not a single village has escaped assassinations and incendiarism. Every day hundreds of Communists lay down their lives, arms in hands, in an unequal struggle.

An illustration of the manner of these assassinations in 1922 and in the beginning of 1923, is the assassination of Comrade Valenti in Fassombrone.

Valenti succeeded in beating off his fascist assailants and in escaping into the fields. The fascist commander mobilised 1,000 "black shirts." "They organised a hunt with hounds in the full sense of the word. During this hunt five workers belonging to the neighbouring villages were killed because they refused to indicate Comrade Valenti's hiding place." In the end he was betrayed by one of the peasants, was tied, thrown into a motor car and taken to Fassombrone. "On the journey there he was subjected to indescribable insults, **his tormentors spat on him, cut off his nose and ears and pricked him continually with daggers.** On arrival in Fassombrone, they dragged their bleeding victim out of the motor car, **tied him to the wheels and dragged him thus along the streets.**"

† Bulletin of the Central Committee, MOPR, No. 4.

In this manner Comrade Valenti was dragged as far as the cemetery and was done to death there.

As it is impossible to kill all, the bourgeoisie executioners have to content themselves with torturing their victims . . . In the beginning of 1923, the government arrested 7,000 Communists. These prisoners undergo greater hardships in jail than common criminals. Italy is among the countries known for the brutality of their prison regime. There are still prisons in Italy which were built in the fifteenth century and which swarm with vermin. In these evil-smelling, gloomy cells, which are never disinfected, workers have to spend sometimes many years, and are literally starved. The Italian bourgeoisie, writes one of the prisoners in his diary, is not by any means generous towards its victims. Prisoners receive only one litre of soup (which is more like warm water than anything else) and bread once in every 24 hours. . . . But fascist tribunals are extremely generous. They do not pass sentences of a month or two, but of 10, 15, 20 and even 30 years. The condemned never walk out of prison, they are carried out . . . to the cemetery.

Since Mussolin's memorable action (accompanied by assassinations, incendiarism, robberies, torture, ill-treatment and violation), which assured his success and therefore won him the goodwill of the world bourgeoisie, in all parts of the world those who are in power are endeavouring to introduce fascist repressions à la Mussolini.

In America, the Ku-Klux-Klan has already in its ranks 200,000 keepers of law and order. Assassinations, floggings, and abduction—such are their methods of struggle. The government of the U.S.A., which in its official capacity professes to oppose this organisation, is in fact encouraging it quite openly. Moreover, it shuts its eyes to the propaganda of generals who perambulate the country advocating the upkeep of a big and strong army not only against the foreign enemy, but also against the enemy at home, and introduces legislation enabling it to send any worker to penal servitude for the least resistance to his class enemy.

In Japan, the government took advantage of the chaos and confusion caused by the earthquake and shot hundreds of Japanese workers, under the pretence that they were Koreans in revolt. Government agents entered prisons and brutally murdered Communists and in some places even Socialists. One of these zealous agents, Captain Amarkasu, confessed in court that he was planning a mass assassination of Socialists, being under the impression that Osughi (leader

of the Japanese workers killed by this gendarmerie captain, who also killed Comrade Sakai "when trying to escape") and other enemies of the State would want to take advantage of the earthquake for their own revolutionary aims.

In Turkey, as soon as the national bourgeoisie came into power, it instituted repressions against the working class. The actions of the Turkish bourgeoisie do not as yet come up to fascist standard, for it is being held back by the knowledge that the Communist International was a very important factor in its successful struggle against foreign imperialism. But such memories soon evaporate in the ranks of the bourgeoisie, especially when its class interests are at stake.

On the other hand, Turkey's nearest neighbours—**Bulgaria, Yugo-Slavia and Roumania**, deal out repressions without the least compunction.

In Bulgaria, at the suppression of the rising, "cartidges were not spared" and "no prisoners were taken." Whole families were exterminated, including children. Gallows were erected and people were hanged without any discrimination, the object being—to instil terror into the hearts of peasants and workers and to kill in them once and for all any desire to throw off the yoke of oppression, violence and exploitation.

In places where the rising had not time to materialise, hundreds, nay thousands of arrests were made. The arrested were ill-treated, they were hanged with their heads down, they were beaten with steel batons wrapped in caoutchouc.

In Yugo-Slavia, Comrades Konich and Kovalevitch were cruelly beaten on the day they were set free, evidently as a warning not to be caught again.

In Roumania, in the penal servitude jail (the same jail where in 1917, 800 people died of hunger, sickness and exhaustion) "recalcitrants are sent to punishment cells and chained by their hands, feet and neck to the wall."

This prison has a special section, which is a prison within a prison, a punishment cell in a hell, with several inches of water on the floor. "The prisoner is chained and made to sit in the water on the floor."

In Hungary, there are 70,000 prisoners. 10,000 persons have been executed and 20,000 to 25,000 have emigrated. No one will ever be able to ascertain the number of those tortured to death in prisons, beaten to death during preliminary examinations in prisons or drowned in the river.

The same story may be told about **Greece, Spain, France, Switzerland, the Scandinavian and Baltic countries, Lithuania, Poland, America, Africa and Australia.**

The only difference is in the method of torturing and ill-treating, and that is all. In America they torture by forcible injection of water. In Poland they favour the method of bumping the heads of prisoners on the pavement, dragging them by the feet. In France they use cold steel for the dispersal of demonstrators, while in Poland they prefer to bring rifles and even machine guns into play. In Lithuania, when prisoners are examined they are covered with wet sacks and beaten with ramrods. In Poland there is yet another method which was applied to Comrade Pantoli Hirsch. He was so terribly beaten that when his body was given to the Jewish Commune for burial, it was found that his right eye had been driven into its orbit and smashed, that the left eye was gone, and that his throat was compressed and deformed, showing signs of strangulation.

In Yugo-Slavia they place prisoners into stove chimneys. In Spain they break their skulls, burn out their eyes with cigarettes, tear out their tongues and try to inject poison with the object of getting thus rid of "recalcitrants."

On the field of brutality, the inventive faculty of the bourgeoisie has no bounds.

Civilisation, humaneness, justice, lawfulness, freedom . . . everything which was the boast of the bourgeoisie throughout the world when its power was not menaced, has vanished like smoke. In the struggle for the preservation of its power, all means are good provided they achieve the aim.

In the beginning of the article we quoted the words of the great teacher of the International proletariat—V. I. Lenin, who foretold that all this will not save the bourgeoisie. In conclusion, may we be permitted to quote the last words of the Lithuanian young Communist, Comrade Boris, who was condemned to death :

"Your brutality towards the workers is unspeakable. I have experienced your inquisition on my own body.

"I was kept 17 days and nights in the secret police department. I was beaten with switches, nagaikas (whips) and fists. This happened two to three times a day during my detention in your secret police department. The field court-martial has condemned me to death. But this does not frighten a Communist who cannot be diverted from his object

by such means. What has to be, will be, for we are not individuals—we are the masses. **We are—the working class.**

“ As soon as **one** falls under your blows, his place is taken by another. You will not destroy the proletarian movement by sword and fire . . . Hundreds of comrades, local workers are lingering in your prisons. What has become of the promises of your constitution—“ freedom ” of conscience, of the press, of strikes, of workers’ organisations?

“ Can I recognise the tribunal of the enemy, what is to me the opinion and the sentence of our class enemy?

“ No, you will not frighten us by your repressive measures. Beat and shoot us, put us in prison, torture and violate us—this will not stop the engine of history.

“ Powerful and swift as the whirlwind, it will sweep aside all repressions and all barriers placed on its path.

“ What is to be, will be. History is on our side.”

F. KOHN.

Moscow, 18/2/24.



The Third International and Its Place in History

THE imperialists of the "Entente" are blockading Russia for the purpose of cutting off the Soviet Republic, as a hotbed of infection, from the capitalistic world. These people, who are boasting of the "Democratic spirit" pervading their own institutions, are so blinded by their hatred of the Soviet Republic, that they do not perceive how preposterous their position is. Just think of it: the most advanced, civilised and "democratic" countries, armed to the teeth and enjoying an undivided military supremacy over the world, are frightened out of their wits by a mere spectre, by a contagious IDEA emanating from a ravaged, starving and, in their opinion, half-savage country! This inconsistency in itself is sufficiently great to help us in opening the eyes of the labouring masses in all countries, and in exposing the hypocrisy of the imperialists, such as Clemenceau, Lloyd George, Woodrow Wilson and their governments.

We are helped in this respect not only by the blindness of the capitalists, by their hatred of the Soviets, but by their bickerings among themselves and the tricks they play upon each other. They have entered into a regular conspiracy of silence, since nothing terrifies them more than the spreading of correct information about the Soviet Republic in general, and its official documents in particular. One of the principal newspapers, voicing the opinions of the French bourgeoisie, "Le Temps," has, however, published the news of the foundation of the Third Communist International.

We beg to tender to that mouthpiece of the French bourgeoisie, to the recognised leader of Chauvinism and imperialism in France, our most respectful thanks for its valuable co-operation. We are prepared to send to the "Temps" newspaper a written address, couched in the most emphatic terms, expressing our gratitude for their able and timely assistance.

The method used by the "Temps" newspaper for compiling its communiqué from our wireless clearly discloses the motives by which that spokesman of Mammon was guided. Its idea was to annoy Woodrow Wilson, to nettle his sus-

ceptibilities : " Those are the people," it seems to say, " with whom you think it possible to enter into negotiations." The wiseacres writing by the orders of the money-bag are blissfully unaware of the fact that, in using the Bolsheviki as a bugbear to scare Woodrow Wilson, they merely supply the former with a free advertisement and increase their popularity amongst the working masses. We feel we must reiterate our heartfelt thanks to the spokesman of the French millionaires !

The Third International has sprung into life under circumstances of such world-wide importance that no prohibitions, no mean and petty tricks of the Allied imperialists, or of the henchmen of capitalism, such as Scheidemann in Germany, or Renner in Austria, can possibly prevent the news thereof spreading throughout the world and enlisting the sympathies of the working masses. These circumstances have been created by the proletarian revolution, which is spreading from day to day, from hour to hour. These circumstances have been created by the tendency of the Labour movement to set up " soviets." This new movement has acquired such magnitude as to have become truly " international."

The First International (1861-1872) laid the foundations of an international organisation of working men for the purpose of preparing their assault upon capital. The Second International (1889-1914) was an international organisation of the proletarian movement which eventually covered a **wide** field, but this growth was accompanied by a temporary **lowering** of revolutionary standards, and a temporary increase of opportunism which ultimately led to its ignominious breakdown.

The Third International was in reality created in 1918, after the protracted struggle with opportunism, and " social-chauvinism," especially during the war, had resulted in the formation of a Communist Party in various countries. The formal recognition of the International dates from the first congress of its members held in Moscow in March, 1919. The most prominent feature of the Third International, namely its mission to carry out the principles of Marxism and to realise the ideals of socialism and the Labour movement, manifested itself immediately in that this " third international association of working men " has to a certain extent **become identical with the League of Socialistic " Soviet " Republics.**

The First International laid the basis of the international struggle of the proletariat for socialism.

The Second International marked a period of preparation,

a period in which the soil was tilled with a view to the widest possible propagation of the movement in many of the countries.

The Third International has garnered the fruit of the labours of the Second International, casting off the refuse of its opportunist, social-chauvinistic, bourgeois and lower-middle-class tendencies, and has set out to **achieve the dictatorship of the proletariat.**

The international union of parties directing the most revolutionary movement of the world, namely, the movement of the proletariat to throw off the yoke of capitalism, has the inestimable advantage of resting upon a basis of unprecedented solidity: on a number of "**Soviet**" **Republics** who are in a position to bring about on an international scale, the dictatorship of the proletariat and its victory over capitalism.

The importance of the Third Communist International in the world's history is, that it was the first to put into life the greatest of all Marx's principles, the principle summarising the process of the development of socialism and the Labour movement, and expressed in the words, the dictatorship of the proletariat.

This prescience, which only a genius could possess, this theory, which only a genius could conceive, has now become a reality.

These words have now been translated into all the languages of modern Europe, nay, into every language under the sun.

A new era in the world's history has begun.

Mankind is throwing off slavery in its last surviving form: the slavery of wage earners oppressed by capitalism.

Mankind is throwing off its yoke, and it is, for the first time in its existence, achieving real freedom.

How could it come to pass, that the first country to bring about the dictatorship of the proletariat and to form a Soviet Republic, was one of the most backward countries in all Europe? It would not be misconstruing the facts to say that this striking contrast between Russia's backwardness and its sudden leap, over the head of the bourgeois democracy, to the highest form of democracy, the soviet or proletarian democracy, was one of the causes which (leaving aside the fact that most socialist leaders are still influenced by opportunist habits and middle-class prejudices) rendered it difficult for Western peoples to understand the role played by the soviets in Russia.

The working masses throughout the world instinctively

appreciated the value of the Soviets as a weapon in their struggle with capitalism, and also as a form of the proletarian State. The "leaders," however, demoralised as they are by their opportunist methods, still continue to worship "bourgeois democracy," and call this "general democracy."

Small wonder that the dictatorship of the proletariat, when put into practice, disclosed first of all a glaring "contradiction" between the backwardness of Russia and its "leap" **over the head** of the bourgeois democracy? It would have indeed been wonderful, had history made us the free gift of a **new** form of democracy **unattended by any** contradictions.

Any Marxist, nay, any one conversant with modern science, if asked whether he believed in the probability of a uniform, harmonious and perfectly-proportioned transition of various capitalist countries to the dictatorship of the proletariat, would undoubtedly answer that question in the negative. In the capitalist world, there had never been any room for uniformity, harmony and perfect proportions. Every country, has brought into prominence now one, then another feature, or features of capitalism, and of the labour movement. The rate of development has been varied.

While France was going through its great middle-class revolution and opening vistas of a new historical life to the whole continent of Europe, England found itself at the head of the counter-revolutionary coalition, although it was far more advanced than France from the point of view of capitalism. The English Labour movement of the period, had, by a flash of intuition, arrived at some of the conclusions of latter-day Marxism.

At the time that was giving the world the first vast, politically-organised movement of revolutionary proletarians, Chartism, ineffective middle-class revolutions were taking place in various countries in Europe, and France was witnessing the first great civil war between the middle classes and the proletariat. The middle classes defeated the disjointed national battalions of proletarians one by one, using different methods in each country.

England offers a striking instance of a country, where, in the words of Engels, the middle-classes, acting in combination with an aristocracy gradually merging into the upper middle-class have created an upper stratum of the proletariat most akin to the middle-classes. That advanced capitalist country was, as far as the revolutionary struggle was concerned, several decades behind more backward countries. The proletariat of France seemed to have exhausted its

strength in the two heroic risings of the working class against the bourgeoisie in 1848 and 1871, the importance of which in the world's history cannot be overrated. In the seventies, *i.e.*, at a time when Germany was economically behind France and England, the supremacy in the international Labour movement passed into her hands. When, however, Germany had outdistanced those two countries in the economic race, *i.e.*, in the second decade of the twentieth century, the world-renowned party of German Marxists was headed by a gang of abominable rogues, by a band of scoundrels who had sold themselves to the capitalists, by Scheidemann and Noske, by David and Legien, the most villainous hangmen that were ever used against the working-men by monarchy and counter-revolutionary middle-classes.

The course of the world's history inevitably points to the dictatorship of the proletariat, but its course is far from being straight, smooth or simple.

At a time when Karl Kautsky was still a Marxist, and not the renegade he became when he joined Scheidemann in his struggle for unity with bourgeois democracy in its fight against the proletarian or Soviet democracy, he wrote (at the very beginning of the twentieth-century) an article entitled "The Slavs and the Revolution." In that article he drew attention to such historic conditions as were pointing to the possibility of the supremacy in the international Labour movement passing into the hands of the Slavonic nations.

Now this has come true. For a time—certainly for a very short time—the supremacy in the proletarian revolutionary International belongs to the Russians, as it did, in various periods of the nineteenth century, belong successfully to the English, the French and the Germans.

I must repeat here what I have said many times: it was easier for the Russians, than for any of the advanced nations, to **begin** the great proletarian revolution, but they will experience greater difficulties in **continuing it**, in bringing it to a complete victory, *i.e.*, in organising the socialist society.

It was easier for us to begin, firstly because the extraordinary backwardness of the Tsarist regime resulted in an unprecedented violence of the revolutionary assault of the masses. Secondly, the backwardness of Russia had, in a manner peculiar to that country, merged the proletarian revolution directed against the bourgeoisie into the peasants' revolution directed against the landlords. We began at that point in October, 1917, and our victory would not have been such an easy one, had we started from any other point. As early as 1856, Marx, in speaking of Prussia, pointed to the

possibility of revolutionary proletarians joining hands with revolutionary peasants. Ever since the beginning of 1905, the Bolsheviks had upheld the idea of the revolutionary dictatorship of the proletariat and of the peasants. Thirdly, the revolution of 1905 proved an excellent political training ground for the working and peasant masses, both in bringing home to the most advanced amongst them the "latest in Western socialism" and in educating them in revolutionary action. But for the "dress rehearsal" of 1905, the revolutions of 1917, both the middle-class one in February, and the proletarian one, in October, would have been out of the question. Fourthly, the geographic conditions of Russia enabled it to hold out for a longer time than this was possible in other countries, against the seeming superiority of advanced capitalist countries. Fifthly, the peculiar interrelations of the proletariat and the peasants facilitated the transition from a middle-class revolution to a socialist one in affording facilities for the urban proletarians to influence the poorest stratum of peasantry. Sixthly, the lessons taught by many years of struggle by means of strikes, and the experience of the Labour movement in Europe, combined with an extremely difficult and acute revolutionary situation, contributed to the springing up of that peculiar and unprecedented form of revolutionary organisations—the soviets (workmen's, soldiers' and peasants' councils).

This list is, of course, far from complete. But we may stop at that.

The soviets or proletarian democracy has come to life in Russia. As compared with the Commune of Paris, this is the second step of paramount importance in the history of the world. The Soviet Republic of proletarians and peasants has proved to be the first stable and lasting socialistic republic. As a **form of state organisation** it can no longer die. It no longer stands alone.

A great deal, a very great deal is still required to bring to completion the constructive work of socialism. Such soviet republics as may be formed in countries more civilised than Russia, in countries where the proletariat carries more weight and has a greater influence, have all the chances of out-distancing Russia, provided they firmly adhere to the dictatorship of the proletariat.

The Second International, that has proved a signal failure, is now dying a natural death, and the period of putrefaction has already set in. It is now acting as a henchman to the international bourgeoisie. It may truly be termed the Yellow International. Its most prominent leaders, such as Kautsky, are now glorifying the middle-class democracy,

which they call "general democracy," or—which is still more absurd and more coarse—"pure democracy."

Middle-class democracy is dead, as dead as the Second International, although it did perform a very useful and historically inevitable task at a time when the preparation of the working masses for socialism within the limits of middle-class democracy was the order of the day.

The most democratic middle class republic has never been and cannot be anything else but a machine for the oppression of labour by capital, a political weapon of capitalism, anything but the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie. The democratic middle class republic promised to give the power to the majority, but the principle so proclaimed could never be put into practice as long as the land and other instruments of production were objects of private ownership.

"Freedom," in the interpretation of the middle-class democratic republic was reserved **for the wealthy**. The proletarians and the peasants could and ought to have utilised it for collecting their forces with a view to the ultimate overthrowing of capitalism and the annihilation of middle-class democracy, but they could not, as a rule, **actually enjoy** the benefits of democracy under the capitalist state organisation.

This is the very first time that the soviet or proletarian democracy has created a **democracy** for the masses, for the toilers, for the working men and the poorest peasants.

Never in the history of mankind had the **majority** of the population wielded political power **as completely** as it does under the soviet republic.

The soviet republic suppresses the "freedom" of employers of sweated labour, of profiteers and their abettors; it prevents them from exploiting the working classes and from making fortunes out of starving people; it suppresses their "freedom" to join forces with the bourgeoisie of other countries against the workmen and peasants at home.

Let people like Kautsky defend such a freedom. No one but a renegade of Marxism, a renegade of Socialism would uphold that kind of liberty.

The most striking manifestation of the failure of the leaders of the Second International, such as Hilferding and Kautsky, lies in their utter inability to grasp the importance of the soviet, or proletarian democracy, to understand its relation to the Paris Commune, and to assign to it its proper place in history, or to recognise its necessity as one of the forms of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

No. 74 of the German periodical "Die Freiheit," which

voices the opinions of the so-called "independent" (a misnomer for bourgeois, lower middle class) democracy, published on 11th February, 1919, contains an "Appeal to the Revolutionary Proletariat of Germany.

The appeal is signed by the committee of the Party and by the whole of its fraction at the "National Assembly," a counterpart of our own contemptible "Constituent."

That appeal accuses the Scheidemanns of a tendency to do away with the soviets and suggests—that is not a jest—to **combine** the soviets with the National Assembly, by conferring upon the former certain political rights and giving them a definite place in the Constitution.

To reconcile the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie with the dictatorship of the proletariat. How simple! What an ingeniously philistine idea.

What a pity it has already been tried in Russia under Kerenski by the united Mensheviks and Socialists-Revolutionaries, those middle class democrats who deem themselves the exponents of true Socialism.

Any one who, in reading Marx, has failed to grasp the fact that in capitalist society, any moment of acute struggle, any serious collision between the classes, may result in either the dictatorship of the proletariat, or the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie, has utterly misunderstood both the economic and the political doctrines of Marx.

The sublime suggestion of the bourgeois-minded Messrs. Hilferding, Kautsky & Co., as to the peaceful co-existence of the dictatorship of the proletariat and the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie calls for special analysis, if all the economic and political fallacies heaped up in that most remarkable and most preposterous appeal of the 11th February, are to be fully discussed. This will be dealt with in another article.

N. LENIN.

Moscow, 15th of April, 1919.

MANIFESTO

re First Congress of the Communist International

DEAR COMRADES,

The undersigned parties or organisations are of the opinion that the first congress of the new revolutionary International must be convened without fail. In the period of war and revolution it has not only become evident that the old Socialist and Social-Democratic parties, and with them the Second International, are bankrupt and that the intermediate elements of the old Social Democracy (the so-called "centre") are totally unfit for revolutionary actions, **but the idea of a truly revolutionary international assumed concrete form.** The rapid progress of world revolution, with its new problems, the danger threatening this revolution from the capitalist States, which organise themselves against the revolution under the hypocritical device "People's Union," the attempts of the parties of the social traitors to come to an understanding, and having "amnestied" each other, to help their governments and bourgeoisies to deceive once more the working class, and finally, the accumulated revolutionary experience and internationalisation of the trend of revolution induce us to take upon ourselves the initiative for placing on the agenda the discussion of the convocation of an international congress of revolutionary proletarian parties.

1.—AIMS AND TACTICS.

We are of the opinion that the new International must be based on the recognition of the following regulations, brought forward here as a platform and elaborated on the principles of the programme of the "Spartacus Bund" in Germany, and the **Communist Party** (Bolshevik) in Russia.*

1.—We are living in the epoch of the disintegration and collapse of the world capitalist system, which will also mean the collapse of European culture, unless capitalism with its insoluble contradictions be destroyed.

2.—At this juncture the immediate task of the proletariat is seizure of power, and seizure of State power means

* The programme of the "Spartacus Bund" is explained in its publication, "The Aims of the Spartacus Bund," and will be published by us in all the most important languages.

the destruction of the bourgeois State apparatus and the establishment of a new proletarian government apparatus.

3.—This new apparatus must embody the dictatorship of the proletariat (and in some countries also of the semi-proletariat of the countryside, viz. : the poorest peasantry). This means that the new apparatus must be a weapon for the systematic suppression of the exploiting classes, and for their expropriation. Not a false bourgeois democracy (which is nothing but a hypocritical form of the supremacy of a finance oligarchy) with its purely formal equality, but a proletarian democracy capable of emancipating the toiling masses not parliamentary but autonomy for these masses through their electoral organs, not capitalist bureaucracy, but administrative organs set up by the masses themselves and genuine participation of these masses in the government of the country and in Socialist construction—such is the type of a proletarian State. The power of soviets or similar organisations must be its concrete form.

4.—The dictatorship of the proletariat must be the lever for the immediate expropriation of the capitalist classes, the abolition of private property and the socialisation of the means of production. Socialisation (namely, the abolition of private property and its transference to the proletarian State and to the Socialist administration of the working class) of big industry with its organising centres and of banks, confiscation of landowners' estates and socialisation of capitalist agricultural production, monopolisation of big trade, socialisation of large houses in towns and on estates, introduction of workers' administration and centralisation of economic functions in the organs of proletarian dictatorship—such are the main immediate tasks.

5.—In order to safeguard the Socialist revolution, and to protect it from inside and outside enemies, and in order to assist other national sections of the struggling proletariat, etc., it is essential to disarm the bourgeoisie and its agents and to arm the entire proletariat.

6. The present world situation demands the closest possible contact between the various sections of the revolutionary proletariat and the establishment of a bloc of countries where the Socialist revolution has already been victorious.

7.—The chief methods of struggle are mass actions of the proletariat inclusive of open collisions of the armed masses with the forces of the capitalist State.

2.—ATTITUDE TOWARDS THE “SOCIALIST” PARTIES.

8.—The old “International” has split into three fundamental groups: unashamed Social-Chauvinists who, during the imperialist war (1914-18), supported their bourgeoisie and converted the working class into executioners of the international revolution, the “Centre” with Kautsky as its theoretical leader, which is an organisation consisting of unstable elements incapable of following any definite line and frequently turning traitor. Finally, there is the Left revolutionary wing.

9.—As to the Social Chauvinists, who in every crisis take everywhere armed action against the proletarian revolution, relentless struggle is the only weapon against them. With regard to the “Centre” its leaders must be mercilessly criticised and exposed and efforts must be made to induce its more revolutionary elements to secede from it. When a definite stage of development has been reached, a systematic separation from the centrists is essential.

10.—On the other hand, it is essential to form a bloc with those elements of the workers’ revolutionary movement which (without having been members of Socialist parties) are now in favour of proletarian dictatorship in the form of Soviet rule.

11. Finally, it is essential to bring forward all proletarian groups and organisations which, although not openly adhering to the Left revolutionary movement, are nevertheless tending that way in the trend of their development.

12.—Our concrete proposal is that the following parties, groups and tendencies participate in the congress (only parties (not groups) which fully adopt the platform of the Third International can be full fledged adherents of the latter):—

- 1, The Spartacus Bund (Germany);
- 2, The Communist Party (Bolshevik) (Russia);
- 3, The Communist Party, of German Austria;
- 4, ditto of Hungary;
- 5, ditto of Poland;
- 6, ditto of Finland;
- 7, ditto of Esthonia;
- 8, ditto in Latvia;
- 9, ditto in Lithuania;
- 10, ditto of White Russia;
- 11, ditto of Ukraine;
- 12, the revolutionary elements of the Czech Social-Democratic Party;
- 13, Bulgarian Social-Democratic Party (Tessniaki);
- 14, The Roumanian Social-Democratic Party;
- 15, The Left Wing of the Serbian Social-Democratic Party;
- 16, The Swedish Left Social-Democrats;
- 17, The Norwegian Social Democratic Party;
- 18, The “Class Struggle” Group in Denmark;
- 19, The Dutch Communist Party;
- 20, The revolutionary elements of the

Belgium Workers' Party; 21, 22, the groups and organisations within the Socialist and Syndicalist movement in France solidarising with Comrade Lorient on fundamental points; 23, the Swiss Left Social-Democrats; 24, The Italian Socialist Party; 25, the Left elements of the Spanish Socialist Party; 26, the Left elements of the Portuguese Socialist Party; 27, The British Socialist Party (especially the tendency represented by Comrade MacLean); 28, the Socialist Workers' Party (England); 29, the Industrial Workers of the World (England); 30, L.W. (?) of Great Britain; 31, the revolutionary elements of the shop stewards' movement (Great Britain); 32, the revolutionary elements of Irish Workers' organisations; 33, The Socialist Labour Party (America); 34, the Left elements of the American Socialist Party (especially the tendencies represented by Debs and by the League of Socialist Propaganda); 35, the I.W.W. (America); 36, The I.W.W. (Australia); 37, The Workers' International Industrial Union (America); 38, the Socialist groups of Tokio and Yokohama (represented by Comrade Katayama); 39, The Young Socialist International (represented by Comrade Munzenberg).

THE ORGANISATIONAL QUESTION AND THE NAME OF THE PARTY.

13.—As there are already in various parts of Europe groups and organisations of people holding the same views, accepting a common platform and using, on the whole, the same tactical methods, a basis for the Third International exists. The foremost of such organisations are—the Spartacus Bund in Germany and the Communist Parties in a number of other countries.

14.—The congress must establish a common fighting organ—a centre of the Communist International for the systematic guidance and continuous co-ordination of the movement, which will subordinate the interests of the movement in separate countries to the common interests of the international revolution. The concrete forms of the organisation, the representative organs, etc., will be elaborated by the congress.

15.—The congress must assume the name of the First Congress of the Communist International, the various parties becoming its sections. Theoretically, already Marx and Engels considered the name "Social Democracy" not correct. The shameful collapse of the Social Democratic "International" necessitates, on this point, too, definite separation from it. Finally, the fundamental kernel of this

great movement embodies already a number of parties which have adopted this name.

In view of the above statement, we propose to all brother parties and organisations to place on their agenda the discussion of the convocation of the International Communist Congress.

With fraternal greetings :

1. The Central Committee of the Russian Communist Party (Lenin, Trotsky).
2. The Foreign Bureau of the Polish Communist Workers' Party (Karsky).
3. The Foreign Bureau of the Hungarian Communist Party (Rudniansky).
4. The Foreign Bureau of the Austro-German Communist Party (Duda).
5. The Russian Bureau of the Central Committee of the Lettish Communist Party (Rosin).
6. The Central Committee of the Finnish Communist Party (Sirola).
7. The Executive Committee of the Balkan Revolutionary Social Democratic Federation (Rakovsky).
8. On behalf of the Socialist Labour Party (America) (Reinstein).



Conditions of Admission to the Communist International

THE First Constituent Congress of the Communist International did not draw up any precise conditions for admission to the Third International. At the moment of the convocation of the First Congress in the majority of countries, only Communist *currents* and groups existed.

The Second World Congress of the Communist International is convening under different conditions. At the present moment in most countries there are not only Communist tendencies and groups, but Communist *parties* and *organisations*.

The Communist International more and more frequently receives applications from parties and groups, but a short time ago belonging to the Second International, and now desirous of joining the Third International, but not yet really Communists. The Second International is completely broken. Seeing the complete hopelessness of the Second International, the intermediary factions and the groups of the "centre" are trying to lean on the ever-strengthening Communist International, hoping at the same time, however, to preserve a certain autonomy which should enable them to carry on their former opportunist or centrist policy. The Communist International has become the fashion.

The desire of certain leading groups of the "centre" to join the Third International now is an indirect confirmation of the fact that the Third International has acquired the sympathy of the majority of conscious workers of the whole world, and that it is growing stronger every day.

The Communist International is being threatened with the danger of dilution by the fluctuating and half and half groups which have as yet not abandoned the ideology of the Second International.

It must be mentioned that in some of the large parties (Italy, Sweden, Norway, Yugo-Slavia, etc.), the majority of which adhere to the point of view of Communism, there are up to this moment considerable reformist and social-pacifist

wings which are only awaiting the moment to revive and to begin an active sabotage of the proletarian revolution, and thus assist the bourgeoisie and the Second International.

No Communist should forget the lessons of the Hungarian Soviet Republic.

The unity between the Hungarian Communists and the so-called Left Social Democrats cost the Hungarian Proletariat very much.

In view of this, the Second World Congress finds it necessary to establish most definite conditions for the admission of new parties, as well as to point out to such parties as have already joined the Communist International those duties which are laid upon them.

The Second Congress of the Communist International rules that the conditions for joining the Communist International shall be as follows :—

1.—The general propaganda and agitation should bear a really Communist character and should correspond to the programme and decisions of the Third International. The entire party press should be edited by reliable Communists who have proven their loyalty to the cause of the proletarian revolution. The dictatorship of the proletariat should not be spoken of simply as a current hackneyed formula, it should be advocated to every rank and file working man and woman, to each soldier and peasant, and should emanate from every day facts systematically recorded by our press day by day.

All periodical and other publications, as well as all Party publications and editions must be subject to the control of the presidium of the Party, independently of whether the Party is legal or illegal. It should in no way be permitted that the editors abuse their autonomy and carry on a policy not fully corresponding to the policy of the party.

2.—Every organisation desiring to join the Communist International shall be bound systematically and regularly to remove from all the responsible posts in the Labour movement (Party organisation, editors, labour unions, parliamentary faction, co-operatives, municipalities, etc.) all reformists and followers of the "centre" and to have them replaced by Communists even at the cost of replacing at the beginning "experienced" men by rank and file working men.

3.—The class struggle in almost every country of Europe and America is entering upon the phase of civil war. Under such conditions, the Communists can have no confidence in bourgeois laws. They should create everywhere a parallel illegal apparatus which, at the decisive moment should do its

duty by the Party, and in every way possible assist the revolution. In every country where in consequence of martial law or of other exceptional laws the Communists are unable to carry on their work lawfully, a combination of lawful and illegal work is absolutely necessary.

4.—A persistent and systematic propaganda and agitation is necessary in the army where Communist groups should be formed in every military organisation. Wherever owing to repressive legislation, this becomes impossible, it is necessary to carry on such agitation illegally. But refusal to carry on or participate in such work should be considered equal to treason to the revolutionary cause and incompatible with affiliation to the Third International.

5.—A systematic and regular propaganda is necessary in the rural districts. The workers can gain no victory unless they possess the sympathy and support of at least part of the rural workers and of the poor peasants, and unless other sections of the population are neutralised. Communist work in the rural districts is acquiring a predominant importance during the present period. It should be carried on through Communist workmen of both city and country who have connections with the rural districts. To refuse to do this work or to transfer such work to untrustworthy half-reformists, is equal to rejection of the proletarian revolution.

6.—Every party desirous of affiliating to the Third International should renounce not only avowed social patriotism, but also the falsehood and the hypocrisy of social pacifism; it should systematically demonstrate to the workers that without a revolutionary overthrow of capitalism no international arbitration, no talk of disarmament, no democratic reorganisation of the League of Nations will be capable of saving mankind from new imperialist wars.

7.—Parties desirous of joining the Communist International must recognise the necessity of a complete and absolute rupture with reformism and the policy of the "centrists," and must advocate this rupture amongst the widest circles of the Party membership, without which condition a consistent Communist policy is impossible. The Communist International demands unconditionally and peremptorily that such rupture be brought about with the least possible delay. The Communist International cannot reconcile itself to the fact that such avowed reformists as for instance, Turatti, Modigliani, Kautsky, Hillquit, Longuet, MacDonald and others should be entitled to consider themselves members of the Third International. This would make the Third International resemble the Second International.

8.—In the Colonial question and that of the oppressed nationalities there is necessary an especially distinct and clear line of conduct of the parties of countries where the bourgeoisie possesses such colonies or oppresses other nationalities. Every party desirous of belonging to the Third International should be bound to denounce without any reserve, all the methods of "its own" imperialists in the colonies, supporting not only in words but practically, all movements of liberation in the colonies. It should demand the expulsion of its own imperialists from such colonies and cultivate among the workers of its country a truly fraternal attitude towards the working population of the colonies and oppressed nationalities, and carry on a systematic agitation in its own army against every kind of oppression of the colonial population.

9.—Every party desirous of belonging to the Communist International should be bound to carry on systematic and persistent Communist work in the labour unions, co-operatives and other labour organisations of the masses. It is necessary to form Communist groups within these organisations which by persistent and lasting work should win over the labour unions to Communism. These groups should constantly denounce the treachery of the social patriots and of the fluctuations of the "centre." These Communist groups should be completely subordinated to the party in general.

10.—Any party belonging to the Communist International is bound to carry on a stubborn struggle against the Amsterdam "International" of the yellow Labour Unions. It should propagate insistently amongst the organised workers the necessity of a rupture with the yellow Amsterdam International. It should support by all means in its power the International of Red Labour Unions adhering to the Communist International.

11.—Parties desirous of joining the Third International shall be bound to inspect the personnel of their parliamentary factions, to remove all unreliable elements therefrom, to control such factions not only verbally, but in reality, to subordinate them to the Central Committee of the Party, and to demand from each proletarian Communist that he devote his entire activity to the interests of real revolutionary propaganda.

12.—All the parties belonging to the Communist International should be formed on the basis of the principle of democratic *centralisation*. At the present time of acute civil war the Communist Party will only be able fully to do its duty when it is organised in a sufficiently thorough way, when it possesses an iron discipline and when its Party

centre enjoys the confidence of the members of the Party, who are to endow this centre with complete power, authority and ample rights.

13.—The Communist Parties of those countries where Communist activity is legal should make a clearance of their members from time to time, as well as those of the Party organisations, in order systematically to disembarass the Party from the petty bourgeois elements which penetrate into it.

14.—Each party desirous of affiliating to the Communist International should be obliged to render every possible assistance to the Soviet Republics in their struggle against all counter-revolutionary forces. The Communist Party should carry on a precise and a definite propaganda to induce the workers to refuse to transport any kind of military equipment intended for fighting against Soviet Republics, and should also by legal or illegal means carry on propaganda among troops sent against Workers' Republics, etc.

15.—All those parties which up to the present moment have stood upon the old social-democratic programmes should within the shortest time possible draw up a new Communist programme in conformity with the special conditions of their country, and in accordance with the resolutions of the Communist International. As a rule the programme of each party belonging to the Communist International should be confirmed by the next Congress of the Communist International or its Executive Committee. In the event of the failure of the programme of any party being confirmed by the Executive Committee of the Communist International, the said party shall be entitled to appeal to the Congress of the Communist international.

16.—All the resolutions of the Congresses of the Communist International, as well as the resolutions of the Executive Committee, are binding for all parties joining the Communist International. The Communist International, operating under the conditions of most acute civil warfare, should be centralised in a better manner than was the Second International. At the same time, the Communist International and the Executive Committee are, naturally, bound in every form of their activity to consider the variety of conditions under which the different parties have to work and struggle, and generally binding resolutions should be passed only on such questions upon which such resolutions are possible.

17.—In connection with the above, all parties desiring to

join the Communist International should change their names. Each party desirous of joining the Communist International should bear the following name: *Communist Party* of such and such a country (branch of the Third Communist International). The question of the naming of a party is not only a formal one, but one of great importance. The Communist International has declared a decisive war against the entire bourgeois world, and all the yellow Social Democratic parties. It is indispensable that every rank and file worker should be able clearly to distinguish between the Communist Parties, and the old official "Social Democratic" or "Socialist" parties, which have betrayed the cause of the working class.

18. All the leading organs of the press of the parties of every party are bound to publish all the most important documents of the Executive Committee of the Communist International.

19. All those parties which have joined the Communist International as well as those which have expressed a desire to do so are obliged in as short a space of time as possible, and in no case later than four months after the Second Congress of the Communist International, to convene an Extraordinary Congress in order to discuss these conditions. In addition to this the Central Committees of these parties should take care to acquaint all the local organisations with the regulations of the Second Congress of the Communist International.

20.—All those parties which at the present time are willing to join the Third International, but have so far not changed their tactics in any radical manner, should, prior to their joining the Third International, take care that not less than two-thirds of their Committees, members and of all their Central Institutions should be composed of comrades who have made an open and definite declaration prior to the convening of the Second Congress as to their desire that the party should affiliate to the Third International. Exclusions are permitted only with the confirmation of the Executive Committee of the Third International. The Executive Committee of the Communist International has the right to make an exception also for the representatives of the "centre" as mentioned in paragraph 7.

21.—Those members of the Party who reject on principle the conditions and the theses of the Third International, are to be excluded from the Party.

This applies also to the delegates at Extraordinary Conventions of the Party.

FIVE YEARS !

FIVE years.

How brief a period, and how much accomplished !

With the end of the imperialist war a critical moment for the power of the bourgeoisie began—demobilisation. In place of the martial songs of disciplined battalions marching under their generals and stupefied by the patriotic Social-Democrats, the turbulent sounds of the Internationale swept across the countries affected by the war, pouring from the breasts of millions of workers and peasants who had at last rebelled against the crimes of capitalism, and were ready to fight for its overthrow.

The great fight for freedom was kindled, not in Russia alone, where it led to the victorious October revolution—the greatest revolution the world has ever seen—but throughout all Europe. It was not confined to the vanquished countries, but spread to the victorious countries also. The whole world was transformed into a turbulent sea.

Once again the Social Democrats undertook to preserve the mastery of capital, but their perfidious work met with an obstacle. On the waves of the seething revolutionary struggle appeared a new international proletarian organisation, capable of directing the fighting masses against the disorganised and debilitated international bourgeoisie—the **third Communist International**.

The Communist International was born on Soviet soil, in the great fatherland of the Russian proletariat, the first to raise the victorious red banner over the most powerful stronghold of international reaction. It was the child of the revolt of the workers against the power of the oppressors and exploiters of the world.

Around this banner the fighting battalions of the proletariat began to rally, and the workers of Bavaria and Hungary rushed to the attack. This flaming call to battle penetrated to all corners of the earth, and wherever slavery and plunder hold sway it awoke the oppressed and despoiled.

The Communist International roused to the struggle the slaves of all continents and oceans, all tongues, religions, and nationalities—roused them to break the iron chains with which international capitalism has fettered the world.

The struggle now begun is the greatest of all struggles and opens a new era in the history of humanity. It is far from being finished—it is only in its first stages. It will continue long. It has already known victory and defeat. The world revolution will be strengthened in one place and weakened in another, only to rise again with new and increased strength. Thus, conquering one position after another, retreating temporarily only to gather new strength and to reunite ranks shattered by defeat, attacking again with still greater force, the oppressed classes and peoples of all the world, led by the Communist International, will gradually crush the power of international capitalism and so abolish slavery and exploitation forever.

V. KOLAROV.

February 19th, 1924.

UNDER THE LEADERSHIP OF THE INTERNATIONAL.

The fifth anniversary of the Communist International is a reminder to the French Communist Party that its progress has been very slow. It is barely 12 months ago that it emerged from its preparatory period. No one is at fault in this, unless it be the social and political state of France. A working class deceived by half-a-century of "bourgeois democracy" does not part with its illusions all in a day. A Socialist party corrupted by 10 years of opportunism, does not enter upon the revolutionary path without perturbation.

Therefore, it was all the time necessary for the Communist International to put first the French Communist Party into shape, then to free it from unsuitable elements, and finally to bring it to its present comparative state of perfection. World congresses and enlarged executives were frequently obliged to summon "the French question" before their sovereign and fraternal tribunal.

The First Congress, through the mouth of Lenin, pointed out the "centrist" tendency of Longuet and thereby indicated the true revolutionaries; in France the "Committee of the Third International" became the first nucleus of Communism. The Second Congress, by introducing the 21 conditions, allowed the bulk of the former Socialist Party to adhere, in all consciousness, to the Communist International which is an indispensable condition for the formation of a great party and not of a sect. In France, the Tours Congress put an end to the fatal union with the reformists and semi-reformists, and established the Communist Party. The material was good, but many impurities managed to get into it: it became frequently the task of the sessions of the Executive Committee of the Communist International to help to eliminate them. The Enlarged Executive of February, 1922, issued the slogan of the United Front with the object of grouping all the workers against the capitalist offensive. The French Communist Party was a long time making up its mind as to the usefulness of this mode of struggle. Finally,

the Fourth Congress issued an order prohibiting Communists to have anything to do with bourgeois organisations, and demanding the proletarianisation of the Party. In France, the Communist Party was purged of politicians of the type of Verfeuil and Frossard, and became at last homogeneous, united and acceptable for revolutionary workers.

Such are the phases traversed by the French Communist Party at the bidding of the Communist International.

To-day, the French Communist Party is of age. It has no longer enemies within its ranks. It has still something to learn from the Communist International concerning doctrine, organisation and tactics. But, instead of owing everything to the Communist International, it will henceforth bring to it its real strength and its own initiative. In fact, it will be an active member of the International.

P. PASCAL.

UNDER THE SIGN OF THE SICKLE AND HAMMER.

In 1914 the Italian Socialist Party opposed the war and without any hesitation severed connection with the Second social-patriotic International. When the first attempts were made in 1914 to establish a new international workers' organisation in Zimmerwald and Kienthal, the Italian Socialist Party sent there its representatives—Serrati, the uncompromising Left-winger, and Modigliani, the avowed reformist. At the conclusion of the war, the Italian Socialist Party declared officially in 1919 its determination to adhere to the Communist International. In 1920, the amalgamated reformists and Maximalists sent a delegation to the Second Congress of the Third International, and in 1921 at the Leghorn Congress, one of the main reasons which induced the amalgamated Communist fraction not to sever connection with the reformist fraction, was the desire expressed by the latter to remain faithful to the principles and program of the Communist International. It was only in October, 1922, after the split of the Socialist Party and the formation of a separate reformist party, that the Second International obtained an Italian section. This ended a prolonged period during which the Third International had the monopoly of the guidance of the Italian proletariat.

This extraordinary state of affairs in Italy naturally helped to strengthen the respect and the enthusiasm of the workers for the Communist International. During the entire period, from the beginning of the war to the beginning of 1922, the great influence of the Communist International made itself felt in all the events of Italian social life. At the election of 1919 the Socialist Party won a victory under the sign of the sickle and hammer, which was subsequently introduced on the fronts of all People's Palaces, all municipalities captured by the Communists and on the banners of all Associations. The revolutionary wave, which subsequently found its expression in the struggle against the high cost of living, in the military rebellion in Ancona, and in the seizure of factories, brought home to the Italian workers the adequacy of the guidance of the Communist International which was brought into life by the tide of the first victorious proletarian revolution, and which will be finally consolidated after the second victory, which everyone in Italy foresees and expects.

The blunders of the Italian Socialist Party and the rapid growth of fascism damped the enthusiasm of the Italian proletariat, but the Third Communist International has not lost its authority and influence. The crisis of 1921, which split the old workers' party, and the subsequent brutalities perpetrated on Italian workers, have only strengthened the faith in the Communist International. The Italian Socialist Party, not wishing to remain in the ranks of the Communist International, did not have the courage to say so openly for fear of losing the goodwill of the masses. Fascists called all their enemies, viz., the enemies of capitalism and its dictatorship, by the common appellation "Communists." Both of them only succeeded in strengthening the belief of the masses that the Communist International is the only revolutionary organisation in the world.

At present the disintegration of the Socialist Party is nearing completion, which means that this party will disappear from the Italian political arena. The first signs of the weakening of the fascist regime encourage the belief in a revival of the proletarian movement in the near future. One can safely say that in this revival the masses will group themselves only around the Italian section of the Third International. The year 1918-19 is bound to repeat itself. The majority of the working class wants to march under the banner of the sickle and hammer. After the terrible lessons of these last years, the Communist International will have to lead again the Italian proletariat into the struggle.

U. TERRACCINI (Italy).

THE COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL AND THE AMERICAN MOVEMENT.

Since the organisation of the two Communist Parties in the United States in September, 1919, the Communist International has been called upon to intervene several times. Until August, 1922, the Communist movement in America was generally split, for the unity conventions which took place resulted in a rapid severance of relations. The action of the Executive Committee of the Communist International has been rather too mild than severe, as is claimed by some comrades. Undoubtedly had the Communist International used the strong hand that is necessary in order to have a firm, well-disciplined International, the American movement would have been spared years of internecine warfare, counting many victims.

Through the efforts of the Comintern, after the Communist convention in 1922, the Communist forces were firmly welded together, a condition that is primary to effective revolutionary work.

The necessity of open work was clear to the American comrades, but the raids in January, 1920, which drove the parties underground, had terrified them to such a degree, that they could not conceive of the possibility of having an open party, capable of meeting the demands of the movement at the present time. Not that the American Communists have any illusions as to the "freedom" that the American bourgeoisie will grant them for their revolutionary activity. The American Communists are fully conscious that they must be prepared at any time for a foul blow to be struck—a blow that will be directed not only against the Communists, but against all revolutionary and even progressive workers. The American bourgeoisie is aggressive and brutal and cares little for its own laws; and American "democracy" bears so many of the open earmarks of a sheer dictatorship, that "civil rights" will be revoked without a moment's notice, whenever it serves the interests of the capitalist class. And the American bourgeoisie has a most obedient servant in its own government.

The establishment of the Workers' Party and its development as the successor to the Communist Party of America, have widened the vista of the Communist movement in the United States to a degree hardly conceived by the American

Communists. It has enabled them to get to the masses : it alone has made it possible for them to carry on the widespread propaganda that led to the organisation of the Federated Farmer Labour Party, a movement that will soon unite the many local and State Farmer Labour Parties, into a National Farmer Labour Party. The creation of this last-named party will be an event of tremendous importance in the history of the United States, and of eminent significance to the Communist movement. For it will be the first crystallization *on a mass scale*, of the growing class-consciousness of the American workers and working farmers, against which the capitalist class and the leaders of the reactionary trade unions and conservative farmers' organisations—in other words, Rockefeller, Gompers, Morgan, etc.—are working with feverish energy.

The Workers Party was the first to introduce the slogan of the "Workers' and Farmers' Government." Nevertheless the Communist International, recognising its great significance, clearly laid down the methods and tactics, varying with each country—and, at the same time, pointed out its dangers. Although the time is not yet ripe for a Workers' and Farmers' Government in the United States, the time is not so distant when it will become an issue—an issue dictated by the situation now arising in the United States. The experience in Saxony will be a lesson, a warning to the American Communists as to all Communists.

The necessity of close co-operation between the workers and farmers was first pointed out by Lenin. This applies to an industrial country like the United States, which still has a big farming population, even as it applies to Bulgaria, an agrarian country. The Bulgarian defeat has been the object lesson for all Parties. A clearer understanding has been inculcated, and the Workers' Party is now energetically proceeding to the organisation of the revolutionary farmers into the Party.

The United Front policy has been the basis for excellent results that the Communists have achieved on several fields, viz. : in the trade unions, in the defence of arrested comrades and in the relief of Soviet Russia. It will be the method employed for uniting the workers of America against the brutal measures that the bourgeoisie now intends to enact against the foreign-born workers. The United Front policy will also join the workers and militant farmers against the bold assaults of American imperialism on three continents.

Time and experience have demonstrated that, in all of its theses, the Communist International has been correct,

Based on its statutes of 21 points, the Communist International has created sections in all parts of the world. Only by means of a centrally directed, well-disciplined organisation, can the working class of the world fight against the international bourgeoisie and achieve victory. The Workers' Party adheres to the principles of the Communist International and under its leadership will free the workers and farmers of America from under the heel of American capitalism.

I. AMTER.

THE COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL AND THE BRITISH LABOUR MOVEMENT.

When the Communist International was founded in 1919, there was no Communist Party yet formed in Great Britain. Even at the Second Congress in 1920, the Party was only in process of formation, in fact it came into being during the session of the Second Congress in August, 1920, and immediately declared its adherence to the Communist International. Nevertheless, the influence of the Communist International right from its formation in March, 1919, was felt in Britain, not only amongst the class conscious fighters scattered through the weak Socialist sects and parties, and the shop stewards movement, but throughout large strata of the workers in Britain. The ghastly failure of the Second International and the participation in the British War Cabinet of its leaders like Henderson and the vacillating social pacifism of MacDonald and Snowden, prepared the minds of thousands of workers for a break with the fatal yellow policy of these leaders and their International.

The manifestoes and slogans of the Communist International were warmly welcomed, although at times misunderstood. The peculiar structure of the British Labour Party, the treachery of its leaders and the corruption of considerable sections of the skilled workers into a placid acceptance of bourgeois rule at home and oppressive exploitation of the colonies made, and still makes a difficult milieu for Communists to operate in.

One result of these circumstances was the division of what revolutionary and Communist elements there were into a variety of parties and sects, such as the B.S.P., with a revolutionary phraseology, and a lack of direct organisational contact with the masses of workers in factories and shops, which led it to lay too great stress on electoral and parliamentary activity, and even that not of a real revolutionary character.

The S.L.P., not so large in membership went to the opposite extreme and shut, bolted and barred the door against all who were not according to their lights, pure, unadulterated Marxians. Their members were prohibited from accepting office even in the trade unions, lest they should be con-

taminated. Nevertheless, objective conditions had made them strongest in the big industrial centres like the Clyde, Sheffield and Tyne-side, and they actually were a leading force in the strikes and disputes in these areas. They were not specifically anti-parliamentarian, but in elections were much more concerned about the purity of their doctrine than about the issues that were really capable of rallying the workers.

Then there were the definite anarchist and anti-parliamentary groups and the most promising and effective shop stewards' movement, which did very good work in conducting strikes and mass movements during the war period, and until the trade depression, which overtook British capitalism, gave the bosses the opportunity to sack the lot. Within the Independent Labour Party also, there were considerable numbers of proletarians who worked side by side with S.L.P'ers and shop stewards in the war period. These also were considerably influenced by the Communist International. So much so that their leaders were compelled to face the issue of Second or Third International. In fact, these leaders were compelled to break with the Second International, but craftily seeking to gain time, they addressed a series of 12 questions to the E.C. of Comintern as to the conditions of entry, the programme and tactics of the Third. To these questions specific and explicit answers were given, and not the slightest loophole was left for these opportunist leaders of the centre to gain entry unless they were prepared to shed their opportunism, which, of course, they had no intention of doing. These questions and answers when published were of the greatest service in the education of the British workers to the concrete differences between the Second and Third Internationals. At the second congress of Comintern, Britain was represented by delegates from B.S.P. from shop stewards and from anti-parliamentary groups and the differences which had prevented a real Communist Party from being formed earlier were thrashed out.

The principal differences were on the question of affiliation to the Labour Party and the role of the trade unions, and there can be no doubt that had it not been for the weight in influence of the Communist International, these questions would still be disrupting the revolutionaries in Britain.

As it was that influence succeeded in welding into one Communist Party, these variegated elements; it further succeeded in splitting off the adherents of the Third International from the reformist I.L.P. Now, with the advent of a Labour

Government, both the tactics and the criticism of the Communist International are fully justified. In a period of unprecedented depression and apathy on the part of the working class, it is not to be wondered at that the enthusiastic estimates given by the delegates to Comintern have had to be seriously revised, but there is no doubt that the Communist Party of Great Britain is now on the way to becoming a real mass party capable of leading the workers of Britain in the struggles that lie ahead of them. R.S.

THE BULGARIAN COMMUNIST PARTY AND THE COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL.

The Bulgarian Communist Party (formerly the party of "narrow" Socialists) which has always belonged to the extreme Left wing of the Second International, and been in absolute opposition to the official policy of that body, is carrying on a resolute struggle against opportunism in its own country. It was the first party to cut unhesitatingly all connections with the Second International when the latter committed its act of treachery at the outbreak of the world war, and to declare to the working masses of Bulgaria that that International was already dead as far as Socialism and the revolutionary struggle of the proletariat were concerned, and that the organisation of a real International for revolutionary action was essential. Realising this necessity clearly, the party took an active part in the Zimmerwald and Kienthal Conferences. When, at the beginning of 1919, the Russian Communist Party took the initiative in founding the Third International, action was also taken by the Bulgarian Communist Party, which participated directly in its founding.

When the statutes of Comintern were drawn up, the Bulgarian Communist Party took the position that the Communist International, in contradistinction to the opportunistic Socialist International, must not merely be a **free friendly combination of Communist parties**, but a single, truly **international Communist Party** with a compulsory international discipline and the widest rights of control over the activities and policies of its separate national sections.

In the course of its five years of existence, the Communist International has always enjoyed the unlimited confidence of and great authority over the ranks of the Bulgarian Communist Party and the wide masses of the workers and peasants in the country. This was made especially clear during the time of the disagreements between the Central Committee of the Bulgarian Communist Party and the Executive Committee of Comintern regarding the question of party tactics on June 9th. In spite of these differences the party was **unanimously** in favour of observing International discipline and submitting to the decision of Comintern. When the party had to choose between its own Central Committee, in which it had formerly had absolute faith, and the Executive Committee of Comintern, it unreservedly took the side of the latter. The confirmation of the soundness of the position of Comintern on June 9th, and the **complete recognition by the Central Committee of the mistake it then committed** still further increased and strengthened the authority of Comin-

tern, and gave further proof that the International must be a real International Communist Party, not satisfied with making merely general decisions, but directly guiding the activities and struggles of its various sections.

When the Bulgarian Communist Party was temporarily broken up organisationally, after the September uprising, and ideologically confused, the Communist International proved to be a powerful moral support and an indispensable uniting factor for the party masses. The inevitable crisis within the party came to an end only with the cleansing of its ranks of the vacillating, oportunist elements, and thanks to the influence and authority of Comintern the party was able to weather the crisis quickly and successfully without damage to party discipline, or divergence from its revolutionary orientation in the forthcoming struggle. The attempt of certain members to break away from the Communist International provoked intense indignation within the party. In spite of the violence of the reactionaries from which it is suffering, the party rose as one man, and resolutely backed up the International against the renegades and treacherous elements who were immediately thrown out of the party ranks.

It may be said without exaggeration that if it had not been for Comintern, the Bulgarian Party, although an old revolutionary party, would not have succeeded in understanding so promptly and correctly what a complete mistake it had made in the bourgeois-fascist revolution; it would not have taken its stand so courageously at the head of the popular uprising of September; it would not have rallied its forces so rapidly after its heavy defeat; it would not have learned so quickly and thoroughly the valuable lessons of the June and September events, and would not at the present time be in a position to direct the great struggle of the working masses against the domination of reaction, and for the creation of a workers' and peasants' government in Bulgaria.

The Bulgarian Communist Party greets the fifth anniversary of the Communist International under the most difficult conditions. Convinced by its own experience of the beneficial role and great importance of Comintern in the revolutionary movement, the Bulgarian Communist Party expresses the ardent wish that the Comintern will continue the development of its activities along the lines it has followed hitherto, and that it will fulfil its difficult tasks as the international party of the revolutionary proletariat, with a single directing world centre and iron discipline within its ranks.

G. DIMITROV (Bulgaria).

Moscow, February 20th, 1924.

POLAND.

The Polish Communist Labour Party, which was established in December, 1918, through the fusion of the two old revolutionary organisations (the Polish Social-Democratic Party and the Left Polish Socialist Party), is one of the first Communist Parties in Europe. This Party announced in its program declaration that it considered itself a member of the future Third International. But owing to the trend of historic events, the Polish Communist Party was for a long time unable to become not only a spiritual, but even a formal adherent of the Communist International.

A series of wars, which accompanied the establishment of an independent Poland and converted it into an armed camp, cut off for two and a half years the Polish Communist Party from the brother organisations of the neighbouring countries and from the leading organ—the Communist International.

Because of the revolutionary experience of the Parties which went to form the Polish Communist Party, the latter succeeded to avoid in that difficult period (in connection with such important questions as participation in trade unions and parliamentarism), the vacillation and blunders in matters of principle, which characterised the policy of the German Communist Party, and against which the Executive and the Congresses of the Communist International had to struggle in 1919. The Party boycotted the elections to the Seim, but did it under the influence of the rising wave of revolution and with the support of the Soviets of workers' deputies (not yet dispersed by the bourgeois power), and not for reasons of principle. But the magnificent and finished tactics, commensurate with the tasks of a party worthy to be the representative of the hegemonous class and the leader of social revolution—the tactics elaborated by the Second Congress, remained a long time a sealed book for our Party.

The question of the necessity to win over the majority of the working class, as a necessary preliminary to the victory of revolution, the idea of the hegemony of the working class, of its sacred revolutionary duty to become the leader and guide of other classes, the absolute necessity to make them our allies—these problems and ideas were not by any means understood and accepted by the European parties, and were certainly not assimilated at once by the Polish Communists.

In 1920, and partly in 1921, the Party, labouring under

an illusion concerning the tempo of the development of the revolution, continued to apply tactics which were entirely calculated for an immediate conquest of power. As the new bourgeois State began to consolidate itself, the Party was threatened with the danger of losing contact with the masses. At this critical time the Third Congress of the Communist International exercised considerable influence on the ideology of the Party, which was for the first time represented at such a congress. The slogan "to the masses" brought forward by the Third Congress, the emphasis laid on the enormous significance of the struggle for partial demands and the tactics of the united front, adumbrated by the Third Congress and further developed by the Executive Committee could not but influence the Polish Communist Party.

A further phase of the ideological development of the Party was—the adoption of the principles promulgated by the Communist International in connection with the agrarian and national question.

The prolonged struggle carried on within the ranks of the Party for the lines laid down by the Communist International ended in a complete victory at the Second Party Congress in September, 1923. The Congress expressed itself in favour of the union between the proletariat and the peasantry, and brought forward the slogan "Land for the peasantry without redemption." On the national question the congress expressed itself for the protection of the nationalities oppressed by Poland, for active support of Ukrainians and White Russians in their struggle for separation from Poland and for adherence to Soviet Ukraine and White Russia.

There was no occasion for the Communist International to interfere much with the details of the activity of the Polish Communist Party. Two splits in the Polish Socialist Party with the subsequent adherence of the seceded sections to the Communist Party, were carried out under the direct influence of the party without the intervention of the Communist International. But the Communist International did us a great service by its "indulgent" policy with regard to the Bund, which at first met with some resistance in our ranks. But this policy led to a split in the Bund, to the formation of a Communist Bund, and its adherence to the Communist Party. The Party was not long to realise that the Executive Committee of the Communist International was right on this question. It adapted itself to the new organisational tasks and has since then made considerable progress among the Jewish proletariat.

The Communist International played an analogous role

in the settlement of organisational disputes which arose in connection with the question of the Communist organisation of Eastern Galicia. These disputes were satisfactorily settled owing to the correct decisions on the national question adopted by the Second Congress. Organisationally, these decisions found an echo in the establishment of an autonomous Communist Party in Western Ukraine, which carries on its activities on all Ukrainian territories seized by Poland.

At present the Party has fully adopted the tactics of the Communist International. It has learned to co-ordinate legal with illegal work, and knows how to keep in contact with the masses in spite of its illegality. It has adopted a correct line of conduct towards the peasantry and has begun to put it energetically into practice. It is gaining the sympathy of the masses oppressed by the national minorities.

It will carry the banner of the Communist International to victory. "K."

THE COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL AND THE FOUNDING OF THE YOUNG COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL.

Translated by M. L. KORTCHMAR.

The Communist International inaugurated a new era for the oppressed masses of the workers of all countries, and for the enslaved peoples of the colonies. Never before was a workers' organisation of international scope so dedicated to the cause of the protection of *all* the oppressed, and in such practical manner. The Communist International was the first proletarian organisation which inscribed this goal upon its banners, and to it belongs also the great historical credit of having brought out the masses of the **young workers** from their past stage of step-childhood and recognised the vast importance of their organisation and movement as equal partners in the fighting ranks of the revolutionary working class.

In the Second International the Socialist youth movement was always considered as a stumbling block, as a stranger in the house. Barely two or three parties recognise the whole importance of the Socialist youth movement and gave it their unstinted support. The great mass of the Social-Democrats and trade unionists treated the youth movement with indifference or mistrust, or rejected entirely, or at best considered it merely as an educational organisation. And in the majority of cases the proletarian youth organisations were not formed by the Social-Democratic Party, but rather **in spite** of them, and in some cases **against** them. The youth organisations had to defend their right to existence and participation in political life and in the class struggle by constant debates and conflicts with their adult comrades. Such is particularly the case in regard to the right of participation in political life and in the class struggle, on which there was a bitter fight, in which the opportunists and reformists of the Second International would not give way under any circumstances.

This quite characteristic attitude of the Second International towards the Socialist youth movement was due to two fundamental causes. Firstly, the Second International sabotaged the youth movement in the spirit of narrow **reformist craft-unionism** on the grounds of the same imperialist attitude of labour aristocracy with which it defends the oppression of the colonial peoples and refuses admission to

coloured workers into the white unions. From an economic standpoint, the millions of unorganised, unprotected and particularly exploited young workers and apprentices play the same part in the capitalist system of economy as the oppressed colonial slaves in regard to the "mother country." Secondly, the Second International had set its face against the Socialist youth movement, because the latter was an elemental force which was eager for the class struggle and clashed with the most sensitive spot of reformism, namely, by its **fight against militarism**, where youthful impatience had no use for the policy of opportunism.

For these reasons it was a real test of revolutionary Marxism, if one had the courage in the Second International to champion openly the cause of participation by the Socialist youth movement in the class struggle. And it was only the best men who had the courage to take such a stand, and foremost among them was **Karl Liebknecht**. It was Karl Liebknecht who founded the Socialist Youth International.

The world war broke out, accompanied by the betrayal of the Second International towards the cause of the young workers. Amid the horrors of the imperialist war, amid the manifold betrayals of the parties of the Second International, in spite of all the efforts of the reformist fakers, the great mass of the young Socialist organisations declared themselves against the reformist parties, against the imperialist war, and in favour of revolutionary out-and-out fight to stop the war. The then International Socialist Youth Bureau, which was in the hands of Danneberg at Vienna, sabotaged the calling of an international conference. Nevertheless, the revolutionary youth organisations took the matter quickly into their own hands, and already at Easter in 1915, the first international youth conference took place at Berne, which marked a complete revolution in the Young Socialist International. The Bureau was made up completely of revolutionary representatives and the whole policy was fixed upon revolutionary opposition to the war and to the social-traitors. The overwhelming majority of the youth organisations concurred in the resolutions that were adopted at the Berne conference.

Since then the Young Socialist International was striding steadily forward. In close collaboration with the Left wing comrades of Zimmerwald and Kienthal, with Liebknecht, Radek and the Russian Bolsheviks, it steadily evolved in the direction of Communism. **Comrade Lenin** in particular has rendered invaluable aid to the youth. The revolutionary Marxists saw clearly the tremendous worth of this revolutionary proletarian youth movement, and gave it every support and encouragement. And the Young Socialist Inter-

national became one of the most important factors in the fight against the imperialist war, and the advance troop of propagandists for the coming **Communist International**. Already the first number of "The Youth International" in 1915 launched the slogan: "The International is Dead! Long live the new International!" To this task of creating the Communist International the Young Socialist International dedicated all its force.

Soon after the close of the war, the Young Socialist International endeavoured to bring about an international youth congress. But the various attempts (including those made by our Russian comrades) had failed for a number of reasons (simply because of the prolonged imprisonment of the leading members of the international Youth Bureau, and later on because of the fall of the Soviet regime in Hungary, where the congress was to take place). The youth movement was in a state of great tension. All its forces were pressing for political clarity, for revolutionary class struggle, for Communism. The tidings about the founding of the Communist International was received with elation, and this elation grew as the newly-formed Communist International clearly tore into shreds the attitude of the Second International and gave the fullest recognition to the young Socialist movement. A flame of enthusiasm was kindled everywhere where the following words of the manifesto issued by the Communist International of May, 1919, had reached:

" . . . The young workers were the greatest sufferers during the war of 1914-1919. And it was the young workers who first raised the voice of protest against this unparalleled butchery."

When the official "Socialist" and "Social-Democratic" parties ranged themselves on the side of the bourgeoisie and glorified the predatory war as the "just" war and the "war for liberty," the youth organisations were the first to rise against this betrayal. Gentlemen like Scheidemann and Ebert in Germany, Renaudel and Thomas in France, Hyndman and Henderson in England, Renner and Austerlitz in Austria, Branting in Sweden, Greulich in Switzerland, Gompers in America, and other deceivers and betrayers in the other countries, met with resistance on the part of the proletarian youth. Now the time has come to organise the Youth International. The working youth of the world shall now finally choose its future course.

The Communist International, which was founded in March, 1919, at Moscow, calls upon all the youth organisations to unite and affiliate with the Communist International.

The Communists consider the work among the youth as one of the most important tasks that permit of no delay. Karl Liebknecht, the great fighter of the Communist International, whom the social traitors of the Scheidemann stamp have nailed to the cross, was one of the most ardent champions of the youth movement, and its organiser. The Soviet Republic of Russia offers the backing of its entire apparatus, of all the forces of the young workers and peasants.

. . . . The long-awaited moment has come for the fight of the workers for power, for the dictatorship of the proletariat, for Communism. The working class demands compensation for the shame to which the banner of the proletariat was subjected during the five years of the war. Everywhere throughout the world the workers are founding their Soviets for the realisation of Socialism. As against the black army of the bourgeoisie we put up our red army. And the young workers will fight upon the first barricades in the name of the conquest of power for the Soviets.

Long live the proletariat youth!

Long live the Young Communist International!

At last (too late, far too late for the impatience of the revolutionary young workers) the international youth congress was held in November, 1919, at Berlin. Officially it was the fourth in rotation since 1917. At this congress the Young Socialist International resolved to transform itself into the **Young Communist International** and decided unanimously to affiliate with the Communist International, and for the first time a real Communist programme for the youth was drawn up. While the great parties everywhere, the S.P. in France, the two parties in Czecho-Slovakia, the Norwegian Labour Party, the U.S.P. in Germany, and so on, were still outside of the Comintern, the proletarian youth movement was already **inside** of the Comintern and in its first ranks. And it was not a minority that followed the Y.C.I., but the overwhelming majority of the proletarian youth movement.

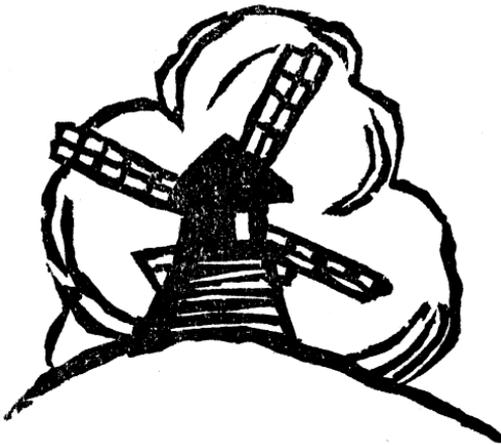
Since then the Young Communist International has grown in width as well as in depth. It has set itself to the task of developing the Y.C.I. into an organisation of the masses. It is to-day a great and powerful world-wide organisation having its ramifications in all countries, which are steadily developing themselves in Europe and America into the sole **leaders** of the wide **masses** of proletarian youth, and has aroused the youth among the oppressed peoples in the colonies. And when it is a question of for or against the Communist International, for or against its unmistakable and clear-cut revolu-

tionary policy, the Y.C.I. is the first to join and to fight for the C.I. This it has shown well enough in Sweden, Norway, France, Germany and Italy, and it will still show it as often as there will be occasion for it.

The Young Communist International will work and fight untiringly to arouse the large masses of the young workers in the cities and villages of the capitalist countries and in the colonies, to make them class-conscious and to rally them to the banner of the Communist International. It will not rest until the majority of the young workers shall be in the ranks of the Communist International, so that the banner of the C.I. shall be so unfolded as to contemplate the future with full confidence.

This is the solemn tribute which the Y.C.I. tenders to the Communist International upon the fifth anniversary of its formation.

R. SCHULER.



Communist Party of Great Britain

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